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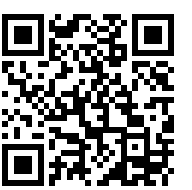

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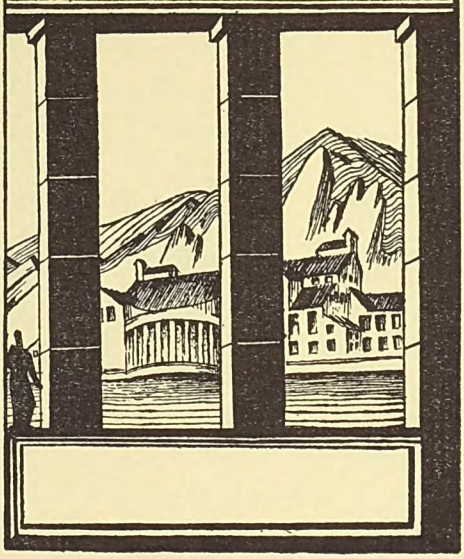

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JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XII.

1925

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1925

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PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

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NOTICES

Library.—The Council wish to thank Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes for "Mit Feld Marschall von der Goltz Pascha in Mesopotamien und Persien"; Sir Thomas Holdich for his kind gift of Survey Maps of Persia; the Persia Society for their Publications; Mr. Moon for Herstlett's "China Treaties"; Colonel Gabriel for "The Historical Record of the Imperial Visit to India, 1911"; Major Rynd for "L'Islam et les Questions Musulmanes"; Major Eadie for his Amharic Reader; General Sir Reginald Wingate for "The Story of the Gordon College"; Sir Arnold Wilson for "A Voyage up the Persian Gulf."

The following books have been received for review:

"Arabs in Tent and Town," by A. Goodrych-Freer (Mrs. H. H. Spoer). (London: Seeley, Service and Co. 21s. net.)

"Anatolica," by H. C. Luke. (London: Macmillan and Co. 16s. net.)

"Ben Kendim," by Lieut.-Colonel Hon. Aubrey Herbert. (London: Hutchinson. 21s. net.)

"Trans-Jordan," by Mrs. Steuart Erskine. (London: Messrs. E. Benn, Ltd. 12s. 6d. net.)

"Persian Literature in Modern Times," by Professor E. G. Browne. (Cambridge University Press. 35s. net.)

"From China to Hkamti Long," by F. Kingdon Ward, F.R.G.S. (London: Edward Arnold and Co. 18s. net.)

"Adventures in Turkey and Russia," by E. H. Keeling. (London: John Murray, Ltd. 10s. 6d. net.)

"The Word of Lalla the Prophetess," translated by Sir R. C. Temple. (Cambridge University Press. 16s. net.)

"In the High Himalayas," by H. Whistler, F.Z.A. (London: George Witherby and Co. 15s. net.)

"In the Land of the Golden Fleece," by Odette Keun. Translated from the French by Helen Jesiman. (London: John Lane. The Bodley Head. 7s. 6d. net.)

"The Traditions of Islam," by F. Guillaume. (Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d. net.)

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

THE first meeting of the autumn session was held on October 10th, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall. The Right Hon. Viscount Peel presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have met this afternoon to hear a lecture from Major McCallum on "The French in Syria, 1919-1924." Major McCallum belongs to the East Yorkshire Regiment. In 1914 he was with the French in the Cameroons as Intelligence Officer; after the war he was sent to Germany on the staff of our military mission in Berlin. From there he went in 1919 to Syria as British liaison officer, where he has been for four years, coming back in June of this year. As liaison officer he served with two very distinguished French Generals, whose names are well known here as well as in their own country—Generals Gouraud and Weygand—and he had very great opportunities of seeing the country; he also has a good knowledge of Arabic and speaks French exceedingly well, I believe. I think we are very fortunate indeed to obtain so competent a lecturer on this subject. (Applause.)

THE FRENCH IN SYRIA, 1919-1924

THE LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel very nervous on being called upon by Lord Peel to speak to you, this being my first attempt at addressing an audience in public; but, at the same time, I consider it a great privilege to have been given the opportunity of saying a few words upon a subject which I have so much at heart, and about which so much that is totally inaccurate has been spoken and written in this country.

There have been during the past four and a half years many British travellers, official and unofficial, passing through Syria, who, on their return to England, have considered themselves qualified to discourse at length on the rights and wrongs of the many intricate political and military questions which abounded and still abound between the mandated territory of Syria and her neighbours. The duration of these visits has generally been anything from one to seven days (one or two such persons have even stayed a little longer); but I venture to suggest that a prolonged stay of several years, such as mine has been, gives one greater facility to make a closer and more accurate study of the questions than the time afforded by these fleeting visits.

My object this afternoon is to endeavour to give you, as quickly and

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as truthfully as possible, a résumé of what has happened under the French régime from the time the French troops relieved the British forces in Syria and Cilicia at the end of 1919.

As I proceed with my lecture I will try to make myself as clear as possible with the aid of the two maps which you see hanging before you. This one is the $\frac{1}{1000000}$-scale official map of the Eastern Mediterranean and the territory lying between that Sea and a line drawn north and south from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea. This other map is the most up-to-date French map of Syria, showing the administrative boundaries of the respective areas into which Syria has now been divided.

When speaking of Syria I want to make it quite clear that the area to which I refer by that name is that part of the pre-war Ottoman Empire which has been entrusted to the mandate of France. It is quite often the custom of authors and others, particularly public men of the Middle East countries, when they mention the word "Syria," to mean the Syria of 1914—*i.e.*, the area covered by what is now known as Palestine, Trans-Jordania, and the present-day Syria. It is as well to remember this when talking to Turks, Arabs, and Egyptians.

In the course of the next few minutes I propose to give you year by year, from 1919 to 1924, the various important questions in which Syria has been concerned. In particular, the two predominant questions which have been, roughly speaking, the attitude of the French in Syria towards the Turks, and their attitude towards the Arabs. These two great questions came into being practically at the same time (the end of 1919), and may be said to have developed in their respective ways side by side through the course of the years.

As you all probably know, certain conversations were held in 1915 between Great Britain, France, and Russia, which premeditated the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire in the event of an Allied victory. These conversations resulted in 1916 in the drawing up of what has ever since been known as the "Sykes-Picot Accord" (May 9, 1916). Sir Mark Sykes was a great authority on the Turks and was the principal British delegate to sign this Accord. Monsieur Georges Picot was the French Consul-General in Beyrout before the war and was the principal French representative in these conversations. The Sykes-Picot Accord set out the areas of the Ottoman Empire which were to be handed over to France, on the one hand, and to Great Britain on the other. It also drew up the political and administrative systems that were to be instituted in the areas thus acquired. France was to receive :

(*a*) The Blue Zone, which comprised the Syrian coast from Acre to the Taurus Mountains—*i.e.*, the Lebanon, the Ansarieh country, the Alexandretta area, and Cilicia. This zone extended north-east to Armenia by an ever-narrowing strip of territory.

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(*b*) "A" Zone, which included the whole of the Syrian hinterland with the much-talked-of "Four Towns"—Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo—also Upper Mesopotamia, including Mosul.

On the basis of this Accord was organized the allied occupation of these areas after the Armistice of Mudros (October 30, 1918). An amendment agreed to between Mr. Lloyd George and Monsieur Clemenceau in 1919 deprived France of Upper Mesopotamia, with Mosul, and allotted it to Great Britain.

The territory occupied by the Egyptian Expeditionary Force as the result of the Allied victory was divided into four zones, all under the supreme authority of Lord Allenby as Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, the force which had routed the Turks in this theatre of war:

1. The North Zone (O.E.T.A.,* North-Cilicia), administered by the French military authorities.

2. The Western Zone (O.E.T.A., West-Lebanon, Ansarieh Alexandretta), administered by the French military authorities.

3. The Southern Zone (O.E.T.A., South-Palestine), administered by the British military authorities.

4. The Eastern Zone (O.E.T.A., East-Syrian hinterland, including Damascus, Homs, Hama, Aleppo), administered by the Sherifian authorities—*i.e.*, the Emir Feisal.

Towards the end of 1919 the British troops of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, which then provided the military garrisons for Cilicia and Syria, were relieved by the French troops of what was afterwards called "The Army of the Levant," in accordance with the agreement arrived at between Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau on September 5, 1919. No French troops penetrated into the Eastern Zone, which was left under the authority of the Emir Feisal, but the British troops, which had up to then been stationed in Feisal's area, were withdrawn. In November, 1919, General Gouraud arrived in Syria as French High Commissioner of the Mandated Territory and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Levant. Beyrout became the headquarters of both the French military and civil administrations. On General Gouraud's arrival at Beyrout, Lord Allenby came from Egypt to pay him a personal call and to formally hand over the administration of the area.

During the years 1919-1920 the Emir Feisal was in Europe, and came to an arrangement with M. Clemenceau, whereby they settled between them the means of regulating French action in the Syrian hinterland (Eastern Zone), which, according to the Sykes-Picot Accord, was to come under French influence. The Emir Feisal returned to Syria on January 14, 1920, and was given a most cordial

* O.E.T.A. is the abbreviation which was commonly used for "Occupied Enemy Territory Administration."

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welcome by the French, befitting his newly-acquired importance. But about this time he came to the conclusion that he could carry on in the Eastern Zone *without* the aid or advice of the French, and once back in Damascus he became entirely subservient to the Syrian Extremist Party, which, though small, comprised men to whom intrigue is as the breath of life.

In the spring of 1920 the French military forces were disposed principally in Cilicia, on the frontier between the French mandatory territory and Turkey, and in the Lebanon. Small columns penetrated into the mountainous country of the Latakia or Ansarieh province with a view to showing the French flag to the rather stubborn inhabitants of that area, as a prelude to imposing ordered government upon them. In Alexandretta, which is one of the termini on the Mediterranean of the Baghdad railway, the French had a fairly strong garrison. In Damascus, with the Emir Feisal, was established a French military mission, under Colonel Cousse. In Aleppo, with the Sherifian authorities, the French had appointed an officer for liaison duties. In addition to the French military representative with the Emir Feisal, there were also established a British liaison officer, Lieutenant-Colonel G. L. Easton, M.C., an Italian Consul-General, an American Consul, and the honorary Consuls of the other and smaller nations. These honorary Consuls were for the most part natives of Syria with business interests in the countries which they represented.

The French arranged to exert their influence over the hinterland through the offices of Colonel Cousse.

On March 8, 1920, the Emir Feisal had himself proclaimed at Damascus as King of Syria, by a so-called Syrian Congress. This Congress was principally composed of the Emir's extremist friends, none of its members being elected by the people of the country. Feisal's kingship was recognized by no other foreign Power than Italy, who immediately relieved its Consul-General in Damascus by a Minister Plenipotentiary, to be the accredited Italian Ambassador to the Court of King Feisal.

In April, 1920, at the Conference of San Remo, after much discussion, the principal Allied Powers decided to award the mandate for the whole of Syria (the Northern, Western and Eastern zones) to France, who was to be responsible to the League of Nations. This, needless to say, was not at all in keeping with the views of the Extremist Party in Damascus and Aleppo, who promptly set about all manner of demonstrations and intrigues to oppose the French overlordship of the new imaginary "Kingdom of the Arabs." As a result of the agitations of this party, minor attacks on small French posts, detachments, and communications in the Western zone were carried out by men of the Sherifian army, acting upon orders of the organization in Damascus. In consequence of these attacks, ambushes, etc., the French lost consider-

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able numbers of their soldiers. Not content with these minor agitations, the Government of the Emir Feisal suddenly refused to allow the French army to use the Rayak-Aleppo railway, which ran through the Sherifian zone.

To understand the importance of this move on the part of the Sherifian Government, I must explain in a few words the vital necessity to the French of the use of this railway. In Cilicia, north of the Baghdad railway, the French garrisons were distributed over a widely scattered area. Most of these garrisons were situated on roads debouching on to the railway, and the only means of communication for the French between the base at Beyrout and the Baghdad railway, north-west and north-east of Aleppo, were either by sea to the ports of Alexandretta and Mersina, or by this railway, which ran from Beyrout over the mountains to Rayak and thence to Aleppo. As much as possible of the supplies for the French forces in Cilicia were sent from Beyrout by sea, but for those garrisons lying east of the Taurus mountains, the transport by railway through Rayak, Aleppo, and Jerablus was obviously much more convenient. It will be understood, therefore, what a serious menace to the security of the French forces in the north was this decision of the Arabs at Damascus forbidding the use by the French of the Rayak-Aleppo railway.

To still further aggravate the position, the Government at Damascus issued orders to prevent food supplies from the Eastern zone reaching the inhabitants of the coastal regions which lay in the Western zone.

I beg to be forgiven if I seem to be laying undue stress upon these and the following points, but they are just those which have never been dwelt upon, described, or even considered by our previously-mentioned travellers.

After his coronation, for four months, the Emir Feisal continued to govern his own State in accordance with his ideas of monarchy; taxes were levied on all the inhabitants of the area, but, as is nearly always the case in these Oriental countries, the peasants or poorer classes were the only ones to pay them, they being forced to do so, while the richer class circumvented the fiscal measures by the usual system of "baksheesh." Bands of irregular soldiers were organized and began penetrating into the Western zone, creating all sorts of hostile incidents, until things came to such a pass that the coastal road from Beyrout to Haifa became well-nigh closed to circulation. Isolated French posts in the mountains of the Lebanon were attacked by these irregular bands, who, when brought to battle, made off back to the Sherifian zone by paths known only to themselves. Villages in the Western zone were raided and their inhabitants murdered; all traffic on the roads between Sidon, Tyre, and the Palestinian frontier was held up by these bandits, who would search each vehicle, whether motor or horse-drawn, separate the Moslems from the Christians, allowing the

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former to proceed, but taking the latter on to the side of the road, where they were robbed and then murdered. Similar incidents had been occurring in the north of the Sherifian zone in the Aleppo area. This is no exaggeration.

There are some people who believe that these attacks were directed only against the French, but I know personally of three separate occasions when British military and civil parties were attacked and fired upon.

Now let us turn our minds in another direction, further eastward to Mesopotamia, or what is now called Iraq. It will be remembered that in May, 1920, a most serious rebellion by the Arabs of Mesopotamia broke out against the British administration of that country. This rebellion caused the death of some hundreds of British soldiers, not to mention the loss of rifles, ammunition, and other war material. I do not think it is very generally known that this revolt was supported by the Sherifian Extremist Party in Damascus, nor that three of the principal conspirators in the rising took refuge in Damascus from the inevitable ensuing British justice. There is no need for me to mention any names. As soon as this became known to the British authorities, Colonel Easton and myself were instructed to request the Emir Feisal to have these three men arrested and handed over to a British escort. In spite of numerous repeated requests for their arrest, and renewed assurances from the Emir to the effect that it should be carried out, the men were always forewarned in some mysterious way and evaded apprehension to the end of Feisal's reign in Damascus. Two minor incidents worth noting are that the horse of Captain Stewart, who was murdered by the Arabs at Tel-afar, and the dog of Captain Buchanan, who was murdered at Sharaban, were offered for sale in the bazaars of Damascus shortly after these outrages, but were fortunately found by Colonel Easton, who very rightly had them seized and brought into his own compound pending return to the British authorities.

I have seen it published in the British Press that Damascus and the Syrian hinterland under the régime of the Sherifian Government, during the first six months of 1920, was a peaceful, flourishing, and prosperous country, and that subsequently, after the French occupation, Damascus became practically a City of the Dead. That is a gross misrepresentation of the facts. Damascus and the surrounding country, between January 1 and July 24, 1920, was in a state of anarchy and chaos too extraordinary to describe. There were often occasions when the entire population of the Christian quarter of the city was forced to remain in its houses for fear of a general massacre by the Moslems; trade was at a standstill and public security nil. The French Government began to get tired of the situation in this area which formed part of the territory over which France had been granted a mandate.

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On July 14, 1920, General Gouraud, in the name of the French Government, sent an ultimatum to the Emir Feisal, called the latter's attention to the various hostile acts which had been committed by the Sherifian authorities, and stipulated the conditions and guarantees which France demanded to assure the safety of her troops and the inhabitants of the countries placed under French mandate. The guarantees were to be as follows :

(*a*) The absolute control by the French of the Rayak-Aleppo railway—control of the traffic—the guarding and patrolling of the permanent way, and the occupation of Aleppo by French forces.

(*b*) Abolition of compulsory military service in the Eastern zone, and the reduction of the Sherifian army to its strength in December, 1919.

(*c*) Recognition of the French mandate.

(*d*) Acceptance of the new Syrian currency.

(*e*) Punishment of criminals convicted of offences against the Common Law in the Western zone who had taken refuge in the Eastern zone.

For seven days the Sherifian Government continued to waver between acceptance and refusal of the above terms, and as by July 21 no favourable reply had been received by the French, General Gouraud ordered the troops of his Third Division to move on Damascus. As this situation was developing the Third Division had been concentrating in the Lebanon mountains.

On July 22, the French advanced in three columns towards Damascus ; the main body, with which was General Goybet, G.O.C. of the Division, moved along the main Beyrout-Damascus road, leaving the French post on the frontier between the Eastern and Western zones at dawn. At the same time another column, to protect the left flank of the main body, moved by the railway through Zahle and Rayak to the north of the main road ; and another column, consisting of a regiment of cavalry, advanced on the right flank of the Division with the object of reaching the village of Kuneitra and cutting the road of retreat from Damascus into Palestine. No resistance was encountered from the Sherifians during the whole of that day, and at night the French forces encamped on the eastern edge of the plain which separates the Lebanon mountains from those of the Anti-Lebanon. On the 23rd the advance was continued through the rocky gorges by which the Anti-Lebanon range is traversed, and which afford most excellent positions for a defending army. Again, during the whole of this day, the Arabs offered no resistance, and the French main body camped at night with its advance guard at the western entrance to a narrow gorge, some five miles long, shut in on each side by precipitous cliffs.

On the morning of the 24th, the French General made the mistake

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of becoming too confident that his advance on Damascus was to be nothing more than a triumphal progress, and, against all military precepts, he advanced the whole of his force into the gorge without taking the precaution either to clear it first by his advance guard or picquet the heights on each side. At the eastern end of this gorge was a gently-sloping ridge facing directly across its mouth, and from which observation could be obtained for some two miles down it. This was the spot which the Arab Commander-in-Chief, Azmé Bey, had chosen to resist the French advance. Azmé Bey was a very gallant soldier, who had completed his military studies in France and Germany before the war, and who had earned considerable distinction while subsequently serving with the Turkish army. It was evident to all those who have since seen the position that Azmé Bey had selected a very strong one. Had the whole Arab army been composed of men of the same spirit as their Commander-in-Chief the situation in Syria might be very different to-day. Since the day of the battle I have personally conducted many senior officers of the armies of different nations over this battlefield, and one and all have expressed their astonishment that any force that had allowed itself to be entrapped in that gorge should ever have escaped to tell the tale. An Indian Army Colonel assured me that with only a battalion of Indian North-West Frontier troops he would have held those heights against any force.

To make the difficulty of the French position even more clear I must explain that these operations were carried out over a barren country, in almost tropical heat, by a force of some 10,000 men, in addition to horses, mules, etc. You will understand that this force required a great deal of water, particularly at that time of the year, and in consequence the French Commander was obliged to order the stages of his march from one water-point to another. From the time he left his position at dawn on the 23rd he had only been able to supply his force with water from motor lorries, and it was incumbent upon him to reach a water supply by the night of the 24th, or else to fall back two days' march to the water-point he had left at dawn on the 23rd. You can imagine the loss of prestige that would have been caused to a Western army having to make such a retreat before an Arab army, and the consequent influence on the morale of the Arab troops. Now Azmé Bey had chosen his position to bar the French from their desired water-supply.

I trust that you will not find the description of these very important operations too complicated, but I am endeavouring to show you what a golden opportunity the Emir Feisal had to extract more favourable terms from the French. A few stout-hearted Arab soldiers, armed with machine guns and bombs, both of which they had in their army, fighting along the tops of those precipitous cliffs which had been completely ignored by the French Commander, could have ambushed the

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whole of that Division. The French troops could only have gone forward or gone back, the sides of the gorge being far too precipitous to allow any troops to deploy into action. Azmé Bey, however, did not follow these tactics, probably because he had no confidence, and rightly so, in his troops. He confined himself to allowing the French force, in column of route, to debouch from the gorge and then opening fire with his guns, howitzers, and machine guns. Naturally all the ranges up and down the gorge were known beforehand to his gunners, with the result that before one could realize what was happening the French had suffered considerable casualties; the 75 mm. battery with the advance guard was practically put out of action in the first few minutes. It was at this moment that the effect of Western discipline was put to the test and triumphed. The French Commander, quickly sizing up the situation, turned about the cavalry regiment accompanying the main body, and galloped them back to the western entrance of the defile, with orders to enter the mountains further south and make a turning movement against the Arab position. Simultaneously one company of Senegalese Infantry and two small Whippet tanks were ordered to assault the position from the front. The Senegalese behaved splendidly, and advanced to the assault through heavy fire from rifle and machine guns. Seeing that in spite of their fire the Senegalese continued to advance, the Arabs, who numbered some 20,000, began to lose heart. Another arm now began to add to the discomfiture of the Arabs, the French aeroplanes coming over bombing and machine-gunning the position. Within a very short time the much-talked-of Sherifian army had become a rabble of fleeing Bedouin, each man out to get back to Damascus as soon as possible and take his share in looting the town before the arrival of the French. The only man in all those 20,000 to put up any sort of a fight was Azmé Bey, and he died very gallantly on the top of the position, killed by a tank-gun at a range of some thirty yards. The French captured all the Sherifian guns and machine-guns and reached the water-point that was their objective, three miles east of the battlefield.

A little incident may serve to show the typical spirit of the members of the Syrian Extremist Party. A very well-known Arab Sheikh and member of the party was present in the Sherifian army with all the riflemen he could muster in his tribe, and amongst these men landed a French aeroplane which had been shot down. The officer and his observer were promptly taken prisoners, and were about to be put to death in a most cruel manner when the Sheikh saw how the battle was going. He promptly countermanded the execution of his prisoners, and through his interpreter requested the Frenchmen to put in a good word for him with the French authorities.

Thus ended the battle of Khan-Meiseloun, and turned what might have been a very serious reverse for the French General into an over-

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whelming victory. It also sounded the death-knell of the Emir Feisal's dream of a Kingdom of Syria, with himself on the throne.

That night most dreadful scenes took place in Damascus, and sheer pandemonium reigned. The returned warriors, mostly Bedouin tribesmen, galloped up and down the streets and bazaars, firing upon everyone and everything. Numbers of shops were looted, Christian and Moslęm alike, and things looked very black for the small Christian population. On receipt of the news giving the result of the battle, the "King" of Syria and his immediate followers left by train for the south.

The next day the French entered Damascus and set about restoring order out of chaos. The Moslems were astounded that the French soldiery did not proceed to sack the town. So great was the Moslems' relief at this abstention on the part of the French troops, that the "King" and his personal followers plucked up sufficient courage to come back to the city. He did not stay long, however, for the French lost no time in pointing out, gently but firmly, that his presence in Syria was no longer required, and that a change of environment for him would be more agreeable to them. Feisal accordingly left next day for Palestine and England, and subsequently found his way back to his native roof in the Hedjaz.

Simultaneously with the occupation of Damascus the French proceeded to occupy Aleppo and the other principal towns of the Eastern zone, and a native Government of a more reasonable frame of mind was set up. Several French officials were attached as advisers to each department of this native Government, which, I need hardly say, took good care to follow the lines indicated by its advisers.

While all this was going on in the south of Syria the French were by no means feeling comfortable in the northern part of their territory. At the time that their troops relieved ours in Cilicia and Northern Syria, Lord Allenby warned General Gouraud that his (the French) relieving forces were numerically too weak properly to garrison the different towns to be occupied, and to ensure safe communication. General Gouraud repeated these warnings to Paris, but at first, at least, to no apparent effect. Soon after the relief, the newly-started Turkish Nationalist movement, with Mustapha Kemal at its head, began to take effect in the form of attacks on the French posts established between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, and those situated east of that river.

On January 21, 1920, the garrison of Marash was besieged by the Kemalists. A relief column was sent from Adana on February 9 to endeavour to disengage the town; but although the relief was effected the situation became so serious, and the difficulty of keeping up the supply service to the town became so acute, that it was decided

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to evacuate the place. During the march south from Marash the troops were attacked and almost annihilated by the Kemalists.

It must be remembered that with the Turks the French were dealing with quite a different type of soldier from that of the Sherifian army. As all British soldiers who fought against the Turks during the Great War know, the Turkish private soldier is an extraordinarily stubborn fighter.

Marash, for the French in the north, was merely the beginning of their difficulties, and we must not forget the awkwardness of the situation which was gradually developing around them. They had replaced our Egyptian Expeditionary Force by their Army of the Levant, which was infinitely inferior in numbers and equipment. Almost before they had time to look around and size up the position they found themselves embroiled with the Arabs in the south and with the Turks in the north.

The Turks were quick to take advantage of the French military weakness. In April, 1920, the garrison of Urfa, which had sustained a protracted siege, had to surrender, and the following month the garrison of Bozanti capitulated to the Kemalists, after a heroic resistance and the distracted efforts of their comrades at Adana to relieve them.

Had the French Government listened to Lord Allenby's warnings and reinforced the Army of the Levant to a sufficient extent these terrible losses would have been prevented, and French military prestige in Turkey would not have suffered a blow from which one might almost say it has not yet recovered. In fact, I feel sure that this loss of French military prestige has had an important influence on the attitude of the Turks in the various negotiations which have since taken place between them and the Allies. You see, the Turk reasoned in the following manner: for many years he had been accustomed to look upon the German soldiers as the best in the world, and had fought with them as allies. To his astonishment he saw the German soldiers beaten in the Great War by the French troops (I am leaving out ourselves and the Americans for the time being), and he consequently thought the French must be terrible fighters. To his utter surprise he found that he could beat the Frenchmen, as at Marash, Urfa, etc., and he therefore not unnaturally began to look upon himself as a most invincible warrior. Later this belief became strengthened by his easy defeat of the Greek in 1922, until he apparently quite forgot that he was beaten, and very badly beaten, in the field by the British soldier.

To go on with my story, after the disaster of Bozanti, and with Aintab besieged in its turn, the French Government at last decided to reinforce their troops in Syria, and from July, 1920, onwards, regiments, guns, tanks, aeroplanes, etc., began to pour into the country,

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until at one period in 1921 the Army of the Levant was some 80,000 men strong.

However, before these reinforcements could arrive, the French were forced, in May, 1920, to negotiate for an armistice with the Turk—natural result, further loss of prestige. Although the armistice only lasted from June 1 to July 31, 1920, it enabled the French to concentrate their forces upon one object at a time. The plan of action had already been decided. This was, first to deal with the Arabs in the south, and then to settle the Turks. *En passant*, it should be noted that although the Arab and Turkish difficulties were dealt with as two different questions, proof was not lacking to show that there was a certain amount of connection between them. Kemalist agents were very active in Damascus, and one or two members of the Sherifian Government were known to be in continual correspondence with Mustapha Kemal.

We have already seen how the Arab question was dealt with. By the end of July, 1920, the French were able to concentrate all their attention on the north, although maintaining a sufficient garrison in the Damascus area to ensure safety in the south.

In August, 1920, the Kemalists reopened operations against the French, particularly round Aintab, which place Mustapha Kemal seemed to be exceedingly anxious to capture. The town was besieged, and relieved on four different occasions, until in February, 1921, it was finally freed from the Turkish forces. A most curious military situation came about before the final relief—the French garrison of the town was besieged in the buildings of the American mission by a force of Turks, which also held the rest of the town. This Turkish force was in its turn surrounded by the French relieving force, and the French relieving force, also in its turn, was submitted to constant attacks from the surrounding hills by other Turkish troops trying to support their comrades in the town. In a way this situation was rather humorous, though not, I assure you, to the men on the spot. The French relieving column was unable to force its way in to relieve the actual garrison, and this latter was not strong enough to fight its way out. The Turks, on the other hand, were strong enough to keep the two French forces separate, but were unable either to capture the garrison or to fight their way clear of the surrounding French relief force. It was not until February, 1921, that further French reinforcements enabled Colonel Andrea to fight his way through and raise the siege.

During the spring of 1921, at the Conference of London, the French and Turkish representatives signed an Accord, which produced for a short time more or less calm on the northern frontier of Syria. It was at this time that the Army of the Levant reached its maximum strength, and that particulars of the disastrous fighting in Cilicia began to leak out in the French Press and cause much discontent among the

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French public. Questions were asked in their Parliament, and unfavourable articles began to appear in a certain section of the Press. Owing to these disclosures and to the insistent demands of the French public for economy, the French Government was unable to reinforce the Army of the Levant to any further extent.

In June, 1921, the Emir Feisal was sent to Iraq to become head of the newly-projected native Government. His brother, the Emir Abdullah, was installed as the leader of a native administration in Trans-Jordania. Owing to what had happened the year previously in Damascus it was not to be expected that relations between the French in Syria and the Governments of Iraq and Trans-Jordania would be very cordial. Consequently General Gouraud found himself in this position —hostile Turks on his northern frontier, Iraq ruled over by the Emir Feisal on his eastern frontier, Trans-Jordania with the Emir Abdullah on the south-east, and Palestine with its Zionist régime on the south.

The French Government were accordingly obliged to look for some way out of their difficult position. The alternatives were either to reinforce the Army of the Levant until it was strong enough effectively to defend each frontier simultaneously, or to make peace with either Turks or Arabs in order to reduce military demands in one part or another of Syria. Negotiations were therefore entered into with the Turks.

In the conversation between the French and Turkish delegates the Turks as usual showed themselves past masters in the art of diplomacy. They knew full well the state of French public opinion at home, and the French military weakness on the spot, and they played their cards accordingly.

The principal French representative in these negotiations was M. Franklin-Bouillon, who was sent out by the French Government in Paris, together with a certain Colonel Mougin, known for his Turkish sympathies.

The Angora Accord was signed by the French and Turkish delegates on October 20, 1921. The outstanding result of this treaty was that the whole of the territory known as Cilicia west of the Euphrates, and all territory east of the Euphrates as far as Nissibin, lying to the north of the Baghdad railway, was given back to the Turks.

The second most important result of the Angora Accord was the decision to hand over to the Turks all the arms, ammunition, and equipment of the French military forces then stationed in the country to be evacuated, and also to supply further consignments of arms and equipment from Syria. Several months later the French had reason to regret this part of the Angora Accord, for these same arms, in 1922 and 1923, were actively employed by the Turkish bands against their donors.

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I must now ask you to go back a year or so and see what has been happening in the interior of Syria since the disappearance of the Sherifian Government from Damascus. As shortly as possible I will endeavour to give you a general idea of the system adopted by the French for the administration of the area placed under their mandate.

On September 1, 1920, General Gouraud declared the independence of what is now known as the Grand Liban. It is, perhaps, not widely known that the greater part of the population of the Lebanon mountains are Christians of one denomination or another, whereas the majority of the population in the remaining areas under the French mandate are Moslems. The French idea was ultimately to administer Syria through the natives, dividing up the country for this purpose into provinces or states according to ethnological and geographical boundaries. The areas eventually decided upon by the French Government in drawing up the arrangement for this native administration were:

(*a*) Le Grand Liban.
(*b*) The State of Damascus, including the Jebel Druze.
(*c*) The State of Aleppo, including the Caza of Alexandretta.
(*d*) The Territory of Latakia.

It was hoped ultimately to establish a Council of the Federated States of Syria, which was to be the supreme governing authority, under the supervision of the French High Commissioner. On hearing rumours of these plans, a great outcry arose among the Christians of the Lebanon, who saw themselves being placed under the control of the Federated Council, in which naturally the Moslems would be in the majority. The leaders of the Christians pointed out that even in enlightened Turkish times the Lebanon had enjoyed an autonomous Government of its own. When the Federated Council was eventually formed, every consideration was given by the French to the representations of the Lebanon Christians, and it was accordingly decided that the Greater Lebanon should not be incorporated with the other three States mentioned above in the Federated States of Syria, but that it should retain its own Government directly responsible to the French High Commissioner.

A difficulty now arose as to who to appoint as head of the native Government in the Lebanon. The non-Moslem population of the mountains, comprising principally Christians and Druzes, is split up so I am informed by an American missionary who has lived many years in the country, into twenty-one different sects or religions, each of which concerns itself in the most inordinate way with the political situation of the country rather than with the spiritual welfare of its followers. You can, therefore, well imagine the difficulty for the French in this question—should they appoint a Maronite, the Greek-Latins, the Greek-Orthodox, the Druzes, the Jews, the Anglicans, the

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Presbyterians, etc., would all be up in arms to protest, feeling sure that unfair favour would be shown to the Maronites. Should a Greek-Orthodox be nominated similar protests would be received from the Maronites and the others, and so on with no matter who should be chosen from the country. The French, after much deliberation, came to what was the only possible solution of the difficulty, that is to say, they nominated a Frenchman to be head of the Government of the Lebanon, hoping thus to assure impartiality to all sects and religions in the province. It should of course be understood that a number of French advisers were attached to the various heads of departments in the native Government.

In the States of Damascus and Aleppo native governors were nominated, naturally from those Moslem families thought to have shown French sympathies, and natives were put at the heads of the different departments of the local administrations. Alongside the native Governor was placed a Frenchman as delegate of the French High Commissioner, and it is he who practically governs the State to which he is nominated.

Before the carrying out of the terms of the Angora Accord there was another State or province to be added to those enumerated above, which comprised all the territory which was subsequently returned to the Turks by M. Franklin-Bouillon. This province was known as the "Confins Militaires," and included Cilicia and the country under French mandate lying to the north of the Baghdad railway, as far east as Mardin, Nissibin, and Jeziret-Ibn-Omar. In this area no attempt was made to establish civil government, as throughout its length and breadth it was the scene of continual fighting between the French and the Turkish forces.

In 1923 the territory of the Jebel Druze was separated from the Government of the State of Damascus, and the Druzes were given an independent Government of their own.

Since my departure from Syria in July this year, I understand that for purposes of economy the administrations of the States of Damascus and Aleppo have been merged into one under the leadership of the previous President of the Confederated States, Soubhi Bey Barakat. The Confederated States administration and its Council have been done away with, and the former delegate of the High Commissioner to the Government of Damascus has been nominated principal adviser to the Government of the combined States of Damascus and Aleppo. The former delegate of the High Commissioner at Aleppo remains in a purely military rôle, that of G.O.C. of the troops in Northern Syria.

The territory of Latakia was from the beginning of 1920 under direct French military administration. Up to 1922 no other form of government was possible, as I will explain to you later. The Ansarieh mountains became a very active theatre of military operations owing to

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the long-drawn-out opposition of the mountaineers to French rule. On the termination of these operations in this Province the French military administration was transformed into French civil administration, but the French continued to govern direct and not through native officials.

It is not without interest to note that the State of Latakia, the one State of the four subject to direct government by the Western Power, is the most prosperous, contented, and go-ahead of the four States. This I can testify to by personal experience, as my duties in Syria have obliged me to wander over all parts of the mandatory zone, and I have made several journeys into the heart of the Ansarieh mountains and talked to many of the inhabitants, a fine, well-built, well-set-up race of mountain warriors of the Metwali section of the Moslem faith. These are the men who, for months and months, held up large bodies of French troops in the mountains, but who since their submission have been the most eager to volunteer for service in the native forces which the French are now raising in Syria.

As soon as the civil administration had been set up at Latakia, and the population could make their wishes known through their various Sheikhs, it became evident that the incorporation of the State of Latakia in the Federated States of Syria was extremely distasteful to the inhabitants throughout the mountains. However, it was decided to overrule their dislikes, and they were duly incorporated into the Federation. But just as the mountaineer had shown himself obstinate and courageous in war he showed himself obstinate and determined in peace. Every sort of device was utilized to separate their country from the hated union with Damascus and Aleppo. A local Press campaign was carried on, peaceful demonstrations were held and deputations sent not only to the High Commissioner at Beyrout, but also to Paris. In Paris they enlisted the help of certain well-known authors and Press writers, to such good effect that this year the Ansarieh people obtained that for which they had been striving—the right to keep their mountains to themselves, under the benevolent direct control of the French.

I now propose to deal for a few minutes with the subject of the difficulties experienced by the French in the south of Syria from the intrigues and agitations of the numerous Arab malcontents living within and without the borders of the French Mandatory Territory. The prominent members of the Extremist Party in Syria had followed their leaders to the south when the French occupied Damascus.

In 1921 when the Emir Abdullah was established in Trans-Jordania these extremists profited by his protection and made their headquarters in that country, which became a most convenient centre from which to intrigue and demonstrate against the French régime in the north.

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Syrians who had been condemned by the French for murder, robbery with violence, and other such crimes, had fled south of the frontier to escape the penalty of their acts, and from there they organized small bands of brigands to attack isolated French posts or Syrian native gendarmerie patrols. By these attacks it was hoped to create a feeling of insecurity in the country, and make its more peaceably inclined inhabitants dissatisfied with the French régime. One of these outlawed murderers went so far as to organize an attempt to assassinate General Gouraud. The attempt was carried out in a most dastardly manner, but the General escaped by what was little short of a miracle. One of the occupants of the car in which he was driving at the time was killed and another wounded. Three bullets passed through the General's clothing, but two of them through the empty right sleeve of his tunic. (He lost his right arm at Gallipoli). Had it not been that the car in which the party was travelling was an American one with left- instead of right-handed steering, the General and all his companions would have been killed, for the murderers first fired upon and killed the man sitting where the chauffeur normally sits—*i.e.*, on the right. Fortunately this was not the chauffeur, but the General's interpreter; the former, on the left, pressed his foot on the accelerator and soon had the party out of danger, but I hope you can understand what a very narrow escape it was for the General. Immediately after the attempt, which took place on a road near the southern frontier of Syria, the murderers, who had come across from Trans-Jordania, galloped back to that country, where, of course, the French were unable to follow them.

From time to time, from 1921 onwards, there have been isolated armed raids into Syria by Arabs from across the Trans-Jordanian frontier, and also from time to time there have been vague attempts in Damascus at plotting and intriguing against the French authorities. Owing to the strength of the garrison which the French keep in Damascus and on the southern frontier the armed demonstrations, which occasionally cost the lives of French troops, do little to disturb the public security of the country. The other kind of demonstration in the city of Damascus or in the other Arab towns causes little harm to the French but much suffering to the demonstrators. Those who are caught are either imprisoned or exiled, those who are not caught generally bolt into one of the neighbouring British mandatory zones, and from there try to enlist the sympathies of the British public for what they imagine to be their righteous cause. It sometimes happens that the innocent get caught together with the guilty, but not very often, for such is the character of these Syrian agitators that immediately one of them sees trouble impending, to save his own skin he turns informer on his colleagues.

During 1923 and 1924 the Sultan of Nejd, Ibn Sa'ud, with his Wahabite followers, advanced north from Central Arabia and occupied

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the town of Jauf and from there appeared to be advancing and threatening both Syria and Trans-Jordania, as well as the nomadic Bedouin tribes of Southern Iraq. Ibn Sa'ud seems intent upon smashing the power of the Hedjaz and its Hashamite reigning family, at the head of which, as you all know, is, or was, the Shereef Hussein. The French are said to have wished to enter into negotiations with Ibn Sa'ud, as they had realized that this potentate exerts the strongest influence in Arabia to-day, and that he alone amongst the Arabs is capable of governing an Arab country or kingdom and defending its frontiers. He has shown himself superior to all his neighbouring rival kings and emirs, both as a statesman and as a military leader, and his followers are the one warlike tribe in the Arabian Peninsula.

Once more we must look back a little and see how things have been developing between the French and the Turks in the north of Syria since the evacuation of Cilicia and the carrying out of the other terms of the Angora Accord. The Turks, having won such a signal victory over the French, were not likely, being Turks, to rest contented with that. Many of them declared they would not rest from their endeavours until they had regained for Turkey the whole of the Ottoman Empire, as it was before the war in 1914. Mustafa Kemal pronounced publicly that the natural southern frontiers of Turkey should be, in Syria, the line of the Orontes river—that is to say, the important towns of Alexandretta and Aleppo should be returned to the Turks. Whether Mustafa Kemal is ever likely to succeed to this objective or not it is not my place here to offer an opinion, but from 1922 the Turks have made no effort to disguise their designs upon Aleppo and Alexandretta. Finding themselves for the moment without any legitimate excuse for open hostile operations against the French, they set about attaining their end by less direct methods, principally by organizing, financing, and supporting internal rebellion in Syria. By these rebellions it was hoped to embarrass the French authorities and to cause their troops so many casualties that once again public opinion in France would demand explanations in Parliament. In the resultant political confusion the Turk hoped to score again and to have the French Government's hands forced by French public opinion into ceding back still more territory to the Turk. Accordingly, in 1922, Kemalist agitators effected their entrance into Syria, and went about spreading anti-French propaganda in the cities and preaching revolt to the tribesmen in the mountains and in the desert. So great was their success that for the following eighteen months the French troops were kept constantly employed in conducting operations throughout the northern part of Syria, principally in the Ansarieh mountains, which, as I have already told you, are inhabited by men who make very good fighting material. In these mountains the French put forward

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tremendous efforts to stamp out the rebellion. Roads were constructed through the mountains and fortified posts were built. Some infantry units were organized into special mobile mounted-infantry columns. Gradually the opposition was overcome, but it was a long undertaking, full of anxious moments for the French commanders. However, by the end of 1922 Turkish designs had been defeated, the rebellion finally crushed, and many of the one-time rebels enlisted in the native forces being raised by the French. The change from military administration to civil government and its results I have already mentioned.

Another area which became for a time considerably disturbed was that part of the desert lying east and south-east of Aleppo. The Turks in Nissibin and other towns north of the new frontier sent emissaries into the territory known as the Jezireh, which is the area lying between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, south of the Baghdad railway. One of the principal sheikhs in this area was a certain Hachem Bey, who made repeated attacks upon the French posts in the Euphrates valley, as far south as Dier-Ez-Zor, and even in the area lying immediately east of Aleppo, to within a few miles of that city. At one time, with Hachem and his fellow Bedouin on the east and south of Aleppo, with the Ansarieh rebels on the west and south of Aleppo, and the Turks on the north, the authorities in that city were in a very awkward situation, but by dint of patience, of organization, and tremendous marching on the part of the French troops the country was gradually pacified and garrisons established in fortified posts throughout the disaffected areas.

Finding these efforts to regain Aleppo and Alexandretta did not succeed, the Turks in 1923 again turned their attention to more direct methods. Bands of irregular soldiers, supported by regular N.C.O.'s disguised as civilians, were organized and armed for the purpose of penetrating across the Syrian frontier and attacking French columns, patrols, and posts, wherever encountered. Raids were also carried out on any village or hamlet known to have offered shelter to the French, or to have supplied them with guides through the mountains. Repeated protests were made to Angora, who replied that these bands had no connection with the Turkish authorities, but that they were composed of discontented inhabitants of the French area who had crossed into Turkey. This was mere subterfuge, and by degrees the French were able to bring home to the Turks proofs of official complicity in these border raids. Eventually, in April of this year, an arrangement was come to between the French G.O.C. south of the frontier and the Turkish Vali of Aintab, north of the frontier, to put a stop to these incursions. Both sides agreed to arrest and hand over to the other any raiders apprehended in their respective zones. Nevertheless occasional frontier incidents continued to occur up to the time of my departure, in spite of the signature and ratification of the Treaty

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of Lausanne; but I notice that lately the Turks appear to be quietening down on the Syrian frontier, and turning their attention more to ourselves on the Iraq frontier, north of Mosul.

For almost a whole year after the signature of the Angora Accord, a Turkish Military Mission was established at Beyrout. Its ostensible object was to co-operate with French headquarters in the carrying out of the terms of that Accord, but I was quite certain at the time, and the French afterwards became equally certain, that this Military Mission was principally employed in spreading Turkish propaganda throughout Syria, Palestine, and even as far south as Egypt. The French, however, could not object to the presence of Muheddin Pasha and his colleagues in Beyrout as long as they kept a French liaison officer at Angora. This officer, Colonel Mougin, was the principal colleague of M. Franklin Bouillon during the negotiations for the Angora Accord, and having once realized how they had placed themselves in the hands of the Turk, it was only natural that they should wish to maintain an expert representative at the seat of the Turkish Government to keep them informed of what was going on there. After nearly twelve months Muheddin Pasha was recalled to Angora, and then sent off on a mission to Afghanistan.

An event which took place in 1923 should in the future have a far-reaching effect on the commercial and political development of Syria and Iraq. This is the discovery and development of the direct desert motor route from the Mediterranean to Baghdad. It is little more than a year since this newly-discovered route began to be developed seriously, but already there is a constant stream of passengers passing backwards and forwards between Beyrout and Baghdad, and even further afield to Persia and India. I will not enlarge here on the question of this new land route to the East, as I understand it is to form the subject of a separate lecture to be given under the auspices of this Society, but I think I am right in mentioning it here, for this new route provides a rapid and easy form of transport for the exchange of visits between officials and inhabitants of the two mandated territories, who will thereby come to know and understand each other better, thus fostering that cordial co-operation between the administrations of the two countries which is so necessary to their peaceful development.

The internal situation in Syria to-day is quite quiet, public security is very good, economies are being effected in the administration; roads and railways are being surveyed and constructed, and every possible endeavour made to bring back commercial prosperity to the country. This is the only way to make the people of Syria contented with their lot, if they can ever be contented. The same may be said of

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Palestine and Iraq. The question is how to bring about a revival of trade. My own personal belief is that so long as the present customs boundaries exist between Syria, Palestine, Trans-Jordania, and Iraq, there will never be any chance of commercial development, for you must remember that for centuries these areas formed a part of the Ottoman Empire in which trade went on from one district to another unhindered by any such fiscal measures as are now in force.

Of one thing I am certain, and that is as long as France and Great Britain remain charged by the League of Nations with their present mandates in the Middle East, difficulties will go on increasing unless French and British work loyally and frankly together in those countries. From a purely selfish point of view it would not be to the advantage of Great Britain to see France so embarrassed by her difficulties in Syria as to be compelled to evacuate that country. Without the protection of the large French army which is now maintained in Syria our position in Palestine and Trans-Jordania would be untenable and our situation in Iraq gravely endangered. In such case, with the Turk free to advance on Palestine and Trans-Jordania from the north and on Iraq from the west, we should either have to evacuate our mandated territories or else increase our present garrisons at enormous expense.

General de la Panouse said it was late and he would not detain the meeting very long. He had followed Major McCallum's lecture with very great interest and attention, and had been very pleased to hear the references to Generals Gouraud and Weygand. These were personal friends of his own, they had won great fame during the war, and he highly appreciated the tribute paid to them. The French had accepted the mandate in Syria because they had very old traditions there. It was for this reason that, at the time of the Picot-Sykes agreement, they had insisted on having some interest and some position in the country. He remembered a discussion he had himself had with Lord Kitchener, when Lord Kitchener had told him that the English wanted to have Alexandretta because it was a way to India. That was so, but the French could not give up their interests there, where they had many schools and great moral influence. He had followed with deep interest what Major McCallum had said about the French troops. The French troops had to encounter many difficulties; also there were relatively few of them in comparison with those that had belonged to Lord Allenby's army. As Major McCallum said, the French had to keep the country on the one side against the Emir Feisal and his supporters, and on the other side against the Turks, and he thought the French troops had done very well. The situation is now improving very much. The last time he had seen General Weygand, at Easter this year, the General told him that the

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economic situation was much better, and that he expected that during the next few years Syria would not cost very much to the budget of the French Government. "If these expectations are to be realized, it will do much good to the franc." (Laughter.) Now there was one thing he especially wished to say. Major McCallum had drawn attention to the necessity of French and British being united in the Middle East. That is quite true. According to the treaty they had made with Iraq, the British were bound to evacuate that country in about three years' time, and General Weygand was anxious as to what might happen if the British completely left Iraq and the French remained alone in Syria, surrounded by hostile people. The French are now at peace with the Turks, but how long was that situation to last? It would be for diplomacy, and perhaps for discussion at the League of Nations next year, to try and have some common arrangement to keep all those countries united and quiet.

Major McCallum mentioned the hard work the French troops had to do and the checks and reverses they had sustained. Of course it was a purely military question, but there were some soldiers present, and he (General de la Panouse) believed they would agree with him when he said that the checks were above all due to the smallness in numbers of the French troops. Perhaps it would have been better not to keep small garrisons very far from central reserves. General Gouraud had asked for reinforcements but could not get them, and that was why his garrisons were very small. But there was another reason for the French reverses. He (the speaker) knew that in some columns sent to relieve the besieged garrisons there was a certain number of officers and non-commissioned officers who had experience in trench warfare, but had none of warfare in wild countries where there were large desert spaces and often very narrow gorges, where surprises are easy. For this reason he thought that the British and French staffs who have to fight in the colonies must not be what might be called hypnotized by "trench warfare," but must train their troops, officers, and non-commissioned officers for the war of movement, not only for fighting on the European front but also for fighting in the Middle East and in Africa.

The CHAIRMAN: I will say one word to close the proceedings. I am sure we all feel very much pleasure that General de la Panouse has been good enough to give us his views on the paper. We have listened with great pleasure to his observations, and there is no more competent military authority. One cannot help, after listening to Major McCallum, having some sympathy with those inhabitants who still call the whole of that district Syria; because, owing to the numbers of changes in the boundaries, and the delimitations and the treaties, in four or five years I should have thought those different inhabitants would hardly know in whose jurisdiction or in what country they were living. I

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listened with very great interest as to the very complicated story of the political and military relations of the French with the Turks, with the Arabs on the east and with ourselves. I had some lingering feeling of sympathy with the Emir Feisal for falling a victim to his own extremists, because we have seen instances even further West of Governments who have not shown sufficient resistance to the insistent claims of the extremists of their own party. Possibly, in both cases, suffering to those who yielded may ensue. (Laughter.) I suppose we may possibly regard all this story which has been so clearly detailed to us by Major McCallum as closed by the Treaty of Lausanne. I say closed, although, as we know, one difficult question—the delimitation of the boundary of Mosul—is before the League of Nations, and we know with what patience in that country the Turks have been awaiting the decision of the League of Nations. I never regard, of course, any political question as being settled, either by the delimitation of Boundary Commissions or anything else, and I fully realize the anxiety displayed by General de la Panouse when he looks ahead as to what may happen in two or three years' time when we act upon our Anglo-Iraq treaty and remove our forces from that country. Much has been said, and sometimes criticism has been expressed in this country, as to the French method of administration in dependent countries, but I was very much struck in the lecture we have just heard by the very great flexibility that the French have shown in Syria in adapting their administrative and governmental methods to the very complicated religious and racial problems with which they are confronted, and we, with our knowledge of the management and government of persons belonging to different religions, can sympathize with their difficulties in dealing with Maronites, Druzes, Nestorians, and other religions, whose religious distinctions are not always fully appreciated by soldiers or administrators. But, lastly, I echo strongly the view expressed both by our lecturer and General de la Panouse of the necessity of the two great Powers, Great Britain and France, fellow mandatories under the League of Nations, acting together with complete co-ordination and sympathy in the control of those countries which they are administering together. (Applause.) In your name, if I may, I should like to congratulate our lecturer on having gathered so much interesting information in the four and a half years during which he has been liaison officer to two very distinguished French Generals, and on the way in which he has placed that accumulated experience at the disposal of the Central Asian Society. (Renewed applause.)

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on Friday, October 24, 1924, at the Royal United Service Institution, when, in the absence of Lord Peel, General Sir Edmund Barrow presided at a lecture by Lieut.-Colonel H. F. Jacob, C.S.I., on "The Yemen."

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first duty is the usual one of introducing to you the lecturer. His name, I have no doubt, is familiar to many of you, because the name of Jacob is associated in the minds of at least two generations of Anglo-Indians with Aden, or the Persian Gulf, or Sind, and I would add that Colonel Jacob has been intimately associated with Aden and its hinterland for over fifteen years. All that time he was at Aden either as Assistant Resident, or Acting Resident, and he also has had considerable acquaintance with the hinterland. During the war he served under Lord Allenby and one or two other high officials connected with the war. I will waste no time in speaking on the affairs of Arabia because we want to get on with the lecture.

THE YEMEN

COLONEL JACOB: My talk this afternoon will be mainly of the Yemen, that almost unknown Province in S.W. Arabia; but when I seem to stray from this quarter and to discuss the other Arab Provinces and their Rulers I trust you will bear with me, for, in truth, it were an error to omit to mention Arabia as a whole—the Jezirat al Arab, as it is called—whose several Rulers, liberated after the Great War from the grip of the Turk, are seeking to realize their ideals, each in his own peculiar way. They are all, to use the words of Walt Whitman, "forth-steppers from the latent unrealized baby-days." At the same time, I am no believer in the slogan of the "Confederated States of Arabia." The Prophet himself could hardly effect it. It is clean contrary to the Arab genius. The Koran recognized the Arab's independence, where it is written: "We (*i.e.*, Allah) have made you into tribes and families that *you may get to know one another*." That is all. The various "Kings" of Arabia are not likely to band together under one Sovereign King, not even if that one shall proclaim himself as Caliph. The spiritual Caliphate, many do believe, terminated with Ali bin Abi Talib. Thereafter we see various *temporal* Rulers. In India we do not look to see the various Princes owning allegiance to one Head. They are all in different degrees of alliance with the Paramount Power, and that Power, the

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British Government, is *in situ* and deals separately with each ruler. The problem is not, I admit, quite the same in Arabia. Here the Rulers are *Moslems* only, but the Arab is perhaps even more independent than the Indian, and certainly more conservative. However this may be, we do not *control* the various States in Arabia as we do in India. The Turks in Arabia *did*, but they were too wise to attempt an amalgamation.

The Yemen, as I have said, lies in the S.W. of the Arabian Peninsula. It comprises the Highlands and the Lowlands, or Tihama. The province of Asir, from, say, Kunfidha in the north to Al Habl in the south, with the up-country capital at Abha—at which place to-day the influence of Ibn Sa'ud is predominant—is really an adjunct of the Yemen. Even Aden is *geographically* a town in the Yemen, which further includes the Hadramaut to its east and north-east. *Politically* we have marked the limits of the Yemen to comprise the territories held by the Turks from 1873 to 1918. Before 1918 there was the Turkish Yemen, with its headquarters at Sana, and latterly its military headquarters at Ta'izz, the old home of the Rasuli Dynasty; Aden and vicinity formed the British Area, and finally came the Aden Hinterland, the boundaries of which with the Turkish territories were finally drawn by British and Turkish Commissioners between the years 1902 and 1904.

I will briefly sketch the origin of our Protectorate. When Captain Haines of the Indian Navy captured Aden on January 19, 1839, from the hands of the Sultan Mohsin of Lahej, he found a handful of up-country Rulers who exacted blackmail from that Sultan in the form of annual stipends paid to secure him from the harassment of brigandage and invasion. Haines shouldered these liabilities. Gradually other Sultans and Sheikhs sought our friendship and alliance, and further engagements were entered into as the times demanded. The Turks became very active on our northern sphere of influence in 1873, and our policy thenceforward was to make more and more engagements which were styled "Treaties of Protection." In reality, our doles, by which the alliances were sealed, were paid as a consideration for the preservation by the tribesmen of peace on the trade-routes. In this "protected" area we made it a rule to refrain from interference with tribal or Sultanly affairs. If a Ruler became unpopular with his people, these deposed him. Occasionally only we tested our rule by an exception, and supplied him with arms and ammunition to chastise or overawe the unruly ones, but as a general rule we contented ourselves with giving the Ruler advice, which he could take or neglect. Thus for many long years we have been expending thousands of rupees annually under the heading of stipends and presents, and we have kept open house in Aden in the shape of a

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Guest-House, where we entertain throughout the year the tribesmen and subjects of the stipendiaries, who are privileged to send recommendatory letters of introduction to secure the required hospitality. If a chief is in our "bad books" we curtail the number of these letters. Some few of the Rulers are entitled to a salute of guns when they enter Aden to see the Political Resident.

As you are doubtless aware, the Ruler of Aden is a General Officer of the Indian Army, who functions in the dual rôle of Resident and G.O.C. The Resident with his four Political Assistants carry out all the political, administrative and magisterial duties in the British zone. In latter years an officer of the Public Works Department of India has held charge of the Aden Settlement and the Port Trust, and a subordinate official of the Indian Police Force is in executive charge of the Police. The G.O.C. has, of course, his separate Brigade Staff.

There are in the Yemen three different creeds. The sect the least numerically strong is the Ismailiya or Fatimiya, whose *habitat* is in the vicinity of J. Haraz, near Menakha, which stands over 9,000 feet altitude on the road from Hodeida to Sana. The Ismailiya sect harks back to one Ismail, the younger son of the Imam Jafar al Sādik, the grandson of Ali Zain al Abidin, the son of Al Husein, himself the second son of the fourth Caliph Ali. The powerful tribesmen of the B. Yam, in the province of Nejran, to the east by north from Sana, are also of this faith. They are ruled over by the royal house of the Makārima. Nejran is twenty days' journey from Haraz. During the régime of the Turks the Ismailiya of J. Haraz sect were hostile to the Imam of Sana. Now they are under his survey and amenable to his rule. They hardly count in the hegemony of the Yemen. Their doctrines are akin to those of the "Assassins." The two principal religious persuasions are those of Shafa'i (Sunni) and Zeidi (Shi'a). The Imam of Sana is the head of the Zeidis, who live principally in the Highlands. The Shafa'i Sultans and tribesmen are found in the Lowlands of the "Turkish" Yemen, and the entire inhabitants of our Aden Protectorate are also Shafa'is only. There is not in the Yemen the distinct line of cleavage between Sunnis and Shi'as as we see it in India. The two sects will intermarry, enter the same mosque, and even, on occasion, change from one creed to the other. Owing to Aden's long connection with India, it has been the practice of that Government to look at Aden and Arabia through Indian spectacles. This tendency has warped their judgment when considering the occasional "fracas" between the Arabian Sunni and Shi'a creeds, and has given rise to a considerable amount of misunderstanding. I shall refer to this later on.

The Shafa'i (Sunni) sect accept the four immediate successors of the Prophet. The Zeidis give their allegiance to the fourth Caliph Ali and to his sons by Fatima, Al Hasan, and Al Husein; and they recognize

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Zeid, the descendant of Al Husein and the uncle of Imam Jafar Al Sādik, as founder of their house. As a matter of fact, the Imams of Sana have been descendants of both Al Hasan the elder, and also of Al Husein, the younger son of the fourth Caliph. The Imam to-day, Imam Yahya bin Muhammed, is of the stock of Al Hasan, as is the Sherif (now King) of the Hijaz, and also the Idrisi Saiyid of Sabia, in the Lowlands of the Asir Province.

Imam Yahya, the present Ruler of the Yemen, is an active, intelligent, and learned man, of an extremely amiable and jovial disposition. He is some fifty-five years of age, and has been reigning since 1904. He lately invited myself, with my friends Major A. D. Spiers and Dr. J. K. Reid, to his capital, where we remained as his guests for three months at the close of last year. He allotted us one of his palaces, both in Bir al Azab, the "west end" quarter of Sana, and prior to that for fifteen days, at the close of the grape season, at the suburb of Al Rauda, to Sana's north. We were fortunate to be the first Englishmen to make this trip under Arab auspices. Others have gone up from Hodeida to Sana, but only under the guidance of Turkish "ciceroni," and my good friend Wavell, who fell later in East Africa fighting gallantly against the Germans, was confined in Sana by the Turks for attempting an unauthorized trip to Marib. He travelled as a professing Moslem. Imam Yahya is very accessible. He moves daily, both on foot and in his carriage, throughout the town, chatting to all and sundry, receiving their written petitions and listening to their tales of woe. He employs a Cabinet to assist his deliberations, but is himself closely engaged in the oversight of every detail in his domains. He is in telegraphic communication from Sana with all his chief towns. He rises early, and with a short siesta at 2 p.m., works well into the night. After finishing his State duties he retires to his private apartments and reads the Arabian classics. His Arabic letters prove he is a master of style. He is slightly "close" in money matters, but markedly and deservedly popular with his tribesmen, by whom he is styled the "Amir al Muminin," or Commander of the Faithful. The Turks tried to make him drop this style, but he refused compliance, and his seal still bears the device. The Imam has a charming smile, and he is affability and *bonhomie* personified. He was loud in his admiration of the British, whom he prefers to all other European Powers. He often expressed to me his profound veneration for H.M. our King.

I would like here to prick the bubble of his alleged love of the Turk. No student of the Yemen's history and the chronicles of his house would dare perpetuate such a calumny. His father Muhammed and himself have ever stood out against Turkish domination. It is true that in 1911, and shortly before the outbreak of the Italo-Turkish war, he was induced as a true Moslem to bury the hatchet for the nonce

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and espouse the Turkish cause against the infidel; and a pact was made with the Turks through the agency of Izzat Pasha, thereafter the Grand Vizier in Istamboul. The pact stood for a period of ten years—*i.e.*, to 1921. This was the main reason why we could not draw the Imam Yahya into our net. Even if, after the conclusion of the peace between Italy and Turkey and during the Great War, he had tried to break away from the Turks, his success would have been impossible, for he was beset before and behind by a cordon of Turkish troops in Sana. Suffice it to say that he did not assist the Turks in the Great War, my chief witness for this assertion being General Ali Said Pasha, the Circassian General, who for three years opposed the Aden Field Force from Lahej, his headquarters. The Pasha, after his surrender to us in 1918 in terms of the Armistice, told me that while he did not like the Imam who had opposed the Turkish descent on Lahej, he was bound to admit that for integrity and honourable dealing he had not seen the like of the Imam Yahya in the entire province of the Yemen.

Now it was easy for King Husein, for the Idrisi, and for Ibn Sa'ud of Nejd to join up with us in the war. They were extremely accessible. Husein, too, had definite promises in writing, from the highest in authority, of preferment after the war. He was visited often at Jedda and other places by many Government officials. The Idrisi I was myself instrumental in winning to our side during the régime of General David Shaw, and in the days of his successor, Sir James Stewart, I made a second agreement with him in 1917 over the Farasan Islands in the Red Sea. In spite of his pact with the Turks, the letters received during the war from Imam Yahya proved his friendly feelings towards us. As I have said, he was neutral during the war, when he busied himself arranging his plan of campaign in the outlying districts that once owned Imamic sway, before the Turks returned to the Yemen in 1850. He foresaw the Turkish fall, and prophesied their declension after the war with Italy. He was bent on consolidating his domain-to-be.

The young Idrisi Saiyid Ali has lately succeeded my old friend, his father, the astute and sagacious Saiyid Muhammed, with whom our two treaties were concluded. The Idrisi's stock is akin to the Senusi "Tarika," and also to that of the "Mad Mullah" of Somaliland. I liked this Saiyid Ruler, who was an honourable man, and this opinion was shared and lately communicated to me in Sana by Imam Yahya. The Idrisi family are, as I have said, of the family of Al Hasan, the elder son of Ali and Fatima, but his forbears migrated years ago to Morocco. An ancestor, Saiyid Ahmed, returned to Mecca and wandered as a spiritual mendicant to Sabia, in the Asir province of the Yemen, where he died and is buried. Saiyid Muhammed, lately deceased, was educated at the Al Azhar University of Cairo. He was greatly revered in Sabia

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and district, but did not succeed in making his mark in the Asir province, owing to the superior and anterior claims there, and more particularly in the capital of Abha, of the Ashrāf of Mecca. The Idrisi's influence lay almost wholly in the Lowlands of Asir, in the inland towns of Sabia and Abu Arish, and at the coastal towns from Hali Point to Al Habl. Early in the Great War our Navy bombarded and took on his behalf the port of Kunfidha. The Sherif of Mecca objected, and, at the instance of the High Commissioner of Egypt, the R.N. removed the Idrisi warriors. The Idrisi was thereby aggrieved and sulked. By the gifts to him of guns, rifles, and ammunition galore, and also by monetary presents, he was induced to make some few half-hearted attacks on the Turks, but only with the initiative and under the cover of the guns of the R.N., and he had the loan of our military and political advisers. On the surrender to us of the Turks in the Asir in 1918, the Idrisi made a bid for the Asir country, but he could not attain to Abha, nor indeed to-day does his word carry into the fastnesses of the province. Baulked in that direction, and during my detention by Arab tribesmen at Bajil in 1919, when I was travelling as H.M.'s envoy to the Imam of Sana, the Idrisi began to encroach in a southerly and easterly direction, and on my release from Bajil, by measures I need not here recapitulate, he came into Bajil and entered the port of Hodeida. He has no legitimate claims to these regions, which he had not conquered from the Turks. He has himself admitted in a letter to the Aden Residency that "Hodeida is the key to Sana."

The Imam of Sana has, since the Armistice, been looking for a treaty with the British Government. A treaty is sought by him that he may the better gauge the feelings of our Government towards himself, and so ensure that no undue preference be given to his rival the Idrisi, with whom we have treaties. He also insists on the rendition to himself of his ancestral port of Hodeida. He is very anxious to open up his country to trade, but he feels he cannot succeed unless his relations with the Government are placed on a firm foundation. The country of the Imam is very fertile and populous. There are immense potentialities for trade. The population is from five to six millions. There is a monsoon of three months. The crops are superb, of wheat and millet principally. The coffee has a world-wide reputation, but the crops do not to-day yield what they did before the war. With the conclusion of a treaty of peace and goodwill, we shall see the prosperity of the Yemen and the consolidation of a one-man rule throughout the country.

I think we have ignored or forgotten the vicissitudes of the Yemen in the first half of the nineteenth century. Let me briefly rehearse them. It will illustrate the position to-day. In 1840 the Egyptians, with British connivance, were preparing to evacuate the Yemen, and

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Ibrahim Pasha had originally agreed to hand over the coastal towns of the Yemen to the then Sherif of Mecca, but Sherif Husein bin Ali, of the Ashrāf family of Abu Arish, disputed possession, and in alliance with the B. Asir of Abha seized Hodeida. So the Pasha confirmed the possession of Sherif Husein bin Ali, in consideration of an annual tribute of 90,000 German crowns. The province of Asir had once belonged to the Imams of Sana, whose slaves had ruled there as Governors. In an evil hour an Imam had substituted the local Ashrāf as his deputies, and these had assumed independent control. This Sherif Husein bin Ali practised every kind of enormity in the Tihama towns, and his exactions were levelled against the British subjects of Mokha. He also wrote an insolent letter to the Governor of Bombay, demanding the immediate evacuation of Aden. Our Embassy at Constantinople protesting, a Turkish Commissioner was sent to remove Sherif Husein. Husein naïvely referred the Commissioner to the hereditary right here of the Imams of Sana! The Turk was given a large *douceur* by Husein and allowed to continue in office. In 1847 this Turk returned to present to Husein the Turkish insignia of office. Our Embassy at Constantinople thereupon wrote to Palmerston that the Grand Vizier was profoundly satisfied at the Yemen's submission to the Porte! It was the line of least resistance on which the Porte, in its weakness, had embarked. This division of the Yemen by the Porte was the harbinger of the subsequent ill-feeling between the Turks and the Imam of Sana, and although in 1849 the Ashrāf of Abu Arish were ousted from the Yemen Lowlands, their place was taken by the Turks themselves. The present Idrisi family came to Sabia in 1907. The Turks discovered in 1911 the ill effects of their policy in allowing the presence of two Rulers in the Yemen. It was then too late, and the Idrisi Muhammed, bought with Italian gold, allied himself with the Italians in the war of 1911-12. So we see our Foreign Office in 1840 first backing the Turks to oust the Egyptians of Muhammed Ali's régime; then in 1847 conniving at the substitution, by the Porte, of Sherif Husein of Abu Arish as a rival to the Imam of Sana; and finally, in 1919, permitting the Idrisi Ruler of Sabia and Abu Arish to come down from this his legitimate area to Hodeida, the chief port and key to Sana. There has lately, I have said, succeeded to the throne of Sabia a young Idrisi Ruler. If only he could be induced to approach the Imam Yahya, some *rapprochement* might be possible. In the Great War we could hope for nothing better than the operation of each Ruler in his own sphere. To-day our policy seems directed towards keeping them apart! The Idrisi has already conflicting claims to his north with the King of the Hijaz, and it is surely unwise to have embittered his relations with Yahya down south. It is certainly not a knowledge of the Yemen's history that has prompted our present-day policy in S.W. Arabia! Beginning with the days of Captain Haines,

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the Imam has often approached us in Aden for an engagement, but our policy of standing aloof from the interior withstood his every offer. Now is the day of salvation.

It has been said that Imam Yahya, whose policy of "Irredentism" is akin to that of Signor Mussolini, cannot curb his Shafa'i subjects; but the whole Yemen was once his forbears' domain, and, in Shafa'i tracts, the Imams were wont to appoint Shafa'i governors. Imam Yahya is a shrewd man, and would do so to-day. The Shafa'is of our Protectorate would quickly join up with a strong Zeidi Ruler *if we ceased to pay them doles.* With the obliteration of the boundary-line between ourselves and the Turks, as drawn in 1902–1904, there seems to be little philosophy in separating Arab from Arab. It is the doles that cause this separation. A strong Arab Ruler, whose sway secures to-day far greater tranquillity on the trade-routes than ever the Turkish régime was able to give—and this our Aden merchants of all creeds readily confess is the case—a strong Arab Ruler, I say, would speedily effect a consolidation of Shafa'is and Zeidis by letting each sect follow its own tenets, and not only would the Yemen be territorially under one Arab administration, but our exchequer would be saved an enormous annual expenditure, and, indeed, to-day we derive no tangible return for our monetary outlay. Best of all, we should be on friendly terms with the interior, and trade would follow in leaps and bounds. Remember, the Arab loves not us but our doles. I would, however, retain a small buffer State between us and Imam Yahya.

As to the vexed question of the "Kings" of Arabia. Husein of the Hijaz was maligned for adopting the style of "King of the Arabs." All the Arab Rulers think themselves Kings. "Malik" is just a Ruler. Husein, or now his successor, Ali; Ibn Sa'ud of Nejd; the Imam of Sana; and the Idrisi Saiyid of Sabia, are all "Kings of the Arabs," and each can use the style without offence to the others. The words "Malik al Arab" do not mean *the sole* King of the Arabs, but "a" King. There is a noteworthy precedent for this style. The Da'i Imrān bin Muhammed of the Zurayite Dynasty (A.H. 548–560) adopted the designation of "the unparagoned among the Kings of the Age, King of the Arabs and of the Yemen"; and so King Husein could properly subscribe himself as "Malik al Arab" and also of the Hijaz. The LXX version of the 72nd Psalm phrases it "Kings of the Arabs and of Saba shall bring gifts."

I think in the Great War we did put too much money on King Husein. To adopt racing parlance, it had been better to have put our money on "both ways." The first Arab Ruler to join our ranks was the Idrisi in April, 1915. Then came Ibn Sa'ud of Nejd, and thirdly, Husein of the Hijaz. I do not belittle the services to us of "Husein et fils." We, on our part, gave him gold galore, and manifold promises to mature after the war. We lent him the services of Lawrence and

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his able coadjutors, and, best of all, we gave him the victorious march of Lord Allenby to Jerusalem and Damascus. Our fault lay, if I may say so, in discounting the value to us of the *other* Arab Rulers, and believing that Husein would become their acclaimed leader and suzerain. This was manifestly impossible. Ibn Sa'ud's advance to-day on Mecca is the result of this undue favouritism, and also of Amir Abdullah's wanton seduction, during the war, of tribes on the Nejd border, for which purpose he used a quota of the sums given monthly by us to Husein, his father, to fight the Turks. We belittled Ibn Sa'ud, and so he to-day turns to rend his adversary. It is, however, criminal to have to-day dropped Husein, whatever his faults, and to have allowed the hordes of iconoclast "Ikhwān" to enter the sacred city, as they did once before in 1804. We could not, of course, have helped Husein to oust Ibn Sa'ud. That would only have accentuated the bad blood already existing between them. We might, however, have advanced to make a *rapprochement*, and have precluded the charge by the Moslem world of failing to stave off the chaotic conditions now prevailing. There is yet another result that bodes us no good—and that is that the other Arab Rulers will ponder and wonder at the nonchalance that one day raises an Arab friend to such high prominence, and on the next permits his total eclipse. Emerson said of Napoleon, "He sees where the matter hinges." When we to-day look at our Arab programme in execution we must note its non-realization. We must feel, as did the eighteenth-century Madame Geoffrin, who, speaking of her daughter, so dissimilar to herself, said: "When I look at her, I feel like a hen that has hatched a duck's egg." We should act the foster-parent to the Arab nation whose cause we had espoused. All are Moslems; all seek our friendship; all craned their necks to welcome the Turkish dissolution, when they might start their advance under our star. Let us recognize their individuality, and help each to "cultivate his own garden."

Before finishing this perhaps somewhat arid discourse, and then exhibiting a few slides of places in the Imam's dominion, may I be permitted shortly to detail the present, and potential, assets lying at our disposal in Aden, which do make independently for the prosperity and advancement of the Yemen. First, we have the admirable Keith-Falconer Mission at Sheikh Othman, ten miles from Aden, conducted by that veteran leader the Rev. Dr. John Cameron Young, aided by his assistants Dr. Turnbull and the Rev. J. Robson. Many thousands of Arabs come annually to be treated and then return to their homes, to places all over Arabia, to belaud the British name. I place this institution as our premier *political* asset. I do not forget, however, our own benign, just, and impartial rule in Aden, which is the admiration of the whole countryside. We owe, too, more than I can adequately express to the British soldier. Quiet, unobtrusive "Tommy Atkins"

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and his officers, by their sporting predilections, have won the hearts of Aden's population. An admirable article in the *Field* defined pastime as being "besides the Esperanto of peoples, as perhaps the true League of Nations." Had I started a golf-course at Sana and enrolled Imam Yahya and his white-turbaned Saiyids as life-members of the "Royal and Primitive Sana Golf Club," I believe I should have hastened the conclusion of the much delayed treaty! Robert Louis Stevenson, too, has written these pregnant words: "What religion unites people so closely as a common sport?"

I now pass to the 1st Yemen Infantry, a development in 1918 of the wartime Arab Labour Corps. Colonel M. C. Lake, who raised the regiment, is its zealous Colonel, and the Corps is doing a grand work as an advertiser of British methods. These Arab soldiers take readily to military discipline and are charged full of "esprit de corps." The Italians recruited largely from this same field during their warfare against the Turks in Tripoli, and a Colonel of theirs told me their fire-discipline was superior to that of their Abyssinian levies. We can go one better, I believe, than the Italians. The men are recruited from places all over the Yemen. Every British officer in the regiment—and my son is one of them—is a potential political officer. The 1st Yemen Infantry is a strong political asset to us, who in 1907 marched down from our headquarters in Dala and so lost that personal touch so necessary in Oriental affairs. I hear rumours of the Corps' disbandment. I can conceive no more suicidal policy. Reverting to sports—the men play a strong game of "soccer" football, and I should like to match them against one of our 3rd Division League teams.

There are certain "lacunæ" in our Aden propaganda. There is no college for the training of the young Arab chiefs, as we have in India. Early marriage and the devotion to "kat leaf" is sapping the energies of the youth. A college on the Khor Maksar plain of Aden is essential. Here the youths would be taught English and Arabic; trained in the Koran and their own classical literature. They would learn polo and other manly games. The Italians have already adopted this form of propaganda. I admire the Italians in many ways.

Again, the Aden Railway, a wartime strategic line, that runs thirty-four miles from Aden to Habil, eight miles north of Lahej, might be extended as a *commercial* proposition. This would treble our trade. At present the railway hardly pays. A treaty with the Imam would ensure its extension, and he would in that case be pleased to grant us a sanatorium in the vicinity of Ta'izz, or even at Ibb. I learnt this during my stay in Sana. Lord Morley's "sun-baked officials" in Aden require a change of scenery.

Another missing link is the absence of Boy Scouts. Somalis and Arabs would readily join the ranks. I believe in an intensive as against an extensive policy in Aden; or, to adopt the words of the

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old-time Chinese philosopher Lao Tzu, we want "production without possession, action without self-assertion, development without domination."

To ensure the success of our aims a good understanding with the Imam is essential. Solid alliances are based upon real interests. As Gustave Vapereau once said: "Misunderstandings divide mankind more deeply than disagreements," and to use an illustration from the late Anatole France's Bee, I would re-echo the reply of the dwarf Tad to Bee, who had said, "Little men, it is a pity you are so ugly!"—"You will consider us less ugly, Miss, when you like us better." Apply this adage to the Imam Yahya, the strong man of the Yemen.

Now for a rapid succession of slides, if your patience is not exhausted. I do not exhibit any of our own Protectorate, for time is short, and I think pictures of the Imam's territories will prove more interesting, as they are also more recent.

Commander CRAUFURD: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure that my first duty is to thank Colonel Jacob for the very interesting lecture he has given to us. I think that few of the people here can realize what a large number of years Colonel Jacob aimed at his trip to Sana.

I cannot guess myself, because I have never asked him about the matter and he has never told me; but I have a very good inkling that this lecture is the fruition of about nineteen years of work on Colonel Jacob's part. It is very difficult for us to realize what a lot of good, both directly and indirectly, Colonel Jacob's trip will do.

Personality is the great thing that counts in Arabia, as elsewhere in the world. Colonel Jacob by his personal influence imported British brains into Sana, to see the Imam, one of the most influential rulers of Southern Arabia. I think it is of extreme importance that the rulers of Southern Arabia, and, indeed, of all Arabia, should get into touch with real British brains. Owing to Colonel Jacob's work they have been able to do so. I should like to break a small lance with him; he has said that he hopes somebody will get up and call him a liar. I cannot do that, but I should like to have a slight dispute as regards the boundaries that he told us about when he started. I do not think it is our place to interfere with Arabian boundaries. To begin with, Arabs don't keep to them. There are a lot of Bedou tribes wandering about and so on; and they don't keep to boundaries. It is acknowledged now, I take it, that our Boundary Commission was not very much use. It is not our place. Arabia belongs to the Arabs. Is it our place to interfere and to give to the Imam one place, and to the Idrissi another place, and so on? I think we ought to leave that sort of thing alone. That is a suggestion I make.

Of course, it is unfortunate that the Imam of Yemen has not got a proper sea outlet, and Hodeida seems historically to have belonged to

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the Imam of Yemen. Now he is not holding Hodeida, and he has not got a proper sea outlet. I am myself an ex-seaman, and have had ample opportunities of knowing the coast of Yemen and other parts of Arabia. I think that difficulty (over which the Imam of Yemen is now hung up) of not having a proper sea outlet to his wonderfully wealthy country could easily be repaired. It is most unfortunate that we make all sorts of endeavours in other ways to please the Arabs but fail in our opportunities to do so, whereas with a little personal knowledge we could assist them very much. I am speaking as a seaman. There are at least two very good ports for outlet to Yemen trade. One of them is the ancient port of Mocha. If there are any seamen here they will say, of course, that Mocha is no longer a good seaport. But it can be made into one.

I was very glad to hear Colonel Jacob say that if he could help, Mocha was going to be developed; in my opinion it should be developed. Another port is Al Khokha.

Colonel Jacob told us a little bit about the Yemen Light Infantry; well, I think he painted things rather lightly. I think that the Yemen Light Infantry is of supreme importance to the British, and I only hope that people will realize the real importance of the Yemen Light Infantry, that brings a personal touch to the Arabs instead of too much of this confounded paper work that goes on and trips things up.

Another thing Colonel Jacob told us of was some of the improvements we could carry out in our own port of Aden. I think those suggestions were very interesting, but I should like to add another suggestion. We have held Aden about eighty years, so far as I know. The extraordinary thing is that we have no hospital to which the Arab women of the interior can come. We have not supported the Arabs to the slightest extent in that matter. People may say that they can go to the Keith-Falconer hospital—which is, of course, a private enterprise, not a Government enterprise at all—but as everybody who knows the Middle East will realize, it would be extremely difficult for an Arab woman to go to a hospital that is attended by men and is almost essentially a man's hospital. It is rather extraordinary that we have held this place for eighty years and have done so little for the people. In almost every civilized community the first thing we do is to give first aid to the sick!

I do not want to touch on lugubrious subjects, so I will end my short remarks by telling you that Colonel Jacob gave you a little fable which is, as a matter of fact, perfectly true. He said that when you go to the eastern end of Socotra the women are said to be very beautiful and you have to avert your eyes. I have been there, and I know that you have to avert your eyes, because the women throw stones at you, and they are awfully good shots! (Laughter and applause.)

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Major SPIERS: General Barrow, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Colonel Jacob in giving us his interesting discourse told us an anecdote about someone eating grapes. I am the culprit. (Laughter.) I think it is best to be quite candid: some of them have gone sour and are going to react on the Colonel's own head; but to be serious, what I would like to point out is that whilst we are indebted to Colonel Jacob for telling us some very interesting things about Arabia, due to his modesty there is one thing he has not told us—the fact that the journey we made was entirely under Arab auspices, and it should be elaborated on. Several other journeys have been made into the Yemen, but never such a journey as ours, entirely under Arab auspices and without any British personnel other than ourselves—three Britons. It is a remarkable tribute to Colonel Jacob's influence in that part of the world, and a thing we should everyone be extremely proud of. (Applause.) I never felt so proud in my life of being a Britisher as when I travelled at Colonel Jacob's side in these unknown parts of the world. It was wonderful the way the people came down to see us, and "Gekab," the name by which Colonel Jacob is known in the Yemen, is a household word there. The British Empire to Yemen Arabs is visualized through the personality of Colonel Jacob. You all know the great Britishers there are in history—men like Livingstone and so on—but in his particular sphere Colonel Jacob's influence is every bit as great. I would like to turn on to one or two small matters touched on in the lecture. The Colonel showed us a motor road in his slides. Without a word of explanation it might leave a wrong impression. There is no motor transport whatever in the Yemen, although there is a section of motor road. A motor-car, a Ford, was given by the British Government to the Imam as a present shortly after the war. The roads were all unsuitable for motor traffic, but a small length of motor road was made. Of course it was altogether uneconomical, many thousands of pounds being spent to make a road to run one Ford on, and that not much used. All the transport in the Yemen is extraordinarily primitive—there are only tracks and camels. That brings us down to the modern railway which we presented to the Imam. He was immensely pleased, taking an extraordinarily keen and intelligent interest and asking innumerable questions. I had the job of explaining the speeds and so on of a railway. I found it difficult, because he had no idea of our weights and measures, and my Arabic was so bad I could not go into detail. I had to liken it to something he knew, and talked in camel loads. The mountain camel takes a load of about the fifth part of a ton, so that a standard ten-ton railway truck is equivalent to fifty camel loads. In one goods train of fifty trucks there is the equivalent of 2,500 camels. That is the way we had to talk. He was extremely interested to learn that it might be possible to perform the journey from Sana to Aden in ten hours, whereas camel transport

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carrying produce would take fourteen days. The Imam was much interested in flying and asked various questions. He was astonished to learn that it would be possible to fly from Aden to Sana (170 miles in a direct line) in an hour. That impressed him immensely. This brings up questions of communications, and I would like to touch on something Commander Craufurd said. The chief difficulty of the Yemen is that it is a country of stupendous possibilities—Colonel Jacob has told of its potentialities—of vast areas of highly fertile land, of a gigantic population and good climatic conditions, but with one let and hindrance—you have a wonderful market but no door to get the produce out of. Commander Craufurd said there are other ports, and the first he mentioned was Mocha. Mocha may be redeveloped, but it is 120 miles further from Sana than Hodeida, over a particularly bad country, and it would not be a commercially sound thing to develop that port if it were possible to develop one at Hodeida. The other port is a possibility. We have detailed reports which have been carefully considered; but it is a question of enormous expenditure relatively. The salient point is that the Imam is labouring under a sense of injustice—British injustice! It has either got to be cleared up or removed. He believes somehow or other that a mistake in policy has been made. Quite apart from the fact that there are other ports, the problem has got to be solved as to whether he is right or wrong; and if he is right in his contention I think the result is assured. There are other questions in defining of boundaries. By all means leave it to the Arabs to define their own boundaries; it is not our province. One word on the question of conflicting interests. The Yemen is a vast country, and in a vast country there is room for plenty of interests. The great thing is that they all work in and dovetail together, and are not hostile to one another. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: There is nothing more to be done but to pass a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his most interesting lecture, but before doing so I will just make a few remarks which have occurred to me during its course. Many of us have passed Aden, and when we have seen that cinder-heap and the arid coasts of Arabia, we have wondered why any people should call it "Arabia Felix." It certainly would seem to be a most unsuitable title when seen from the sea, and I remember on my first voyage thinking that it must have been a sarcastic name for Arabia; but as a matter of fact the Romans who gave it the name of Arabia Felix were perfectly right; because when you get away from the coast, up among the mountains at the southern end of the peninsula of Arabia, you get a delightful climate and a very productive country. That is now well known, and the lecturer has told us something about it. It is a very important point to remember, that Arabia Felix was really considered a happy country in those days—in fact the Queen of Sheba would never have gone back to it if it had not been. The next

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remark I wanted to make was with reference to the railways. I believe the railway has been made from Aden to a point eight miles beyond Lahej. I want to ask if it cannot be carried further?

The LECTURER: It cannot be carried further unless you come to terms with the Imam. All the territory vacated by the Turks is now occupied by the Imam.

The CHAIRMAN: There are no physical difficulties?

The LECTURER: No.

The CHAIRMAN: The third point was with regard to the sanatorium. I know something of Aden; I have had to go there to inspect once or twice, and I spent a miserable month there once on a sick bed, so I know from experience what a blessing a sanatorium for Aden would be to the troops and officers condemned to serve there. I believe if the Unionist Government had only remained in power at the beginning of this century, that possibly a good health resort might have been started; but unfortunately, as the lecturer told us, Lord Morley decided that we were not to stay there, and consequently nothing more was done. I see I noted down the word "Mocha." Most of you have heard of Mocha coffee. Well, Mocha coffee mostly comes from India. That is a fact. I remember once at Aden noticing a lot of coffee being unladen, and I said to my host, "Why don't you buy Mocha coffee here instead of getting Indian coffee?" He replied, "They have not got enough Mocha coffee to sell to us, and it is expensive to send it down on camels, so Indian coffee comes to Aden and is there labelled 'Mocha.' It goes on to London, and you drink it as Mocha coffee." I have also written down the word "Kat." The lecturer has told us about Kat; I have never been able to make out whether Kat is an intoxicant?

The LECTURER: Certainly it is an intoxicant; I have seen people absolutely drunk on it.

The CHAIRMAN: It is only a matter of curiosity, I have no intention of taking Kat. (Laughter.) I have also noted down, "Women and Socotra." I was going to make some remarks about that, but Commander Craufurd has forestalled me. (Laughter.) Finally, I should like to express my own personal feelings as regards the lecturer and the lecture. When I was coming here I was asked by a lady whether it would not be a dry subject, for she said that was her idea of Arabia. I said, "No doubt it seems to us a very dry subject; but I am perfectly sure that Colonel Jacob will make it a very interesting one." In that matter I think I have been a true prophet. (Applause.) I personally found it an extremely interesting lecture. I learned a great deal, and I am sure you all have done so. (Hear, hear.) I only wish that in this country the propaganda arrangements of the Central Asian Society were better managed, and that we might instruct our fellow-countrymen as to our great interests in Aden and Arabia, which have been so vividly put before you by the lecturer. (Applause.) I

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will now proceed with the formal duty of proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his very entertaining lecture, the humorous way in which he showed us the slides, and the great amount of information we have all acquired. (Applause.) I am sure I need ask no one in particular to second that motion, because I am sure everyone here will do so.

The vote of thanks was carried by a round of applause.

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on Friday, November 14, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., Colonel Sir Charles Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., presiding, when a lecture was delivered by Major D. McCallum (late British Liaison Officer in Syria) on "The Discovery and Development of the New Land Route to the East."

The CHAIRMAN: I will first ask our Secretary to announce the number of new members that have just been elected.

The HON. SECRETARY (Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton, K.C.B. K.C.I.E.): Ladies and Gentlemen,—Eight new members have been added to our number since the last meeting, bringing our membership now to 809. (Applause.) We shall welcome further additions, and hope that to-day's lecture will attract some more.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sorry to say our Chairman, Lord Peel, has not been able to come to-day, and I have been asked to take the chair in his place. I have now to introduce to you our lecturer, Major McCallum. Major McCallum, I believe, belongs to a Yorkshire Regiment ——

The LECTURER: The East Yorkshire Regiment.

The CHAIRMAN: The old Fifteenth. He was in the Cameroons during the war, and subsequently was on the staff in Berlin. Further, he was sent at the end of 1919 to Syria as a British liaison officer, and he held that position till June of this year; so that he is fresh from the scene of what he is going to describe to us to-day. He gave us a most interesting lecture on the French in Syria about a month ago, and we shall, I think, have another interesting lecture from him to-day. He was the man, as you will see from his lecture, who made the first journey across the desert, which has now become the regular motor route between Beirut and Baghdad. He was one of the pioneers of that movement, we may say, which has now been carried out by the Nairn Brothers so successfully, as he will tell us. So you see, ladies and gentlemen, that we have a real authority before us, and I now ask him to give us his lecture.

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THE DISCOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW LAND ROUTE TO THE EAST

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

You probably all know that prior to the opening of the Suez Canal one of the principal trade routes to the East passed from Syria across the desert by camel-caravan to Baghdad, and thence to Persia or India via the Persian Gulf. The cutting of the Suez Canal practically killed the land route across the Syrian Desert.

A little over two years ago, Mr. C. E. S. Palmer, then His Majesty's Consul in Damascus, began making enquiries and investigations with a view to finding a quick route from Damascus to Baghdad over which mechanically-propelled vehicles could cross the desert. From various shooting expeditions into the desert it was known that, for part of the way at any rate, this Syrian Desert was feasible for light motor transport. The question to be solved was whether it were possible to cross the desert from west to east by motor-car. In the course of his investigations, Mr. Palmer made the acquaintance of a certain wealthy Baghdad merchant, by name Mahommed Ibn Bassam, then living and trading between Damascus and Baghdad. Ibn Bassam, a very well-known personality all over Arabia, is imbued with very friendly feelings towards Great Britain. This, not as a result of any financial advantage obtained from the British Government, as is the case with most other Arabian personalities, but because at one time in his long life he was rescued from certain death by a well-known British traveller in Arabia, I believe it was Doughty. At the end of 1922, and the beginning of 1923, Ibn Bassam was running a contraband trade in gold between Syria and Iraq; he, in partnership with a Syrian, was buying up as much gold as possible in Damascus, and transporting it to Baghdad, where he sold it again at a considerable profit. After a few journeys by camel with this contraband, Ibn Bassam conceived the idea of employing motor-cars for the transport across the desert, and, in the first two months of 1923, made one or two successful journeys by car. These first crossings were made from Damascus to Deir-ez-Zor on the Euphrates, and thence down that river to Felujah, and on to Baghdad. It is quite obvious that the owners, owing to the precious nature of the cargo to be transported, should seek to arrive in Baghdad by the least possible frequented route. During his conversations with Mr. Palmer, Ibn Bassam stated his belief that it would be possible to drive direct from Damascus to Iraq without touching any habitations nearer to Syria than Ramadi, which is on the Euphrates, some seventy miles west of Baghdad, and in an almost direct east and west line with Damascus and Baghdad. Ibn Bassam invited Mr. Palmer to accompany

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him in making the attempt, which he intended to do as soon as the rains would allow. Mr. Palmer suggested that it would be safer to explore with two or more vehicles rather than with one, and therefore proposed that I should accompany him in my car. The necessary Foreign Office and Air Ministry sanctions for the journey were obtained, and I was instructed to make a detailed report on the reconnaissance.

Shortly after the termination of Lord Allenby's operations against the Turks in Syria, at the end of the Great War, various attempts were made to motor over the Syrian Desert. Lord Allenby paid a visit to Palmyra, some 150 miles into the desert north-east from Damascus, in Rolls-Royce cars, escorted by armoured cars of the same make. In 1919 an attempt was made to send a convoy of ten Ford cars across to Mesopotamia from Syria. I believe I am right in saying that only four of the Fords actually arrived, via Deir-ez-Zor; the other six broke down and had to be abandoned in the desert (one of these derelict Fords has now become a well-known landmark on the present-day direct route to Baghdad, known to all the drivers as "The Ford Chassis." It lies about eighty miles east of Damascus). This desert has been crossed by several Europeans before and after the war by camel, horse, or carriage, so that I do not want you to believe that we are claiming to be the original Europeans to cross the desert direct from Damascus to Baghdad—such well-known names as Miss Gertrude Bell and Colonel Leachmen being long since inscribed on the map of that part of the world.

In accordance with Haji Mahommed Ibn Bassam's suggestions, and our instructions from our own Government, Mr. Palmer and I made all the necessary preparations to attempt the direct crossing towards the end of March, 1923, or during the first few days of April. While we were waiting for the weather to clear to enable us to start, a convoy of one C.M.G. light motor lorry and a Dodge touring car arrived in Damascus from Baghdad, having made the first actual direct crossing. These vehicles were driven by two of Ibn Bassam's men, and amongst their passengers were the first two Europeans to make the crossing: Mr. Drury, of the Public Works Department of the Iraq Government, and Monsieur Maigret, the French Consul in Baghdad. They had succeeded in crossing the desert and reported the route feasible for light motor traffic. After a few days' stay in Syria, Mr. Drury set off back to Baghdad with the C.M.G. truck laden with a particular piece of machinery required by the Iraq Government, while Monsieur Maigret returned via Aleppo and the Euphrates valley.

It should be remembered that in making our calculations for the journey, we were allowing for as heavy a rainfall in the desert as obtains between Damascus and the Mediterranean coast, and it was thought that we would have to wait several days after the heavy rains

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there experienced had subsided. As a matter of fact, we were all wrong in our calculations, and we afterwards found out that there had been no rain in the desert for three or four weeks. The rainfall in the desert is much lighter than in the inhabited parts of Syria, and much more irregular. When Major Holt was surveying the land route for the Air Mail from Cairo to Baghdad in 1921, he experienced heavy rain as late as May, whereas in 1923 there was no rain after February. But since the opening of this direct desert motor route it has been found that the rainfall experienced in the desert is not sufficiently heavy seriously to impede the mail traffic for more than a few hours: as soon as a rain-storm passes over, the strong prevailing winds of the desert dry the surface sufficiently for the cars to proceed. While speaking of surface, I want you to understand that this Syrian desert is not a mass of sand dunes such as one finds in the Sinai desert. It would be better described as "barren steppe land," the surface of which is quite hard in dry weather, but churned up into mud in wet weather. There are some forty miles of rather soft surface to be traversed just west of Ramadi, but it is not sand-dune country; it is merely soft calcareous soil, which gives way in places under the weight of the cars.

On April 2, 1923, we set out on the first official reconnaissance of the direct cross-desert route. The convoy consisted of three cars—one a Lancia, a high-powered, heavy Italian car, one a Buick six-cylinder 27 horse-power ordinary touring car, and one an eight-cylinder Oldsmobile of similar horse-power. These two latter, as you know, are of American manufacture. It was not considered advisable to take my Vauxhall car, an army one which had seen much service since 1914, as it was too heavy, and hardly reliable enough for the difficulties that we expected to have to contend with. We left Damascus shortly after dawn, and had made some 216 miles before halting for the night. Naturally, we had to proceed cautiously, not knowing what lay ahead of us, but we were astonished to find the going so easy. Just before nightfall on the first day the leading car, the Lancia, had an accident, which very nearly caused us to abandon it in the middle of the desert. Running along in the dusk, the Beduin guide had lost his way, with the result that without any warning we suddenly ran into a wadi (a dried-up watercourse) with rather steep sides. As the Lancia came up to the edge of the wadi, its sump-casing struck a rock lying in its path, which tore a hole some 4 inches square in the bottom of the sump-casing. Fortunately, the rock did not remain embedded in the ground, but gave way with the blow. Had it not done so there is no doubt that it would have completely smashed the Lancia engine. You can understand the gravity of such an accident. We thought the damage was beyond repair, and that we should have to abandon the Lancia in the desert, as we knew we had still more than 300 miles of

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unknown desert to cross, and we felt that we should only be risking the safety of the rest of the party if we attempted to tow such a heavy car with either or both of the remaining ones. Fortunately, we had in the party a man, of whom I will speak again later, who refused to be beaten by the circumstances, and who eventually effected a triumphant temporary repair of the damage, which enabled the Lancia to continue the journey, albeit very cautiously.

During the second day's run we had the satisfaction of finding the "air-furrow." This is the line that has been ploughed across the desert by the Royal Air Force from Amman in Trans-Jordania to Baghdad, to guide the pilots of the Cairo-Baghdad Air Mail machines. Once on this route we felt we were not quite so isolated from all help and succour, and we hoped that even in the event of any further serious accident we should be able, with the aid of our reserve supplies, to last out until the next Air Mail was due to fly over us. As the Air Mail goes every fortnight, we knew that we could not have longer than that to wait for help. Once on the Air Mail route we pushed along as quickly as possible, stopping every now and again to examine the damaged Lancia. By sundown that day we reached a spot some 150 miles west of Ramadi, and again camped for the night, having decided to risk no further running in the dark. In the course of that afternoon we had passed through the southernmost limit of the encampment of a sub-section of the Anezeh tribe of Beduin Arabs, and encountered many of their flocks wandering over the desert. Knowing the Arabs' proclivity for light-fingeredness, we determined to push on until we were many miles away from any human being before we camped for the night. But even then I thought that it would be better for us to take turns to keep watch all through the night. This we did each night we spent in the desert, both on the outward and return journeys, as we knew by experience in Syria how easy it is to be surprised in the desert by the Beduin, and what poor chance of defence one has when caught unawares.

I should say that included in the party making the crossing, besides Mr. Palmer and myself, there were: Mahommed Ibn Bassam, who was more or less our host; a Beduin guide supplied by him; Mr. Lovell, Chief Engineer of the Nairn Transport Company, from whom the two American cars had been hired; and another Britisher, always known as Fred, who drove the Buick car. The other two cars were driven by natives. We had with us three rifles, two "scatter"-guns, and three or four revolvers, with which we intended to defend ourselves against any hostile Beduin.

By midday of the third day we came in sight of the Euphrates, and a few minutes later pulled up at the house of the British Government official in Ramadi, Major Ditchburn. We now felt more at our ease, as we were once again in telegraphic and postal touch with the outside

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world, and had only some seventy miles more to go to reach Baghdad. A certain amount of anxiety, however, was caused by learning that the abnormal floods of the Tigris river had swept away the Maude Bridge at Baghdad, and we had visions of having to leave the cars on the western bank while we transferred ourselves and our belongings by boat to the hotels of the eastern bank. Greatly to our relief, however, we found on arrival at Baghdad that the other bridge was still standing, and we drove triumphantly up to the Maude Hotel, just after dark on the evening of the third day, having safely accomplished the 603 miles from Beyrout. Except for the accident to the Lancia we had had no trouble. In fact, the Buick car crossed from Beyrout to Baghdad and back again to Beyrout, over 1,200 miles, without us once having to touch the tyres or lift the bonnet. When you think that that car had already done over 38,000 miles over all types of roads and paths in Syria and Palestine, running in the Nairn Transport Company's daily service up and down the Syrian coast until the day before we started, that it was then loaded up with all the various supplies and spares necessary, and sent off on this hazardous journey, I think you will agree with me that its performance was little short of wonderful. That is what I thought at the time, but as the Buick cars have done the crossing so many hundreds of times since with the same reliability, I have come to regard that performance as merely a normal achievement for that make of car. I will say a few words in a minute or two on the subject of types of cars suitable for this cross-desert service.

Needless to say, our arrival at Ramadi and Baghdad caused quite a sensation, and for the moment we were quite the heroes and heroines of the hour (for the third car had been hired by some lady tourists who had asked if they might join the convoy). In Ramadi Major and Mrs. Ditchburn and Captain Buttolph, of the Iraq police, showed us every kindness, allowed us to have a much-needed wash and brush-up, and gave us our first civilized meal since our departure from Damascus. Captain Buttolph also accompanied us for the first few miles out of Ramadi to help us over one or two difficult places. In Baghdad everybody was perfectly charming to us, from Sir Percy Cox, the then High Commissioner, and Air-Marshal Sir John Salmond, the then Commander-in-Chief in Iraq, downwards. We spent some three or four days in Baghdad while we had the Lancia put on a pit and more or less properly repaired; the other cars were also overhauled, and all preparations made for the return journey, for we felt that although luck had been with us on the outward journey, it was probable that we should not always be so fortunate. The return journey was even more uneventful than the outward journey, and we arrived back in Damascus during the morning of the third day, and were having tea in Beyrout that same afternoon. On the return journey we had not to pay the slightest attention to any of the cars beyond filling them up at regular intervals with oil and petrol.

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The successful completion of our journey confirmed Mr. Palmer's dream of the possibility of developing a new land route to the East along the tracks we had already made. Various Government and other officials in Baghdad were enthusiastic about the idea, and Mr. Lovell made all kinds of enquiries at Baghdad with a view to putting the possibilities of the route before his chief on his return to Beyrout. I also was most eager that Mr. Nairn, the head of the Nairn Transport Company, should go across himself and see how easy the journey was, for when planning the original journey he had been very adverse to lending us his cars for the attempt, feeling sure that they would both become derelicts in the unknown desert. I managed, fortunately, to overcome his doubts, and incidentally accepted full responsibility for compensating him in the event of our having to abandon the cars. Mr. Nairn was delighted to get our wireless signal announcing the safe arrival at Baghdad, and even more so to see us roll up at his office at the end of the return journey with his two cars none the worse for their adventure! I felt convinced that, should it be possible to inaugurate a regular passenger service by motor over this direct route, the latter would speedily develop into a most important system of communication between the Mediterranean and Central Asia. Provided the journey could be accomplished speedily, and in safety, I saw no reason why travellers going to Iraq, Persia, and even India, should not utilize such a motor service in preference to the long voyage by steamer through the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. Major Gumley, the Postmaster-General in the Iraq Government, was also quick to see the possibilities of this route for the transport of his mails to and from England. What has actually come to pass is more than even the most optimistic of us dared to dream in those early days of 1923.

With the motor service as at present run by the Nairn Transport Company, Baghdad has been brought within nine days of London, and within forty-eight hours' journey from Port Said. The saving of time in the journey from London to Baghdad by the ordinary sea passage is enormous. Whereas previously the journey took over thirty days, it is now done regularly in nine or ten days. The saving in expense is also very considerable. A first-class passage from London to Baghdad by steamer costs more than £100. A first-class passage to-day by steamer as far as the Eastern Mediterranean, and thence by motor to Baghdad, costs £70. One also saves the incidental expenses incurred during the extra twenty odd days of the long sea journey.

From Baghdad, this land route is being further developed into Persia as far as Tehran, and the journey to that place is now done comfortably by motor in three or four days. Again, travelling by rail from Baghdad to Basra and thence by boat to Karachi, India can be

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reached within six or seven days from Baghdad. It will, therefore, be quite obvious to you that we were very keen to see this desert route developed. I should say at this point that General Weygand, High Commissioner for the French in Syria, and his more immediate subordinates became keenly interested in our discovery, if I may so call it, and subsequently afforded Mr. Nairn valuable help in his development of a mail and passenger motor service.

Acting on the suggestions of Mr. Lovell and myself, Mr. Nairn decided to make a trial crossing of the desert on his own account as soon as his business engagements would permit, and in the month of May, 1923, the second trip was made, from which Mr. Nairn came back fully convinced of the soundness of our ideas of establishing a regular passenger service over this route. The following month I made my second journey, and from then until August of that year further trial runs were made. On each of these trial runs fresh areas of the desert were reconnoitred, well to the north and well to the south of the original route, with the idea of eventually discovering the best possible route as regards freedom of the terrain from such obstructions as boulders, dried watercourses, etc. After many such trial runs the wisdom of old Ibn Bassam in choosing the original route over which he led us was fully justified, as that route is the one in permanent use to-day.

From the very first it had been decided that attempts to cross the desert with single cars would be highly dangerous on account of the long distances they would have to travel without any hope of help in the event of trouble. This is not to say that it is impossible for a single car to make the journey, for they have done so on several occasions: an old Crossley tender, a Vauxhall two-seater, a Trojan, a Wolseley, and a Fiat light lorry have each made the journey alone, but their owners have invariably told me on arrival at their destination that it was a foolhardy thing to do, that they would never have done it had they realized what they were letting themselves in for, and that they would never attempt it again by themselves. As a matter of fact, there are now Police Regulations, both in British and French territory, forbidding single cars to make the passage. With the service as developed to-day, it is no uncommon thing for convoys of as many as twelve cars to come across together, and even as early as November of last year the Nairn Transport Company ran a convoy of eleven cars from Baghdad to Damascus to bring across His Majesty the Shah of Persia and his suite.

At first, and until quite recently, a Beduin guide always accompanied each convoy and travelled beside the driver of the leading car. These guides were chosen by Ibn Bassam from amongst his men, who know the desert thoroughly as a result of travelling all over it by camel-caravan, and so long as it remains daylight they are most useful.

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But as soon as nightfall arrives they are useless, being quite unable to find their way in the dark while travelling at a speed greater than a camel-walk. This is a curious thing about the Beduin—apparently they find their way about in the daytime not by the sun, but by recognizing various landmarks. At nightfall they are quite unable to read the stars in order to guide themselves. When I say landmarks I mean very slight conformations of the ground, because for the greater part of the 500 miles across the desert there are no landmarks of any sort noticeable to the ordinary traveller. The desert resembles some wide ocean on which one's four-wheeled craft is being directed as a ship at sea rather than a Trans-continental high-road.

Another precaution adopted by us on our original journey, and maintained up to the present day, was that of telegraphing the news of our departure by wireless from Syria to Baghdad, and on arrival at Baghdad, wirelessing back to Beyrout news of our safe arrival.

Let me say a few words about the geography of this route. From Beyrout to Damascus the road crosses two high ranges of mountains, the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon. Shortly after leaving Beyrout, the cars have to climb some 5,000 feet in about fifteen miles, they then drop about 2,500 feet in eight miles. Thence the road goes over a plain some ten miles wide before climbing up another 1,500 feet over the Anti-Lebanon, from the top of which it drops gradually into the oasis round Damascus. From Damascus the main road to Aleppo is followed for fifteen miles, and then the cars turn off into the desert and bear practically due east for the next 500 miles. Between Damascus and Baghdad it is almost perfectly flat, there are no hills or valleys on the journey, but Baghdad is some 1,200 feet or so lower than Damascus. The difference, however, is so slight as to be imperceptible while travelling across the desert. After 459 miles the Euphrates is reached at Ramadi, and from there a road is followed down the Euphrates for thirty miles to Felujah. At Felujah the route strikes out east into the desert once more, after forty miles of which the palm groves of Baghdad are reached. About half the route lies in the French Mandatory Territory of Syria, and the rest in the British Mandatory Territory of Iraq. You will probably say, "Why don't you find a route that runs entirely through British territory?" We have endeavoured to do so, but there are several conditions which make it impracticable. In order that such a route should run through British territory it would have to traverse Trans-Jordania. The Royal Air Force cars crossed the desert to Baghdad from Amman when marking-out the previously-mentioned "air-furrow." But in the eastern part of Trans-Jordania their route crosses a belt, sixty miles wide, of rough lava country over which the going is most painfully slow and dangerous for automobiles. The average time taken by armoured cars and other R.A.F. vehicles between Amman and Baghdad

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is anything from eight to twelve days, so you can imagine that in comparison with the other route this is not a commercial proposition. Again, even supposing it were possible to establish a sufficiently good track debouching from the desert into Trans-Jordania, there is still the journey to be made from that country to the Palestine coast either at Haifa or Jaffa. There is a road (or so-called road) from Amman to the Jordan, but in winter-time it is very often impassable owing to rains. In the Damascus area, on the other hand, there is a perfectly good macadamized road from that city to the Syrian coast at Beyrout. Also Beyrout is a terminal port for various steamship companies, from which there are almost daily departures for Europe. Haifa and Jaffa are ports of much less importance, with consequent fewer facilities for frequent sailings. These are the reasons why it has been decided to carry on the development of the cross-desert route from Beyrout and Damascus rather than Palestine and Amman. The same lava belt mentioned previously stretches north and south throughout the whole Trans-Jordania territory, and in fact reaches to within a few hundred yards of the track of our route.

At certain times of the year, generally March, April and May, the Tigris and Euphrates rivers come down in full flood, the result of the snows on the Anatolian Mountains melting as spring progresses. Along the banks of both these rivers, for hundreds of years, high embankments or "bunds" have been constructed for the express purpose of keeping them within bounds when they are in flood. In the spring of 1923, however, these rivers suffered from abnormal floods, which completely upset the Irrigation authorities' calculations and swept away large stretches of the "bunds." The result was that for several hundred square miles the ground around Baghdad was inundated to the depth of several feet by the Tigris, and the Euphrates overflowed into all the country lying north-west and south of Ramadi and Felujah. The road along the river bank between those two places was under 14 feet of water. This was most annoying for the cause of our desert route, for the cars could not get into Ramadi, which became an island in the middle of the floods, but had to make a detour of some eighty miles south-west into the desert in order to reach the crossing over the Euphrates at Felujah. Having made the eighty-mile detour over almost insurmountable difficulties, they arrived at Felujah to find the bridge of boats had been cut by the authorities in order to prevent its being washed away by the floods, a fate which had already befallen the Maude Bridge in Baghdad. I will show you in a few minutes some photographs of the flooded country and the cars making their way through it. In 1923 these floods did not subside sufficiently to render the Ramadi-Felujah road visible again until the month of September. This year the floods were not so heavy, and the Irrigation authorities were able to keep them in check by means of the "bunds."

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For the various journeys that were made between May and September of last year, the Buick cars had to be left on the west bank of the river at Felujah, and the passengers and their baggage transferred by rickety old native boats to the eastern bank, where local antiquated Fords had to be requisitioned to complete the last forty miles to Baghdad. However, as a result of the experiences of 1923, the Iraq Government authorities made special arrangements for flood-time this year, and, when it was found necessary to cut the bridge of boats as a precaution against floods, a temporary ferry was installed which served its purpose admirably and enabled two big cars at a time to cross the river. I have been told that even better arrangements are to be made for the coming year.

A word or two now about the Air Mail and this desert service. You may ask what is the use of instituting this desert motor service when we have already a desert Air Mail service in full swing. The reasons are these. Firstly, a passage from Cairo to Baghdad by Air Mail costs the ordinary traveller £150 for the single journey only. The passage for the single journey by car from Beyrout to Baghdad costs £30, or £50 return. These facts speak for themselves. Again, the Air Mail is only a fortnightly service, the present motor mail service is a weekly one. It might be thought that the Air Mail would be quicker than the motor mail, but as a matter of fact both services catch the same mail-boats at Port Said, and I have known occasions in the desert when the R.A.F. Mail aeroplanes have had to make forced landings and have been assisted in carrying out the repairs to their machines by the British mechanics of Nairns' desert motor service. Also, I think I am sticking absolutely to the truth when I say that the Motor Mail is more reliable than the Air Mail. Another point with the Air Mail: a passenger may only take 35 lbs. of baggage; whereas, by the motor route, one can take almost any amount. I know it is stated in the Company's advertisements that only 60 lbs. of baggage per passenger are allowed on the cars; but, as a matter of fact, many passengers come across with all their luggage, and, provided it does not inconvenience the rest of the convoy, neither drivers nor owners of the Company make any fuss.

May I say a few words about the fitting-out of the vehicles in which we made our original reconnaissance. Petrol and oil, sufficient to take us to Baghdad and back, were carried. This in case of having to double back on our tracks, or having to turn back almost within reach of the other side, or in case of a burst petrol tank or other accident. Food and water for human consumption were carried sufficient for ten days; water for the motors sufficient for several complete replenishments of the radiators. As far as we knew, there was no water to be obtained anywhere between Damascus and Ramadi; but, as a matter of fact, there is one well which exists at a point almost exactly halfway across the desert. The water in this well lies at a level of some

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50 feet below the surface of the desert, and therefore, unless one is furnished with a long enough rope, the well is useless. On arrival there we fortunately had such a rope, and we replenished the water supply for our motors. The water was so dirty, however, that we refrained from drawing upon it for our own needs. A Primus stove was included in the outfit for the purpose of brewing tea. Two complete spare wheels with tyres and tubes were carried with each car, also a supply of spare inner tubes, a complete set of tools and spare parts normally carried in the car, together with a large box containing a large assortment of such workshop tools as could be wanted for repairs en route (these proved invaluable after the accident to the Lancia). Several blocks of wood of varying lengths and thicknesses were included for use in conjunction with lifting-jacks, or for blocking-up broken springs, or even, if not otherwise wanted, for firewood. Other items taken were compasses, binoculars, electric torches, waterproof ground-sheets, and two blankets or rugs per person. For the first two or three journeys we used to go fully armed, but it was later decided not to carry these arms, for Mr. Nairn employs the wise expedient of subsidizing Mahommed Ibn Bassam, who guarantees, as far as possible, the safety of the desert. Before leaving the subject of equipment of the cars, it might be as well to point out that during the months November to April the nights on the desert are very cold, and intending travellers should provide themselves with a sufficient number of rugs, fur coats, etc. We found the ordinary Beduin sheepskin cloak to be an exceedingly useful article of clothing with which to keep out the cold and rain.

Before finishing this part of my lecture, and turning to the lantern slides, I would like to give you some idea as to how this new land route to the East has already been developed by a small body of British ex-Service men, working entirely on their own account and without any financial help from either British or French Governments, nor from any outside source of any sort. Whereas, when we first went over, we used to take three or four days to make the crossing between Beyrout and Baghdad, the Nairn Transport Company have so developed things that they now run across regularly in from twenty-four to twenty-six hours. The actual record held for the crossing is sixteen hours fifty-three minutes. This time was made as a result of a wager concluded between Sir Arnold Wilson, of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and Mr. Nairn. In his bet the latter undertook to run Sir Arnold Wilson from Baghdad to Beyrout in under sixteen hours—that is to say, sixteen hours on the clock. Travelling from Baghdad to Damascus, one gains exactly one hour on the sun, so that Mr. Nairn had actually seventeen hours' running time in which to win his bet. The Nairn Transport Company were as good as their word, and, in spite of numbers of people (myself amongst them) laying side bets against them, they had the most

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astonishing success, and completed the run in seven minutes under the time limit. Sitting here we can hardly imagine what such an undertaking means in the way of strain on the car and the driver, and I confess that I was absolutely astounded to see the Cadillac car roll into Damascus in such wonderful time, having maintained an average speed of about forty miles an hour across the desert, through the Damascus bazaars, and over the mountains.

The food question has also been greatly improved from our first efforts, and, if you are travelling to the East to-day by this route, you will find all sorts of up-to-date arrangements made as regards the supply of meals during the cross-desert run. As far as possible the cars run straight through from Damascus to Baghdad and *vice versa*, pulling up only for an hour or so at each meal-time to enable the passengers to get out and partake of a picnic meal, which is produced from airtight boxes, thermos flasks, etc.

As regards garage and road organization, no detail, however small, should be omitted in order to ensure safe, reliable, and fast journeys across the desert. This British Company now developing the route pays the greatest attention to organization. Before leaving on each cross-desert trip every car is completely overhauled, re-greased, re-oiled, and furnished with fresh equipment. On arrival at Baghdad the cars are again put on a pit and carefully overhauled, both as regards the machinery of the vehicle itself and its equipment. On the desert the cars are organized in convoys of never less than two cars—each convoy is put in charge of the senior driver, who is called the "Convoy-leader." He is responsible for the safety and comfort of the passengers, and for discipline amongst the drivers during the journey. There are various standing orders for the guidance of the drivers during the cross-desert part of the journey, amongst which is the order for the driver of each car to keep up within reasonable distance of the car in front; the drivers of the cars in front have to look round every now and again to see that the car behind is following; and should they find that it is not, they are instructed to come to a standstill and wait for the others. After waiting a few minutes, and finding that the rear car or cars do not come along, their duty is to turn about and run back until they find it; the drivers are not supposed to leave the now well-worn track except for some specific cause, the reason for this being that the track has now been covered so many times that all obstacles in the way of stones, holes, etc., have been eliminated, but are liable to be encountered if one deviates from the track in some of the rougher parts of the ground to be crossed. Also, so long as one sticks to the track, it is impossible to be lost; and, even should a car break down and be left behind through some misunderstanding, it is bound to be picked up again sooner or later by some of the many motors now using this route. Again, should a driver leave the track and get lost (which is

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hardly ever likely to happen), his orders are not to wander further afield in fruitless endeavours to regain it, but to come to a standstill and wait until the other cars come back and find him. Other details of organization, such as running time, stoppages for meals, etc., are all carefully thought out beforehand, which makes for that efficiency so necessary in maintaining a cross-desert land transport service. The results of such organization can be seen to-day in the almost clock-work regularity with which the convoys of the Nairn Transport Company run backwards and forwards. I think it is a pity that other semi-native, or purely native, concerns cannot grasp the importance of this carefully-thought-out organization, as they, and the accidents that are constantly occurring to their services, may bring the new land route to the East into ill repute. No one could be surprised if you began to think that I was a member of this Nairn Transport Company, and that I was giving you a sort of business propaganda lecture. Unfortunately for me (from a financial point of view!) I have no interest whatsoever in this firm beyond that which I naturally take in seeing something which I helped to start being developed into a great Imperial asset. For there is no doubt that this new land route is an Imperial asset. I would like to give you a few facts concerning the men who are doing this work. They are all British ex-Service men. The owners are two New Zealand brothers who fought all through the war on the various Mediterranean fronts, and who obtained their local demobilization in order to set up a motor transport business in Palestine and Syria. They were joined by another man whom I have already referred to—Mr. Lovell, the Chief Engineer of the Nairn Transport Company. These three started work in Beyrout in 1919, and in the face of increasing native competition they have not only kept up their own ends, but have done much to raise the prestige of British commerce in the Levant. They have had a very hard struggle, and at times have been faced with the entire collapse of their ambitions, but even in the most adverse circumstances they never faltered and never whined, but went on working harder than ever. I used to see a great deal of these men in the course of my duties in Syria, and I found them to be some of the best fellows that you could possibly wish to have alongside you in a tight corner. It was knowing their absolute reliability that induced me to ask them to provide the vehicles and organize their equipment for the pioneer trip on this desert route. And, as you will have gathered from the successful result of our first trip, they did not let me down. Mr. Norman Nairn is a man of most extraordinary energy and capacity for work. He is very far-seeing and always thinking ahead, and it is owing to the push and inspiration brought by him to bear on the question, that the present reliable development of the new land route to the East has been evolved. I have heard it said by one of our greatest authorities on Middle East questions that Mr. Nairn

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has done more in the course of the last eighteen months towards the amicable mutual development of Iraq and Syria than all the conferences and political discussions that have taken place between the various Government authorities since the end of the war. As a result of his quick grasp of the situation and his hard work in its development, the new route, which is officialiy known as the Overland Mail Route, has come to be known, even as far away as in America, as the Nairn Route. His brother, Mr. Gerald Nairn, I consider to be the finest driver of a motor-car that I have ever met. His reputation for motor driving is a byword throughout Syria, Palestine, and Iraq. Unlike his brother, he is very silent and shy, but he is what I may call the "body of the concern," his brother being the "head." Gerald Nairn is always in such wonderfully fit physical condition that continuous work never seems capable of tiring him out. I have travelled many hundreds of miles sitting beside Gerald Nairn, and I have been astounded at the man's capacity for work. I have known him to drive continuously for seventy-two hours day and night, stopping only at infrequent intervals for a few minutes to have a bite of food, and at the end of it he most unselfishly volunteered to start off again with the mails in place of one of the other drivers who was not available at the last moment. The loyalty of these two brothers to their service must be experienced to be believed, but perhaps I can give you some impression of it when I tell you that on many occasions I have known one or the other to take the place of some driver who had dropped out, and they have quite willingly gone across to Baghdad and back as ordinary drivers under the orders of the convoy leader, who, after all, was one of their employees. Mr. Lovell I should call the "legs of the concern." He was serving in the army long before the war, and had then got his papers as a master-mechanic, master-fitter, master-carpenter, and master-electrician, so you can understand his value to the mechanical side of the business. Lovell belongs to that type which seems almost to have disappeared since the war—I mean the type of craftsman who takes a pride in anything he turns his hand to. He would no more allow a car to leave his garage unless it was assembled or repaired by himself entirely to his own satisfaction than he would think of engaging a man whom he knew to be a shirker. In Syria Lovell came to be regarded as almost a wizard where machinery was concerned. The astonishing mechanical jobs that I have seen him carry out would make the hair of any motor-engineer in England stand on end. There is no time to give you examples of the energy, power, and determination of Lovell and his two colleagues, but I can assure you that you would hardly believe me if I were to tell you of some of the more outstanding of their exploits. You will understand now wh y I was so keen on Lovell accompanying us on our exploration trip across the desert, and I have already explained to you how well repaid

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we were for taking him with us. I wish some of our trade-unionists in England could have seen Lovell at work underneath the broken-down Lancia that very cold night on the desert in April last year. I think it was his unfailing cheeriness, even under the most forlorn-looking conditions, that kept up our spirits at the time of the accident. These are the three men who have developed the cross-desert route in such a remarkable manner. I don't suggest that they have been doing it entirely in a spirit of philanthropy to the British Empire, for of course they have been doing it to earn their own daily bread, but I do think that they are deserving of all our support in the way in which they are keeping up the prestige of the Old Country under very difficult circumstances. The men employed as drivers, mechanics, etc., in this concern are all British ex-Service men. There are amongst them Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Canadians, Australians, and South Africans, so you see Great Britain and the Dominions are well represented. You might think that some of them are rather rough and ready, but I assure you they are all of them men to be proud of. I think I have travelled with them all at one time or another, and I must honestly say that I have never yet met a body of men more capable of, and more willing for, hard work. The before-mentioned trade-unionists would have about seventeen fits if they were to go out and see those men working. On the desert there is no such thing as an eight-hour day, overtime, war bonuses, doles, or like luxuries; all that there is, is work, and plenty of it. These men have to be prepared to carry on at the wheel of their cars for thirty-six or forty-eight hours at a stretch. They may be turned out for some urgent call in the middle of the night, or have to go and collect some irate passenger before dawn in order to carry him the 100 miles from Beyrout to Haifa to catch his train or mail-boat for England. Whatever time of the day or night, and whatever the conditions of the weather, these men are always cheerful and always alert. A good idea of their capabilities and qualities may be formed from the fact that although they have carried over a hundred lady passengers across the desert, I have never once heard anything but the most unstinted praise for Nairns' drivers. I know of one occasion on which a convoy of cars were bogged by wet weather some 350 miles from Damascus at two o'clock in the morning of a particular Saturday last winter, after the drivers had been pushing and pulling their cars through the mud throughout the previous day until they were so exhausted that they could hardly stand. The mail-boat was due to leave Beyrout at five o'clock that evening. Thirteen ladies and gentlemen, eager for their long overdue leave, had got their passage booked on that mail-boat, and saw little chance of catching it. The cars had got bogged in various positions on what is known as the "Mud Flat," near No. 5 Landing Ground of the Air

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Mail Route, and in order that no passengers should go without some hot food and drink on that cold night, Gerald Nairn started out from his own car carrying the food and drink to each of the other five cars. He had to walk a total of nine miles through the pouring rain to distribute the food, and yet he never thought of grumbling or complaining in the slightest degree. By dawn they had got the cars free from the mud, after the most exhausting efforts. I think you will agree with me that those men would have been quite within their rights if they had sat down where they were for a few hours and had had a much-needed rest. They did nothing of the kind. Just before dawn the East-going convoy had arrived on the scene, and their drivers, who had been travelling twenty-four hours on end, assisted in getting the bogged cars free. Immediately Gerald Nairn called for volunteers amongst the drivers of both convoys to attempt to take four of the cars, with the thirteen passengers, to catch the mail-boat at Beyrout that evening. Every single driver volunteered to make the attempt, and so the original drivers started off with their own mud-covered vehicles. The passengers were quite convinced that it would be impossible to catch the boat, and I don't think that you or I, had we been in their places, would have thought differently. I was at Beyrout at the time and heard the anxious telephone enquiries of the shipping line as to the whereabouts of their passengers. Nairns' office manager, another British ex-Service man, persuaded the Steamship Company to delay the departure of the mail-boat as long as possible, until the absolute final departure of the boat was fixed for 10 p.m. Imagine the feelings of that office manager each time he telephoned to Damascus to ask if there was any news of the incoming cars. The situation appeared to be almost hopeless, when, shortly after eight o'clock, the four cars rolled quietly into Beyrout and took their passengers straight down to the docks, where they embarked immediately, baggage, mud, and all. It sounds incredible that human beings and motor cars could possibly have achieved that run, and one of the lady passengers told me on board the boat something of their experiences. Her actual words were : " We had given up all hope of catching the mail, and now that we are here I must confess that we could not have been much annoyed had we missed it, for those drivers accomplished what I should have thought humanly impossible." I have tried to give you a word picture of the human material that is being used in the development of this road to the East, and I must say that I am proud to claim all those fellows as friends of mine. It is the loyalty and devotion to duty of these men that has enabled this purely British concern to win through against the most acute competition.

So much for the human element. Now just a few sentences about the mechanical element in the development of the desert route. I believe I am right in saying that the reason the British Government

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will not subsidize the Nairn Transport Company is that it does not use British material in its service. To the ordinary man in the street that point of view seems quite logical, but we who know the conditions feel that the decision is a little hard, for, to the best of my knowledge, there is no British material available that is suitable to the needs of the desert. Since my return to England I have talked to many men interested in the motor industry in England about this question, but so far without any profitable results. The cars which we used on the first pioneer trip and those now in use are Buicks and Cadillacs. These, as you know, are of American manufacture, and I must confess that after four years' first-hand experience of what those cars are capable of doing, I should always choose them again under the same circumstances. In a few moments I am going to show you some slides which will give you an idea of what these cross-desert cars are called upon to do, not only now and again, but almost continuously. I think I am right in saying that the two main obstacles to the adoption of British cars for the desert service are firstly, financial cost, and secondly, that British cars are built too low in the chassis to avoid the many stones and boulders which the higher-built American cars pass over without risk to engine or axle. I hold no brief for the American motor industry, and naturally I would like to see it possible for British cars to be used by the British concern developing the desert route. The Buick car is sufficiently high-powered to carry the enormous weight which these cars have to carry over the two ranges of mountains and across the desert without overheating. It is built high, and yet is comfortable to ride in. It maintains a high speed for hours and hours on end while running across the desert, and, should it get stuck in a soft place, it is not too heavy to be towed or pushed out. The Cadillac car is more powerful, and more comfortable perhaps than the Buick, and is also more expensive. These cars actually make the trip to Baghdad and back without having to replenish one drop of water in the radiator. This is astonishing when you think of the long climb up over the two mountain ranges which is done every week with cars so heavily loaded. Surely it should be possible for the British motor industry to produce a car which can compare favourably with the Buick in price, and also conform to the various constructional details necessary, but it seems almost useless to ask for it. I will give you an example of the different methods adopted in this connection in the British and American motor industries. Recently Mr. Nairn decided to make some structural alterations in the cross-desert cars, in order that for the same expenditure in oil and petrol he could carry more than three passengers in each car. On his arrival in England this summer, he talked the matter over with the representative of a certain well-known make of British car, but to no effect as far as he (Mr. Nairn) was concerned. I also talked the matter over with a

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representative of the same make of car at the recent Motor Show at Olympia. The reply I got was: "We do not go in for building cars for special stunts, we build cars for use on English roads." All I can say in reply to this is: if that is the policy adopted by the British motor industry, why grumble that the American motor industry has captured the motor trade in these Eastern countries, where roads are not so perfect as they are in England. In order to get his special car, Mr. Nairn was therefore forced to go to the United States. You might think that the American motor firms, with their mass production and their standard machinery plant, would be justified in refusing to accept the construction of some special type of car; but not a bit of it. General Motors Limited, of Detroit, listened with interest to Mr. Nairn's requirements and promptly set about satisfying them, not for tens or hundreds, but merely for a paltry four cars. Those cars were ordered in July last, and I believe I am right in saying that they are now actually running on the desert. What I cannot understand is, that, if it is worth the while of the American motor industry to satisfy such a demand, why is it not possible for our British manufacturers to do the same thing? I could go on for hours on the same subject, but time forbids. I can only say that, in default of the necessary British vehicles, the cross-desert service was originated and is maintained with Cadillac and Buick cars, the reliability of which is amazing. Mr. Nairn has both Buick and Cadillac cars running as faultlessly to-day, after having completed over 100,000 miles each, as they did the day they were put on the road. That, I think, is a great testimony to the above makes of cars, and, much though we regret the absence of British vehicles, I think we cannot refrain from congratulating the American makers, General Motors Limited. As far as Customs tariffs are concerned, British, French, and American cars get exactly the same treatment in Syria.

That is the story of the discovery and development of what is called the New Land Route to the East. For over twelve months practically no one in Europe took much interest in its development, regarding it more as a freak show than a sound undertaking in the political and commercial world. This year, however, both British and French Governments and commercial houses have awakened to the possibilities of the route to such an extent that the French Government, or rather the Syrian Government under French guidance, has subsidized two semi-native concerns, in which French capital is invested, in their efforts to compete with the British one. The British Government has given mail contracts to the Nairn concern; the Royal Air Force now dispatch their officer and other rank details by this route, and such important concerns as the Anglo-Persian Oil Company send numbers of their officials over the route in Nairns' convoys. The P. and O. and the Messageries Maritimes Steamship Lines both run services in

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connection with the Nairn Transport convoys over the Desert Route. I hope that what these Britishers have so well started will not be allowed to be overwhelmed by the competition of other nations, and that our own Government will keep a fatherly eye upon those who keep up British interests of the route.

Some forty lantern slides were then shown depicting views of interest on the route between Beyrout and Baghdad.

Discussion.

The Chairman: We have had a most realistic set of photographs shown to us, which I think we have all most thoroughly enjoyed; and I must say that I for one have never seen before a photograph of a mirage. I will not say anything more at the present time. I understand that we have some representatives of the motor industry with us here to-day. I do not know if Mr. Dewar is here; if so, he will perhaps give us his observations on the lecture we have just heard. (No response.) Is any other representative of the motor industry here? (No response.) Is there any other lady or gentleman who will give us their observations?

Mr. Donald Mellor: My point is about the route that was shown on the map. I believe it goes through Rutbah?

The Lecturer: The well is known as Rutbah.

Mr. Donald Mellor: Is there not another route being opened up from Damascus, through Palmyra, and then north-east to Ramadi?

The Lecturer: The route is being developed by a semi-native concern called the Eastern Transport Company.

Mr. Donald Mellor: On the map there is very little shown from Damascus to Baghdad except Rutbah.

The Lecturer: There is nothing else, absolutely nothing at all. It is just like being out at sea.

Mr. Donald Mellor: I am very pleased, as a member of the Society and also as a Briton, to know that we have such stubborn determination being shown by those who have this organization in hand; and I know a number of people have gone across and have been perfectly satisfied. I think you mentioned the matter of the organization of the propaganda, and certainly, in my opinion, that does a great deal towards furthering British interests, as regards Indo-Persia and places beyond, and opening the eyes apparently of a great many people who are opposed to the British; I certainly think that if we can get the route developed beyond Basra to Baluchistan and India it will be a greater benefit still. You mentioned that the road was being developed from Baghdad towards India; but I have seen nothing personally in any of the papers regarding that portion of the road south from Baghdad through Ur of the Chaldees, across the desert, and then through Baluchistan to Nushki and Quetta.

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The LECTURER: I don't think anything has been done that way. They have confined their attention towards Tehran in Persia.

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: I suppose, really, to develop that road further south would be a very difficult undertaking on account of the character of the country in that particular district.

Mrs. PATRICK NESS: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—May I endorse every word that Major McCallum has said with regard to Captain Norman Nairn and all his drivers. I happened to be in one of the broken-down cars you looked at on the screen. (Applause.) That was the second time that women had crossed the desert. On our return journey, eleven weeks later, Captain Nairn drove us himself. He had just done a wonderful performance. While driving to Baghdad one of his cars had broken down in the desert. After the delay he had taken eight passengers in his own car, and had driven night and day so as not to fail to deliver the mails up to time. Soon after he started back again with us. The extraordinary speed with which the route had developed was very marked. When we crossed in September, before the service had started, there was no track. We met no natives of any sort. The heat was like driving into a furnace. Eleven weeks later, after having been to Persia, we crossed again. A service both ways had been established. Specially-built Cadillac cars were used instead of Buicks. We carried the Christmas mails, weighing four hundred pounds, and we crossed in forty-five hours in bitter cold. Eleven weeks had been sufficient so to develop this wonderful route across the desert.

Dr. A. MANN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have just come across the same route from Tehran. I would like to endorse what Major McCallum said. I did not come with Nairn; it is a matter of £ s. d. They have a connection between Baghdad and Tehran—the Company does that for them—but it is rather expensive, and you find when the pilgrims are coming down that route to Baghdad all the cars return empty to Beirut and Damascus. Then you can get a seat in a very good Hudson for £4 to £5. Nairns charge £25. When you come home on leave, and want to spend a little in town, you think of these things and are willing to come with anybody. They are perfectly safe. I had a very good Nash car. We did it in very good time; we lost one and had to return, but that was not our fault. We know Nairns have developed the road, and I have heard they subsidize somebody to keep the Beduin off. We benefit by that. If they can keep competition away by lowering their prices, I am going back very shortly and shall certainly use their cars.

Sir LOUIS DANE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Chairman asked if there were any representatives of car firms here. I am not a representative of a car firm, but am interested in taking motors across impossible places. I may mention that in 1904 we took

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a motor-car to Kabul; it was not an English car, for the reason you have spoken of. It was a De Dion, and it duly created an interest in motoring which led to the construction of good roads. My friend Colonel O'Connor in 1906 took a motor through Tibet to Shigatze by a pass fifteen thousand feet high. This was also a De Dion. A third was taken by Colonel O'Connor, in 1908, across four hundred and fifty miles of desert such as you have seen from Nushki to Seistan, thereby proving the possibility of a motor route in that direction, over which a railway has since been laid. I believe a motor route across Persia could be devised on that line. So not only in Syria, but in Afghanistan, Tibet, and Eastern Persia, experiments at a much earlier period have been successfully made. I am also very much interested in what the lecturer said about the trans-Syrian desert route, because it attracted my attention in 1918, and a scheme was put by responsible persons before Mr. Herbert Samuel—Sir Herbert Samuel as he is now—and Sir Alfred Mond. It was very much considered by them, with the eventual possibility of taking a railway by the route the lecturer has described, by which you have seen there are no difficulties. Desert railways connecting rich agricultural tracts with the seaboard, as experience of the East has shown, are most profitable. The cost of construction and of upkeep is very small, and very heavy loads can be moved. Desert reaches from the Punjab to Karachi, and from Delhi to Karachi; across it have been laid some of the most profitable railways in the whole of India, though the population per square mile is next to nothing. That is all I can say now. It may interest you to know that a De Dion has travelled over almost worse country than what you have heard of the Syrian desert, and with success.

Mr. Francis H. Skrine: I should like to ask a question, Mr. Chairman. Is there any project for building a rest-house with a petrol depôt in the Wadi which has a well? It seems to me a crying want.

The Lecturer: There is a scheme for building one; I believe negotiations are going on with the Royal Air Force for the time being about putting a wireless observation post out in the middle of the desert, which would be a meteorological post for the air route, and also serve Nairn, or whoever runs that route, for a half-way house.

Mr. Francis H. Skrine: Another question regarding the routes. Of course American cars are specially built for the roads which you get in the States; we have nothing like them in England. They say that the civilization of a country is in direct ratio with its roads; if this is true, I am very sorry for the Yankees! Only in Russia do you see such dreadful roads as in the States. But would it not be possible to construct a macadamized road across the desert? There must be plenty of stone. Ought not Government to help a scheme of this kind?

The Lecturer: I do not think a macadamized road is necessary; the route is such wonderful going as it is. It is like a billiard-table

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most of the way, but there are one or two places where you have to pull up and go gently. I think the Rolls-Royce is looked upon as the best British car. When the Shah of Persia came over he chose that route to come by, and chose Nairns' convoy; Gerald Nairn brought him across. He had his own Cadillac-Limousine; they had their own cars, eleven altogether. The High Commissioner sent an escort with the Shah over the British territory. The escort comprised two Rolls armoured cars and two Rolls tenders. The armoured cars could hardly be expected to keep up the pace; they are very much heavier with all their armour. But one would have thought the Rolls tenders would have kept up with the Cadillac-Limousine, but they were left far behind. Gerald Nairn went up to the Shah's driver and said, "If your driver cannot keep up with us he will be left. We are running the mail and must keep up to time." The record run is sixteen hours fifty-three minutes, which includes the run across the desert, over the mountains, and through the Damascus bazaars. The Rolls could not keep up to it, and it is six times the price of a Buick and three times the price of a Cadillac. British cars have been tried and are not capable. I am told I am not speaking the truth when I say they are not capable; but experience has shown that they are not capable of maintaining the speed and the pace under rough conditions as are the American cars. One question about expense; one gentleman was talking about it. There are two seasons for pilgrims—pilgrims going to Mecca and pilgrims coming from Mecca. At the season for going to Mecca you cannot get a car for love or money in Iraq; you pay sixty or seventy pounds for a seat in an old Ford car going westwards. On the other hand, those cars have to go back to get more passengers, and then they are ready to take anybody for one or two pounds to help cover expenses on the way back. It is possible when the pilgrim traffic starts in the other direction to get a cheap trip West.

Dr. A. MANN: Four weeks ago I paid in Baghhad seven pounds a seat for five people.

The LECTURER: You were very lucky. As to the other question, the Seistan route is being very seriously considered in connection with this route. That, I think, is all.

Dr. ZIA UDDIN AHMAD: I have been interested in the overland route to India. There is a service between Quetta and Birjand, and again between Birjand and Tehran. Aligarh Muslim University has several students from Birjand who go home during vacations via Quetta. A second thing is that I was told they always use American cars.

The CHAIRMAN: Well, ladies and gentlemen, if there is nobody else going to speak, I think I should like to say how proud we must all feel that the employees of these Nairn Brothers and Mr. Lovell are all ex-Service men. (Applause.) We have heard from the lecturer that all are Britishers from various parts of the Empire. I am sure we must

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all be proud of this small band of British ex-Service men who are upholding the honour and the prestige of our country, if I may say so, on these borders of Empire in Syria and Baghdad. I think we must congratulate Messrs. Nairn and Mr. Lovell, and the firm in general, on the reliability, hard work, and straight dealing with which they are upholding the British name in these far-away places. I think the confidence they are inspiring in British firms and British workmen must have a great effect on the people in that country who deal with those firms, in comparison with the foreign firms in opposition to them. I have had the opportunity of reading Major McCallum's lecture, which he has not been able to give us in full to-day, and I have been much impressed by what I have read there, as I feel sure you will all be when you come to read it in the *Journal*. I cannot help thinking that the success of a purely British concern of this sort working against the acute competition that has come up against it—in fact, the lecturer has pointed out to us how the good results that have been obtained are due to the co-operation between the masters and the men in that concern—is an example that may lead us to hope that the trade-union leaders in this country may eventually come to see what can be done by co-operation between masters and men, and how much better such co-operation works than obstruction and every sort of non-co-operation that is so often in evidence in this country. (Hear, hear.) Another point that struck me during the lecture is the question of the motor-car industry between this country and other countries, especially in the trade with Eastern countries. Any one of us who has studied the import returns of India, for instance, must have been enormously struck by the great preponderance of foreign cars, especially American cars, that go into India in comparison with British cars; and surely, when you find British manufacturers saying, as the lecturer told us, "We don't go in for building cars for special stunts; we build them for use on English roads"—surely we must say that such a spirit must militate against the trade of this country. I am very sorry indeed that we have not had representatives of the motor industry here to-day to give us their opinion as to whether that action on the part of British manufacturers cannot be modified in some way or another. The lecturer has told us that in Syria, for instance, British, French, and American cars all get equal treatment in the question of customs. There is no prejudice in any way against any country in that respect. They have an equal chance in open competition, and I hope that we shall see the British motor-car industry altering their action in this respect, and trying if they cannot make cars that will be more fitted for work in the East than they are at present. I congratulate most heartily our lecturer on having so thoroughly well carried out the discovery and development of this new land route to the East, as he terms it. Having established

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that route, as it has been established, we now see that the Syrian Government, under French guidance, are subsidizing their local companies, so that this British firm is up against tremendous competition. I am glad to hear that the British Government has given the mail contract to this British firm, but we must have more than that. It is a difficult thing to ask for a subsidy, but I trust that the Government we have now in power will do their very best to assist this British company in every possible way they can. If they cannot give a subsidy they may do something to put the company in a fair position to compete with these native concerns that the lecturer has told us about. (Applause.) I will now ask you to join with me in a most hearty vote of thanks to our lecturer, not only for the interesting lecture he has given us, but for the really fine show of photographs that he has given us on the screen, which has brought home to us the realities of the situation out there. We are all delighted to think that this British firm has carried on such good work, and that it is able to carry on its work in the French mandated territory there; we trust it will continue to work for the benefit of our mandated territory in Iraq, and that it will be a successful concern and get better and better every year. We thank our lecturer most cordially for his lecture. It is the second time he has lectured for us, and I can only hope we shall hear him another time. (Applause.)

A vote of thanks was then passed to the Chairman, on the motion of Colonel Sir Charles Burn.

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SOME EARLY TRAVELLERS IN PERSIA AND THE PERSIAN GULF

By Sir A. T. Wilson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O.

From Alexander's time until the present day, Persia and Arabia have been the theme of innumerable histories and works of travel; no countries so sparsely visited by Western folk have been responsible for such a steady stream of books. A bibliography of Persia compiled in 1877 by Moise Schwab includes some 1,770 separate books, and probably as many more have been written since that date.

Those writers who in recent times have dealt with South Persia and the Persian Gulf—with which I propose more particularly to deal in this paper—have been for the most part competent observers and careful historians, who, to quote the seventeenth-century editor of Tavernier, were

"sufficiently imbued with all due knowledge of sciences, languages, geography, and precedent travellers' maps and books, without all which common travellers cannot conceive so soon and so orderly, nor reap so much benefit for themselves or others."

We have been relatively immune in the South from that class of authors, anathematized by Lord Curzon in his "Persia and the Persian Question," "who rush through a country, either not having read what has been written by better men before, or reading it only in order to plagiarize and reproduce it as their own, and who misunderstand, misspell, and misinterpret everywhere they go." Such authors have for many years past found scope for their activities along the main roads in Persia, and, during the war, in Mesopotamia, but the arid shores of the Persian Gulf and the almost equally forbidding mountain ranges of South Persia have seldom inspired the globe-trotter to perpetuate in print his own misconceptions or to inflict upon the reading public his jejune reflections or his fatuous comments upon matters beyond his grasp.

The first Western traveller in the Persian Gulf of whom we have any knowledge is Nearchus, the Cretan admiral of Alexander, who in 326-5 B.C. navigated a fleet of rowing-boats from the mouth of the Indus to Ahwaz. His "log" has come down to us through Arrian, who embodied much of it in his "Indica," or Indian history, written at the beginning of our era. To take a fleet of rowing-boats along the Baluchistan and Persian coasts would be considered an almost impossible feat to-day, but it was accomplished, and successfully.

After much difficulty and after several encounters with the

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aboriginal tribes on the Mekran coast, they sighted the massive heights of Masandam Peninsula.

"When Onesicritus viewed this promontory, he gave orders that the fleet should steer directly thither; but Nearchus opposed him, and declared that Onesicritus must have a shallow memory if he did not remember for what purpose the fleet was ordered to pass those seas. He then assured him that the above-mentioned voyage was not undertaken because the king was unable to convey the whole army safe home by land, but because he had fixed a resolution of viewing the situation of all shores, havens, and islands; of searching the bottom of all gulfs and creeks, and having an account given him of all maritime places, and which countries were fruitful and which barren and uninhabited. . . . He was afraid, as that promontory stretched itself so much to the southward, that by sailing round the point they might fall upon some sandy, barren and sunburnt region."*

But the achievement of Nearchus was but an incident in the epic campaign of Alexander, who forged the first links between East and West, and thereby left an indelible mark on the world's history. "Alexander was never defeated, never checked or baffled; what general can show such a record after a score of battles? And withal a champion while a general. Napoleon used his sword once as generalissimo; Alexander was first in a breach, first in a charge, wounded a dozen times, himself the leader of every desperate expedition. Half of it was mad recklessness, the other was set purpose; professional armies were new as yet, and the machine needed animating with a personal feeling if it were to submit to the labours which Alexander designed for its endurance. Remembering the impressionable nature of a veteran army, can we wonder at the passionate love evinced on the Acesines and the Tigris? And there is no more touching scene in history than was enacted in that chamber at Babylon when the scarred veterans of fifty battles, who had mutinied for one more look at their idol, filed in silence before the dying king, speechless but able to look recognition and raise a hand when a well-remembered face went by. It would absolve Arrian for many sins that, without a word of rhetorical declamation on such a theme, he has only repeated the simple story of the royal diary concerning the illness and death at thirty-two of the conqueror and pacificator of half the world.

"But there must be reason in hero-worship; let no one think it a miracle that Alexander conquered the Persian Empire: a far meaner general could have done it as surely, if at more cost, and perhaps only accident has robbed Agesilaus of some of the fame of Alexander.

"It was much that Alexander conquered, and it was more that he did it at incredibly small expense of life; but it was most that he left every province as much his own behind him as if he had spent all his thirty years in its administration. This is his highest honour, and his

* Arrian's "Indica."

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military fame must take second place. That will always rest on the second count, on the economy of life, whereby he certainly ranks above Napoleon, perhaps above Hannibal; on his campaigns beyond the Tigris, wherein his ever-happy dispositions discomfited every variety of enemy, of whom some had baffled every great king since Cyprus; on the merited fortune that never failed before a wall or lost a battle, that never knew a Zama or Waterloo." *

The next Westerner of whose exploits and travels we have any record was the Roman Emperor Trajan (A.D. 116), in whose mind the praises of Alexander, transmitted by a succession of poets and historians, had kindled a dangerous emulation. "The degenerate Parthians," says Gibbon,† "broken by intestine discord, fled before his arms. He descended the river Tigris in triumph, from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian Gulf. He enjoyed the honour of being the first, as he was the last, of the Roman generals who ever navigated that remote sea. His fleets ravaged the coasts of Arabia." But his death soon clouded the splendid prospect which his victories had opened to the expectant Senate.

Trajan, like Alexander, was a European, and his exploits, as recorded by Dion Cassius and Julian and other commentators, were, like those of Alexander, undertaken in a spirit of adventure and with the object of exploration as well as of conquest.

An interval of some six centuries separates the relations of Trajan's commentators from the next books of travel and geography that have come down to us—namely, those of the Arab geographers, Ibn Khurdadbih, who wrote in A.D. 864, and was followed by Qudamah, Yaqubi, Ibn Serapion, Ibn Rustah, and Ibn Faqih (A.D. 903). These set forth in detail, in the form of road books, the various itineraries, interspersed with short accounts of the towns passed through, and the revenues and products, in turn, of each province. Ibn Khurdadbih was postmaster of the Jibal Province, which included Tabriz, Tehran, Hamadan, and Ispahan; Qudamah was a revenue accountant: their itineraries give, stage by stage, the distances along the great Khurasan road and the other travel roads which radiated from Baghdad to Mecca, to Basrah, and, indeed, to every centre of importance of the Old World. On all these trunk lines not only are the distances and stages given, but an exact description is added of the nature of the country passed through, whether the way be hilly, ascending or descending, or whether the road lies in the plain.‡

We are indebted to Ibn Khurdadbih for the earliest account of

* Hogarth, "The Army of Alexander." *Journal of Philology*, xvii., 1888. See also "Eine Quellenkritik zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen in Diodor, Curtius und Justin." Rudolf Kohler, Leipzig, 1879. (London Library Pamphlets, 1839.)

† "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. i.

‡ Le Strange, "Lands of the Eastern Caliphate." 1905.

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the Shiraz–Bandar Abbas road, which terminated in his day on the coast at Suru, not far west of the present port and town of Bandar Abbas; but his narrative and those of his contemporaries are very matter-of-fact documents, closely resembling the gazetteers and route reports prepared by British officials to-day in India and elsewhere. The Arab writers do not boast of Arab conquests, nor of the law and order which they introduced into the countries they overran. They assume it as confidently and implicitly as do our own officials in countries over which they rule.

After these came the systematic geographers, Istakhri (A.D. 951), Ibn Hawqal, and Muqadassi (A.D. 985). Istakhri, a native of Persepolis, gives the description of his native province, Fars, in far greater detail than is to be found in Ibn Hawqal, who reduced his chapter on Fars to the due proportion of the remainder of the book. Ibn Hawqal's work is indeed but a new edition, partly enlarged and amended, of Istakhri. Muqadassi wrote his geography entirely on independent lines, and chiefly from personal observation. His is probably the greatest, as it is certainly the most original, work of all those which the Arab geographers composed; his descriptions of places, of manners and customs, of products and manufactures, and his careful summaries of the characteristics of each province in turn, are indeed some of the best written pages to be found in all the range of mediæval Arab literature.*

In the tenth century also flourished Tabari,† whose work is, for geography as well as for history, a primary authority, and Hamzah Ispahani, whose work, though composed in Arabic, was evidently based on many Persian books now lost, and relates facts of which we should otherwise be ignorant.

Coming to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we have the work of a famous traveller, Nāsir-i-Khusraw, the Persian (A.D. 1047), who went from Khurasan to Mecca and back, visiting Egypt and Syria on his way out, and crossing Arabia on the homeward journey; and his diary, written in Persian, is one of the earliest works we possess in that language. His account of Basrah, the Shatt-al-Arab, Mehruban (the modern Hindijan), and Arrajan, the great city whose ruins are still to be seen east of Behbahan, is of extraordinary interest. He says that in his day the rulers of Basrah had built on the Shatt-al-Arab bar a scaffolding with great beams of teak wood, very broad below and narrowing above, forty yards in height, to serve as a lighthouse to warn mariners. On its summit was the watchman's cabin, and the platform being stone-flagged and supported on arches was used at night as a brasier wherein a beacon fire was lighted. A similar light-

* Le Strange, *op. cit.*

† Tabari's "Chronicles." Zotenberg's French translation, 4 vols., Paris 1867-74.

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house was seen by him at the mouth of the Hindijan river. He gives an interesting description of Basrah and the river between it and Abbadan, then, as now, flanked on either side by deep palm groves, amongst which, on either bank, stood the country-houses and castles of local notables.

Dating from the twelfth century is another Persian work called the *Fars Namah* of Ibn-ul-Balkhi, which describes this province most minutely, and is invaluable as far as it goes.* Of Bushire, under the old name, Rishahr, he writes: "The climate here is extremely hot, so that men have, in summer-time, to wrap the inner rind of the acorn on parts of the skin in certain places, otherwise it would chafe into sores by the excess of sweat and the heat engendered there. Further, they have the habit of putting on many shirts, and they wear them very long. The people have neither excellence nor strength of character, being of a weak nature."

The first-mentioned custom no longer holds, though it is an anticipation of the virtues of talcum powder; the custom of wearing many shirts is certainly no longer a habit of the residents, though it is typical of Baluchis to this day, and no one who knows the Bushiris would agree with Ibn-ul-Balkhi's estimate of them; on the contrary, they are by common consent the most energetic and businesslike community in the Persian Gulf.

Of Ganawah, a fishing village north-west of Bushire, and a base of operations of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, under its old name Jannabah, he writes: "In Persian they call it Ganfāh, which signifies "Stinking Water." Now a city that has stinking water for its name must be described as of an evil stinking character, and there is no occasion to speak of its condition."

Here again, Ibn-ul-Balkhi, who probably never actually travelled in this region, must still have been wide of the mark. His derivation of the name of the place from the Persian *Gand-ab* is far-fetched, and, as a matter of fact, the water there is excellent, and has apparently always been so, for it is mentioned favourably in later chronicles, notably in the logs and sailing directions of East India merchantmen.

Idrisi, who wrote in the middle of the twelfth century, is of little help to us, as he had no personal knowledge of Persia, and his work has come down to us in a very corrupt form.

Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, a Spanish Jew, who wrote in 1173, was a contemporary of Idrisi; he visited Tadmor, Babylon, Baghdad, and Susa among other places, and his narrative makes the first European travel story that has come down to us since Arrian's narrative of Nearchus and the scanty account of Trajan's exploits. Of Qatif he writes that—

* See Le Strange's translation, Asiatic Society Monographs, xiv., 1912.

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"It is a city with about 5,000 Israelites. In this vicinity the pearls are found: about the 24th of Nisan (*i.e.*, in April) large drops of rain are observed upon the surface of the water, which are swallowed by the reptiles, after this they close their shells and fall upon the bottom of the sea; about the middle of the month of Thishri (*i.e.*, in October), some people dive with the assistance of ropes, collect these reptiles from the bottom and bring them up with them, after which they are opened and the pearls taken out."*

He visited Wasit, Basrah, and Susa in Khuzistan, which was then inhabited by 7,000 Jews. From Susa he went through Luristan to Rudbar, and thus to Hamadan and Qazvin, whence he returned to the south, visiting Kish (or Qais) and Qatif, as already remarked, on his way to India.

Coming to the thirteenth century, the period of the Mongol invasion and the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, we have the voluminous geographical dictionary of Yaqut, a compilation from earlier writers illustrated by the author's own far-extended travels.

In the earlier part of the fourteenth century we have the systematic geography of Abu'l Fida, a Syrian prince; he, however, never visited Persia, and his work is accordingly of restricted interest to us. His description of Basrah and its canal system is very clear and interesting, but he had obviously very poor information regarding the courses of the Karun and the rivers of Khuzistan and Fars. In his day Ahwaz was the centre of a very extensively irrigated area. "On its borders," he writes, "are to be found delightful spots and plains of immense extent, planted with sugar-cane and other crops."

Of the same date are the travels of Ibn Batutah, the Berber (A.D. 1355), who rivalled Marco Polo in the extent of his voyages. His book is written in Arabic. He visited Dhufar by sea, and sailed thence up the Gulf of Oman into the Persian Gulf, touching at Masira, Sur, Kalhat, and other places in Oman, and later at Hormuz, Bandar Abbas, then known as Jeraun, whence he travelled to Lar, and Khunj, returning to Siraf, the modern Tahiri, and there embarked for Qatif, on the Arabian side. He gives an interesting account of the pearl fisheries,† not, however, free from exaggeration, as will be seen from the following quotation:

"Divers differ from each other in the time they are able to remain under water. Some can stay one or two hours, or even longer. When the oysters are opened," he says, "pieces of flesh are found inside, which are detached with a knife; as soon as they are exposed to the air they harden and change into pearls."

Taxation was heavy in those days—one-fifth to the Sultan; then, as now, the industry was run by merchants, who financed the divers, who were generally in debt to them.

* "The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela." Asher. Two vols., 1840.
† "Voyages of Ibn Batuta." French translation of Defrémery and Sanguinetti. Paris, 1914.

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From Qatif, Batuta went to Hasa and thence to Mecca, and passes out of our area. His contemporary, Hamdullah Mustawfi Qasvini, wrote in Persian the *Nuzhat-al-Qulub*, a description of the Mongol kingdom of Iran (including at that time Mesopotamia), which shows the condition of the country after the Mongol settlement. He also wrote the *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, which often contains geographical notes of great importance. Both text and translation of the former work have been published by the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund.* He gives many picturesque details regarding the various towns and villages of Southern Persia; of some places he writes that "most of the people are brigands, highwaymen, and footpads," of others that "they are silly and stupid by nature," of other places, again, "the population are distinguished for piety and honesty." The existence of these categories suggests either a simplicity of mind, which the rest of the narrative belies, or unpleasant personal experiences, though it does not seem that the author travelled very extensively.

Hamdullah Mustawfi is followed by Hafiz Abru (A.D. 1417) and Ali of Yazd (1425), whose history of Timur is a classic. At this point another European narrative is available, the first since that of Benjamin of Tudela, written by Friar Odoric. I make no reference to Marco Polo, as his stately peregrinations were confined mostly to Northern Persia, and scarcely come into the region dealt with in this paper. Lastly, for the settlement after the conquest of Timur, the works of two Turkish authors have to be mentioned, one Hajji Khaldun, who wrote the *Jihan Numah*, or universal geography (A.D. 1600), and Abu'l Ghazi, the Khwarazm Prince, who wrote the "History of the Turks and Mongols" (A.D. 1604).

At the end of the fifteenth century (1471-74), two Venetian merchants, Josafa Barbaro and Ambrosio Contarini, visited the Gulf,† passing through Adana, Urfa, Mardin, Sert, Vastan (six leagues south of Van), Khoi, Tabriz, Sultaniyah, Gulpaigan, Isfahan, Yazd, and Shiraz, to Ormuz. Of Shiraz, Barbaro writes: "It hath a nombre of excellent faire churches and good houses trymed with musaico and other goodly ornaments; and may conteigne cc^{ml} houses or p'adventure more. In which city is very sure dwelling w^{t}hout any disturbance."

Josafa Barbaro was sent with the Ambassador of Asim Beg, the King of Persia, and virtually held the same rank himself; he was joined later by Ambrosio Contarini, who went in 1873 as Venetian Ambassador to Asim Beg's successor, Uzun Hasan, and followed a more northerly route through the Caucasus to Tabriz, Qum, Kashan, and Isfahan. He likewise was favourably impressed with what he saw, and says:

* G. Le Strange's Translation. Luzac and Co., 1919.
† "Travels to Tana and Persia." Hakluyt Society, 1873.

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"There are fruit of all kinds, and of better quality than I have seen or tasted anywhere. . . . The Persians are well behaved and of gentle manners, and by their conduct appear to like the Christians. While in Persia we did not suffer a single outrage. The Persian women are dressed in a very becoming manner, and surpass the men both in their dress and in their riding. Both women and men are handsome and well made. The Persians dress well; they are good horsemen and ride the best horses they have. They are a very pompous nation, and their camels are so well caparisoned that it is a pleasure to look at them."

In the same year (1471) another Venetian, Caterino Zeno, visited the Court of Uzun Hasan, and was despatched by the latter to Europe to endeavour to enlist European sympathy and aid against the Turks, and left on record a short account of his somewhat unsuccessful diplomatic negotiations. He speaks very highly of the Persian soldiery, which he describes as:

"all good soldiers, the flower of the Persian people, as the Kings of Persia are not accustomed to give pay on the occasion of war but to a standing force. Thus it is that Persian gentlemen, to be well brought up, pay great attention to horsemanship, and when necessity calls, go willingly to war and bring with them, according to their means, a certain number of servants as well armed and mounted as themselves; if Persian soldiery were paid, as is the Turkish, there is no doubt but that it would be far superior to that of the Ottoman princes. This thing has been observed by all those who have had anything to do with both nations."

It is convenient here to refer to a shorter historical sketch of King Uzun Hasan by an Italian, Giovan Maria Angiolello, dated about 1520, and to the brief narrative of Vincentio d'Alessandri (A.D. 1591) the last of the Venetian Ambassadors to the Persian Court. The latter, too, has little but good to report of Shah Ismail's government and people. Of the army he says:

"They are generally men of fine aspect, robust, well made, of great courage, and very warlike. . . . Their arms also are superior and better tempered than those of any other nation. . . . The horses are so well trained and are so good and handsome that there is now no need to have them brought from other countries. . . . The reverence and love of the people for the King . . . are incredible, as they worship him not as a King, but as a god, on account of his descent from the line of Ali, the great object of their veneration. . . . Not only in the neighbouring cities can one observe these signs of reverence, but also in the distant towns and places."

The rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama in A.D. 1497 and the opening up of trade with India and the East by the Portuguese thirty years later heralded a new era; the commercial pre-eminence of Portugal in the sixteenth century is attested by the appearance in our bibliography of a number of Portuguese narrations

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from the pens of Faria y Sousa,* the younger Albuquerque,† Duarte Barbosa,‡ Pedro Teixeira,§ and others, whose narrations are without exception of much interest and historic value.

They are followed by a batch of letters, pamphlets, and "relations" from the pens of British master mariners and merchants—John Newbery, Ralph Fitch, John Nieuhoff, and others—bent on opening up trade routes to Ormuz, Gombrun, Balsara, and other ports. Before this time, as a recent writer has remarked, our heroes—common soldiers and seamen—were for the most part unable to write, while subsequent to the eighteenth century the pall of elementary education has descended, so that they are now unable to write for other reasons. The intervening centuries form an agreeable interval between two illiteracies, during which the rank and file pipe up here and there with surprising spirit, and make remarks that would not have occurred to admirals, or that the latter at least would not have recorded.‖

The seventeenth century is the great era at once of Persian grandeur and of additions in almost every European tongue to the literature of travel. A succession of instructed visitors on diplomatic missions, or drawn to the country by commercial interests, missionary zeal, or by a taste for exploration—the first fruits in the case of England of the wonderful expansion of natural interests and vision under Elizabeth—have bequeathed to us a series of works of extraordinary interest and dealing with every aspect of national life in Persia. In their pages we find a contemporary record of the habits and customs of the Persian people, set down with an accuracy which, except for the immortal "Hajji Baba," had scarcely any parallel until the last ten years or so, when Sir P. M. Sykes, Colonel D. C. Phillott, and a few lady missionaries, notably Mrs. C. Colliver Rice, have thrown a flood of light upon various aspects of Persian manners and customs. The narratives are notably free from any trace of religious prejudice or racial arrogance, although the authors are at no pains to avoid religious matters or to hide their own convictions.

The brothers Sherley,¶ the first of a succession of embassies who flocked to the Court of Shah Abbas at Isfahan, mostly by way of the Persian Gulf, recorded their experiences in a modest volume which

* "History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese." Faria y Sousa. Translated by Captain John Stevens. London, 1695.

† "The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalbuquerque." 4 vols. Hakluyt Society, 1884.

‡ "The Book of Duarte Barbosa." 2 vols. Hakluyt Society, 1918.

§ "The Travels of Pedro Teixeira." Hakluyt Society, 1902.

‖ *Nation and Athenæum*, October 4, 1924, p. 22.

¶ "Sir Anthony Sherley: His Relation of his Travels into Persia, the Dangers and Distresses which befel him in his passage, both by sea and land, and his strange and unexpected Deliverances, his magnificent Entertainment in Persia, his honourable imployment there-hence, as Embassadour to the Princes of Christendome." London, 1613.

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went through several editions before its place in public favour was taken by later narrations.

The Sherleys, Shirleys, or Scherleys were an ancient family connected with some of the best blood of England, having branches in Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Sussex. Of the latter the representative in the middle of the sixteenth century was Sir Thomas Sherley of Winston, who married Ann, daughter of Sir Thomas Kemp, by whom he had three sons, Thomas, Anthony, and Robert, "a leash of brethren severally eminent," as Fuller* terms them. Sir Thomas, the eldest of the three, was the latest in making any public reputation for himself, "men's activity not always observing the method of their register," as the quaint old author just quoted observes, and who further remarks, with reference to the successes of the two younger members of the family instigating Sir Thomas to endeavour to distinguish himself:

"As the trophies of Miltiades would not suffer Themistocles to sleep, so the achievements of his two younger brothers gave an alarm unto his spirit. He was ashamed to see them worn like flowers in the breasts and bosoms of foreign princes, whilst he himself withered upon the stalk he grew on."

Sir Thomas accordingly equipped three vessels, and collected a body of 500 military adventurers, apparently of the most worthless description, with whom he sailed on his strange and questionable enterprise in the latter end of 1601. He was captured and held to ransom at Constantinople, where for nearly three years he was confined in a loathsome dungeon in the Seven Towers, fed only on bread and water, heavily chained, frequently put in the public stocks, twice ordered out for execution, and subjected to every possible hardship. The English Ambassador at the Porte, Sir Paul Pindar, was earnestly solicited to interfere on his behalf, "but prisons are like graves, where a man, though alive, is nevertheless barred from the regard or respect of any," and it was not until December, 1605, that he was ransomed.

He was in trouble again twelve months later, having been committed to the Tower on a charge of intriguing to obtain the traffic of Constantinople for Venice and the Florentine States, but apparently he was speedily released. In "Dalrymple's Memorials" there is a petition from him to King James dated January, 1615, representing his own and his father's past services and his ruined condition, in which he states that his father, "being a man of excellent and working wit, did find out the device for making of baronets, which brought to your Majesty's coffers well nigh £100,000, for which he was promised by the late Lord Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, a good recompense which he never had." Of his subsequent career we have no further trace; but we find, in

* T. Fuller, "The History of the Worthies of England." 1840.

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Gough's "Camden," that his son rebuilt the church of Stanton Harold, as set forth in the following inscription:

"In the year 1653,
When all things sacred throughout the Nation
Were either demolished or profaned,
Sir Robert Sherley, Bart., founded this Church:
Whose singular praise it is to have done
The best things in the worst of times."

Anthony Sherley, the second son, was born in 1565 and educated at Oxford. Before he was of age he commenced his career in the wars in the Lower Countries, the usual field for the enterprising youth of that period. In 1586 he held a command in the famous battle of Zutphen, and subsequently accompanied his great friend and patron the Earl of Essex when he was sent to the assistance of Henry IV. of France, who bestowed on him the Order of St. Michael; his acceptance of which extremely displeased Queen Elizabeth, who observed that, "as a virtuous woman ought to look on none but her husband, so a subject ought not to cast his eyes on any other Sovereign than him God hath set over him. I will not have my sheep marked with a strange brand, nor suffer them to follow the pipe of a strange shepherd."

For this breach of allegiance Sir Anthony, on his return to England in 1593, was committed to the Tower, but was speedily released, and in the following year contracted a marriage which appears to have proved an unhappy one, for he immediately commenced arrangements for a new adventure and, in a letter from Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney, dated in November 1595, the former writes: "Sir Anthony Sherley goes forward on his voyage very well furnished, led by the strange fortune of his marriage to undertake any course that may occupy his mind from thinking of her vainest words."

Into this venture—an attack upon the Spanish island of St. Thomé—we cannot here follow him; the details are enshrined in the pages of Hakluyt. He was unsuccessful in this and other ventures and, after many hardships and after visiting Newfoundland, he returned home in 1590, only to leave again at the end of the year under the auspices of the Earl of Essex to fight for the illegitimate son of the Duke of Ferrara against the Vatican. He was accompanied by his younger brother Robert, then little more than seventeen years of age. To quote his own words: "I had my brother with me, a young gentleman whose affection to me had only led him to that disaster, and the working of his oune vertue, desiring in the beginning of his beste years to inable himself to those things which his good mind raised his thoughts unto. I also had five and twentie others; gentlemen for the most part, the rest such as had served me long; only carried with their loves to me into the course of my fortune."

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Before he reached Italy he heard that his client had made terms with the Pope, so he repaired to Venice, apparently with the idea of undertaking some expedition into Turkey, for he represents himself "not willing to returne and turne such a voyce as was raised at my going to nothing."

Here he obtained information that Shah Abbas was extremely jealous of the power of Turkey and well inclined to enter upon hostilities with his rival; and, hearing also that the Persian monarch was of a gallant and liberal disposition, he determined to proceed to his Court, to endeavour to induce him to enter into a combination with the Emperor of Germany against Turkey.

The party had a tedious passage of five-and-twenty days to Zante. One of the passengers, a Cypriot, made use of disrespectful language regarding Queen Elizabeth, which, being reported to Sir Anthony, "not only moved with dutiful zeal which a subject oweth to his prince, but even with that respect which every gentleman oweth to a lady," ordered one of the meanest of his men to give him the bastinado, which he did right soundly.

After many vicissitudes, travelling via Aleppo and down the Euphrates, the party reached Baghdad, where they were detained. Escaping by a clever ruse, they made their way via Mendeli, Karmanshah, and Hamadan to Qazvin, where they resolved to await the arrival of Shah Abbas. They were well received by all classes but, as Sir Anthony states, "more by the opinion which they had that the King would take satisfaction by us, than by their own honours, being an ill people in themselves, being only good by the example of their King, and their exceeding obedience unto him."

He was warmly welcomed by the Shah and royally entertained; he had not been long at Court before a Turkish embassy arrived, bearing gifts. Sir Anthony happened to fall sick at this juncture but, during his severe indisposition, the Shah was a constant attendant by his sick-bed, and in these friendly visits Sir Anthony was probably enabled to bring forward arguments and inducements which it might not have been prudent or easy to have dwelt upon publicly. In the event, the Turkish Ambassador was dismissed, while preparations were made to send Sir Anthony as Envoy Extraordinary from the Shah to the Pope, the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Spain, proposing a league against the general enemy.

At Sir Anthony's suggestion, the Shah organized his army—a regular force about 20,000 strong—under the general title of *Ghulams* or *Kurchis*, composed both of cavalry and infantry; the latter equipped with firearms, and specially termed *Tufangchis*.

His mission to Europe was fruitless, and we cannot here follow further the fortunes of this notable soldier of fortune and worthy

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upholder of the title of English gentleman; we must return to notice the fortunes of the younger brother, Robert Sherley, who had been left along with several others with Shah Abbas at Isfahan. The Shah was true to his word, and treated them all with extreme kindness and liberality. They devoted all their energies to the organization of the Persian army, with such success that, as Purchas observes, "The mightie Ottoman, terror of the Christian World, quaketh of a Sherley fever and gives hopes of approaching fates. The prevailing Persian hath learned Sherleian arts of war, and he which before knew not the use of ordnance hath now 500 pieces of brasse, and 60,000 musketiers; so that they which at hand with the sword were before dreadfull to the Turkes, now also in remoter blowes and sulfurian arts are growne terrible."*

Shah Abbas attacked and defeated the Turks in 1603 near Tabriz. Robert Sherley was *Topchi Bashi*, or Master-General of the Ordnance, and "so valiantly besterred himself that the Persians gave him a crown of laurel for the victory; for being armed and made ready for the fight, taking a pole-axe in his hand, he himself gave first such an honourable attempt, and so amazed and repulsed the enemie, that his soldiers, imitating his courage, put all the foes to the edge of the sword."

A second campaign followed in 1605, and the Turks were again defeated with immense loss, 25,545 heads being laid at the feet of the Shah after the action, in which Robert Sherley again rendered good service in the field, receiving three wounds "as a triple testimonie of his love and service to Christendom. . . . Catching a strong staff and pulling down his beaver, and putting spurs to his horse, he furiously rushed upon the enemy, his soldiers followed with such desperate resolution that the Turks were amazed at his valour, for he ran without stop through the troops, and like a lion, massacred whom he met."

Two hundred years later a military mission accompanied Sir John Malcolm to Persia to assist in organizing the Persian army, and commanded units for several years. Officers of this mission, notable among whom were Major (afterwards Sir Henry) Rawlinson, formed a not less high opinion of the Persian fighting men than did the Sherley brothers; their opinions have been confirmed in ample measure by those British officers who commanded the South Persian Rifles during and after the Great War, and my own opinion is that no country in the Middle East

* *Calcutta Review*, March, 1856. Rev. John Cartwright, who was in Persia whilst Robert Sherley was there, and published an account of his voyage under the title of "The Preachers Travels," speaks of the Persian troops as very superior to the Turks, and "by good right very highly to be esteemed. For the Turkish horseman is not to be compared with the Persian man-at-arms, who comes into the field armed with a strong cuirasse, a sure headpiece, and a good target" (*i.e.*, shield).

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contains better fighting material than Persia; only leaders, skilled in war and trusted by their men, are required. Men with the instinct and capacity for leadership and war abound, and only need training and equipment to be as formidable a force as exists in Asia.

Robert Sherley's conduct was fully appreciated. The Shah gratified him "not in titles of honour and honourable employments alone, but in rewards, *This man's bread is baked for sixtie years* being the formal words of his Royall Charter to him."* He also gave him in marriage a daughter of a Circassian chief named Ismail Khanza, relative of his own wife. This lady, who was a Christian and bore the name of Theresa,† was an excellent and faithful wife and bore him a child, to which Shah Abbas, though a Mohamedan, was godfather. The child did not survive, but a second son was born in London in 1611, to whom the Queen and the Prince of Wales stood sponsors, the boy being christened Henry, after his royal godfather.

Sir Robert Sherley died in 1627 at Qazvin, and, according to Herbert, "Wanting a fitter place of burial we laid him under the threshold of his own door, without further noise or ceremony." Sir Dodmore Cotton, a second Ambassador, followed him to the grave within the year. Sir Robert's wife, Theresa, ultimately found her way to Rome and there ended her life in a convent.

The inimitable Sir Thomas Herbert, who accompanied the Ambassador, Sir Dodmore Cotton, wrote, on his return from India, a book‡ which, for literary charm, shrewd observation and amusing candour, has no equal in its period. On his return to England, Herbert rejoined the Court of Charles I. and was in attendance on his royal master during his last days, accompanying him to the very scaffold. Doubtless he solaced that unfortunate monarch's last hours with tales of things he had seen and done in Persia and Arabia.

In 1614, D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa was despatched by King Philip III. of Spain, "Son of Bloody Mary's not inconsolable widower," as Ambassador to the Court of Shah Abbas; his "Commentaries" have been preserved, and are of great interest. They were fully described by Mr. Wratislaw in a most entertaining article § in *Blackwood*.

Another notable traveller of the seventeenth century is Pietro della Valle. He passed down the Gulf on his way to London after extensive travels in Persia and Mesopotamia, recording his experiences as he went in a series of letters which have lost none of their charm with the

* Purchas, vol. ii., p. 1806.

† See "Friendship's Offering," edited by Robert Hervey, London, 1826, p. 253, for an article on this subject by Jane Porter, sister of Sir R. Ker Porter. See also "These were Muses," Mona Wilson, 1924, for a sketch of her life.

‡ "A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile." London, 1634.

§ "Diary of an Embassy." Wratislaw, *Blackwood's Magazine*, October, 1924.

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lapse of time. It was at Minab, a few miles east of Bandar Abbas, that he lost his wife, a Baghdad Christian; he carried her embalmed corpse with him on his travels, until on his return to Rome four years later he buried her remains in the family tomb. His second wife was also a lady of the country. From his matrimonial experiences and those of one, at all events, of the Sherley brothers, it would seem that "mixed marriages" were in those days less imperilled by incompatibility of education and temperament and custom than to-day; it is certain that they were not frowned on by society or Government either in Europe or the East. In this respect, as in many others, the world was perhaps a happier and less bigoted place in the sixteenth and seventeenth century than in the twentieth, and we have something to learn from our forbears, for whose religious prejudices we have substituted racial prejudices no less unreasonable and perhaps more dangerous to peace and goodwill.

In conclusion, I should like to place on record my belief that, notwithstanding the classic researches of Professor E. G. Browne and the monumental works of Curzon and later of Sykes, there is still a great field for those who will study the records of British policy in Persia in an historical spirit. Of material for such researches there is no lack; it is in our power, and it is our duty, to learn from and to profit by the mistakes of past generations. If we do so, we may look forward with confidence to the future, bearing in mind that, if we lower our standard in history, we cannot uphold it in our national life and international relations. *Magna est veritas, prevalet.*

Lastly, whilst ample facilities exist in England for the study of Persian literature and thought, it is less easy for a student to gain from lectures or from existing books an insight into the mainsprings of Persian character and an appreciation of the Persian outlook on affairs. It is the business of those whom we send to Persia to learn to understand Persian character; the amusement, contempt, or even repulsion which human observers, wedded to their own ways of life, are apt to feel for a mode of life which differs vitally from their own, gives way, on deeper acquaintance, to a measure of sympathetic understanding. There is a real need for more books which will encourage this tendency without drifting into apologetics. Meanwhile, the study of the literature of travel is an important aid in this direction which it is the duty of this Society to foster.

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A KURDISH NEWSPAPER: "ROZH-I-KURDISTAN"

By Major C. J. Edmonds

It is now generally conceded that the Kurdish language is not merely a dialect of Persian, but a remarkably pure Aryan tongue with a distinct individuality. Nevertheless, before the war Kurdish was not ordinarily written; only poetry had to any extent been committed to writing, and even so Kurdish verse was regarded much as dialect poetry is regarded in Europe.

This, like so many other things, was changed by the war, when both sides set to work to fan the flames of a new nationalism among the subject races of enemy Governments. The Turkish Empire was most vulnerable to such propaganda in its Arab and Kurdish elements. The effects on the Arabs are well known, and are attested to-day by the three infant kingdoms of Hijaz, Iraq, and Trans-Jordan. The results in Kurdistan are less familiar, and, in any case, seem likely to be soon forgotten.

The Treaty of Sèvres, Article 64, reads as follows:

"If within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Kurdish peoples within the areas defined in Article 62 shall address themselves to the Council of the League of Nations in such a manner as to show that a majority of the population of these areas desires independence from Turkey, and if the Council then considers that these peoples are capable of such independence and recommends that it should be granted to them, Turkey hereby agrees to execute such a recommendation, and to renounce all rights and title over these areas. The detailed provisions for such renunciation will form the subject of a separate agreement between the principal Allied Powers and Turkey. If and when such renunciation takes place, no objection will be raised by the principal Allied Powers to the voluntary adhesion to such an independent Kurdish State of the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which has hitherto been included in the Mosul Vilayet."

This dream of an independent Kurdistan was destined not to be fulfilled. In the northern country, the area defined in Article 62 of the treaty, the idea had taken no shape before the Turkish recovery under Mustafa Kemal relegated it to the limbo of forgotten things. In Persia the Kurdish rebellion under Simko, which had wrested the whole of the border districts from Dilman to Bana from Government authority, attempted to give itself a nationalist complexion (though the treaty, of course, only affected the Turkish provinces), but collapsed in

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August, 1922, before the Persian military revival that dates from Saiyid Zia-ud-Din's *coup d'état* of February, 1921. Only in Kurdistan in Iraq did a Kurdish state nearly materialize; it failed because of the overweening conceit and mad ambition of the instrument chosen to form it.

The armistice of November, 1918, found British troops in occupation of the line of Turkoman towns, Mandali, Khaniqin, Kifri, Kirkuk, Altun Keupri, Arbil, along the great high-road that runs parallel to the foot-hills of Zagros and roughly divides Kurds from Arabs. British policy then was to avoid commitments in the hills by setting up a semi-autonomous Kurdish province, and a certain Shaikh Mahmud, the head of a Sulaimani family, with a great reputation for sanctity, was chosen to be head of it. Eventually, for a variety of reasons, the scheme was much restricted, and the borders of the Kurdish province virtually coincided with the old Turkish *liwa* of Sulaimani plus the *caza* of Rania.

One of the devices adopted by the British officers in Kurdish territory for consolidating Kurdish national sentiment was the introduction of Kurdish as the written official language in place of the Turkish of Government offices and the Persian of private correspondence. Gradually a set style was evolved, but at first even native officials found great difficulty in expressing themselves, and one of them once complained to the writer: "The British Government is famous throughout the world for its justice and mercy to the weak; why does it make an exception in our case and commit the abominable tyranny of making us write our own language?"

The South Kurdistan experiment was not six months old before Shaikh Mahmud, resenting the restraints placed upon him by his advisers, rose and imprisoned the British personnel in Sulaimani. An expedition, the defeat, capture, and exile of the Shaikh, followed, and the Sulaimani division (as it was called) was brought into line with the rest of the occupied territories of Iraq and administered by British political officers. In 1920, however, the division was not included in King Faisal's Arab kingdom, but remained under direct British administration until September, 1922, when, in consequence of Turkish infiltration and a series of tribal risings, it was evacuated. Shaikh Mahmud, an exile in Kuwait, was brought back, presumably with the idea of reviving the Kurdish nationalist movement as a counter to Turkish propaganda. The second experiment was no more successful than the first. Within a month Mahmud was in communication with the Turks then established in Rania, and whom he sought to use as a lever and then discard. He claimed for himself all the Kurdish districts in mandated territory down to the Jabal Hamrin, including Kirkuk, Arbil, and even Mosul itself. In November, 1922, he assumed the title of King of Kurdistan.

It was in these circumstances that this newspaper, the *Rozh-i-*

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Kurdistan, appeared. It is consequently of some literary and historical interest.

The *Rozh-i-Kurdistan* (the *Sun* or *Day of Kurdistan*) was the successor of an earlier weekly, *Bang-i-Kurdistan* (the *Call of Kurdistan*), which had commenced publication on August 2nd, 1922, just a month before the British evacuation.* The founder and editor was Hajji Mustafa Pasha, an ardent Kurdish nationalist with pro-British sympathies. He fell foul of Shaikh Mahmud, soon after this person's return, and was dismissed at the beginning of October, when his paper had reached its thirteenth number.

The first number of the *Rozh* appeared on 25th Rabi'-ul-Awwal, 1341 (15th November, 1922), with the following foreword:

"'CRY OF KURDISTAN'—'DAY OF KURDISTAN.'

"The concessionaire of the newspaper *Cry of Kurdistan*, Hajji Mustafa Pasha, has resigned owing to the pressure of his official duties. The publication of that paper was indeed a good omen for the Kurds and Kurdistan—the *Cry of Kurdistan* heralded the Day. Owing to this resignation the concession and office of the *Day of Kurdistan* have, under this new name, been granted to me by decree of His Majesty the King of Kurdistan, may his glory endure. Yes, the result of the Cry that greets the dawn is the Day. That Cry was a cry that was uttered for a morning of happiness. This Day is the day when (to God be the praise) the noble Kurdish people have attained their happiness and independence through the zeal and pious activity of His Majesty. May God bless this day and the "*Day of Kurdistan*" for the whole Kurdish nation.

"Responsible Editor,
"M. NURI."

The paper, which is printed on folded foolscap, is described as an "official, political, literary, and social periodical, published weekly, price per copy one anna; subscription, one rupee per quarter; postage abroad extra." It appeared every Thursday from 15th November, 1922, to 24th January, 1923, missing only Thursday, 29th November. Number 11 was issued three days late on Saturday, 3rd February, after which the paper appeared each Saturday up to Number 15 of 3rd March, 1923, the last issue. Number 7 is wrongly dated 3rd December instead of 3rd January. Number 12 contains a notice to the effect that owing to losses the subscription is raised to one and a half rupees per quarter.

The principal qualification of the editor, Muhammad Nuri, was his relationship to Shaikh Mahmud's second wife. The son of a Sulaimani tobacco merchant, he was brought up as a theological student. In 1918 he adopted the more lucrative profession of secret service agent to a foreign consul in Persia, and subsequently held minor posts in the Sulaimani municipality.

* See *C. A. S. Journal*, Vol. X., Part I., 1923: "Evacuation of Kurdistan," by E. B. Soane, R.G.E.

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Of the leading and political articles Nuri is responsible for the greatest number; nine signed and probably two more unsigned articles are from his pen. Most of his contributions appear to be translations from old Turkish books on social subjects—*e.g.*, "Nationality," "The Survival of the Fittest," "The Cure for Poverty and Oppression," "A Moral from Adversity"; there is even an article on the lessons of the Franco-Prussian War.

More original is the work of Arif Saib, who has four articles in the earlier numbers, but ceased to write after his appointment to the post of "Second Secretary in the Royal Chancery," announced in No. 7. The unfortunate royal secretary was foully murdered by the order and in the presence of his master a few months later.

The following extract, taken from No. 1, is a fair sample of his style, and will also serve to illustrate the Kurdish case as argued in Sulaimani. The article is an answer to one appearing in an Arabic newspaper of Baghdad:

". . . It talks of Kurdistan as if it were part of Iraq, and calls it the Liwa of Sulaimani, because it has close commercial and economic relations with Baghdad. It calls the Cabinet of Kurdistan by the name of 'Provincial Administrative Council.' These remarks are most deplorable. It is unbelievable that any enlightened person could be so unjust or inexact. We never expected our great and friendly neighbour to trample under foot all our thousand-year-old rights and the good relations of these two governments and peoples, or . . . to violate our frontiers. . . . The formation of a Government of Kurdistan offers a hundred thousand benefits for Iraq; nay, the continued existence of Iraq can only be achieved through the continuance of the Government of Kurdistan. . . . History and geography bear ample witness that the Kurdish people have always had an individuality in the world and have always established their nationhood by practical proofs. If they were not greater, they certainly were not less than their likes in education, crafts, commerce, human rights, civilization, lands, population, etc. . . . The law and principle of self-determination are strongly impressed on the mind and soul of every individual of the nation. In the blessings of rights and frontiers, which have been justly allotted by the League of Nations, we, too, have our share. To preserve this share we shall make all necessary sacrifices with our moral and material being. . . . We submit with all pride that we are a clean and fearless people. We are not slaves, but free. . . . Now, to God a hundred thanks, our night has turned to day, and . . . a great head and leader, like the King of Kurdistan, King Mahmud I., has, as if by the miracle of the Messiah, been brought to life again for us. . . . The sacred aim of His Excellency the King of Kurdistan has ever been the protection of the rights and natural frontiers of Kurdistan and the maintenance of brotherly goodwill with our neighbours."

Other articles emphasized that the Kurdish people have been settled in their present habitat east of the Tigris for four thousand years, and have survived the rise and fall of many imperial races—

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Chaldeans, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Mongols, Turks. Kurdistan has also produced many heroes—Saladdin, Karim Khan Zand, King Mahmud I.

The Mosul issue at Lausanne begins to attract attention in Number 6 (27th December, 1922), which contains two separate articles on the subject by Nuri. He writes:

"As the population of Mosul is generally Kurdish, why should the recovery or retention of this vilayet be demanded by outside peoples. The Turks, Arabs, and Assyrians base their claims on the presence of a small number of their people. . . . The demand we make of the Lausanne Conference is not the protection of a minority; it is the vindication of the right to live of a great independent people with a country of its own."

And again:

"Kurdistan. When an educated person pronounces this word he does not mean only this zone of Sulaimani, but a broad, geographical region, and he thinks of a united, numerous Kurdish people. The natural frontiers of this country . . . are clear."

It should perhaps be mentioned here that the Kurds outside Sulaimani, and many within it, never admitted the right of Mahmud of Sulaimani to speak for more than his own immediate circle.

Several numbers of the *Rozh* have verses, but of no particular merit. One frequent contributor, Rafiq Hilmi, prefers Turkish, but most are in Kurdish. The following three examples will suffice to give an idea of the method of the Kurdish poets of Sulaimani at this time.

1. From a poem by Ali Kemal in No. 3:

"To-day our country is the envy of the meadows of Paradise;
Its evening is like the bright morning of prosperity;
Its season is ever spring; its night is glorious day;
All is pleasure, all is mirth, all is gladness, all is joy;
Strive we all with heart and soul;
Now is the time for effort, not for lazing.
O noble youth of our country, ye wise men,
It is the time for effort and the end is Mahmud (=laudable)."

2. From a contribution by Shaikh Nuri Baba Ali in No. 10:

"When the countenance of Kaka Ahmad's grandson shone forth like the sun
It caused a light to shine on the land and people.
A sun has risen in the Kurdish firmament
Which is a credit to the world, if ye have understanding.
Our country prospers, like Ghazna, with a Sultan who is Mahmud;
So prosper Sulaimani and its lands, O Lord.
Ho! thou second Joseph. Ho! thou third Umar.
The universe hath not seen thy like; in truth thou art a good king.
For clemency thou art without compare, a Hatim Tai in generosity art thou.
In the balance of justice thou art without equal, and no speech can exaggerate thy goodness."

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3. From a poem contributed to No. 14 from prison by Ahmad Beg Jaf, son of the celebrated Lady Adila of Halabja:

"Zephyr, take this my petition of faithful and humble duty and good wishes
To the King of the whole region of Sulaimani.
Say, 'May I be thy sacrifice, O Saladdin son of Ayyub,
Who art an Ali in the strength of thy hand, in beauty a second Joseph.
Praise God, we have shaken off the grip of the unbeliever;
With that hand and blade and zeal thou art the Lion of God.'
After these respectful greetings say to the King of the World,
'What is Ahmad's crime that he has been thrown into prison?
If perchance any fault have been proved against him,
Pardon him of thy kindness, for thou only art the Lord of favour.'"

The *Rozh* throws but little light on internal events, but it will not be without interest to examine such news-items as do appear.

From No. 1 (November, 1922) we learn that His Majesty has generously returned to the treasury ten thousand rupees of the salary allotted to him by the Council of Ministers of Kurdistan, and has offered to supplement deficiencies from his private purse. The salary actually allotted to himself by Mahmud was Rs. 30,000 a month, while the expenses of his establishment were paid from municipal funds. At this time money was plentiful, for nearly all the tobacco consumed in Iraq is grown in the Sulaimani *liwa;* the whole year's crop was in bond in the town, and was being taxed by Mahmud to the extent of a *lac* of rupees a month before release. The time was soon to come when income was barely sufficient to pay its first charge, the royal salary.

Number 3 contains a royal *irada* appointing three aides-de-camp to the King. One is an officer, but the other two are Kurdish tribal chiefs of the neighbouring *liwa* of Kirkuk. The appointments indicate Mahmud's policy of interference in the Kurdish districts outside the Sulaimani sphere, a challenge which ultimately brought him into conflict with Government.

In December Shaikh Mahmud's flag is hoisted in Halabja (No. 4) and Chamchemal (No. 5), and early in January at Rania (No. 7). These are the headquarter towns of the administrative subdivisions of Sulaimani, and occupation was then in each case a legitimate move. The move to Rania brought him into direct contact with the Turkish bands still hanging about between that place and Rowanduz, and had important consequences. The troops used were the old British-trained Sulaimani levy.

Number 5 has an obituary notice of Jemal Beg, murdered by two "unknown men." Jemal was an ex-Turkish officer of exceptional enlightenment, who had not hesitated to criticize Mahmud's methods. The murder, arranged by Mahmud himself, was merely an incident in an appalling reign of terror in Sulaimani at this time.

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Number 6 chronicles the arrival of a number of tribal leaders from the Kirkuk *liwa*, another step in the campaign of encroachment.

On 3rd January (No. 7) Mahmud offers thanks to the British Government for the gift of independence. Actually a joint pronouncement had been made by the British and Iraq authorities agreeing to the principle of a Kurdish administration in the Sulaimani *liwa*.

A new development is indicated by the reproduction in the same number of correspondence between Mahmud and Simko, whose activities in Persian Kurdistan and collapse have already been noticed, and who had drifted down looking for help against the Turks, the chief authors, in his view, of his downfall. The upshot of the correspondence is that Mahmud refuses co-operation. But, a few days later, on January 8th, the "doughty champion of Kurdistan, His Excellency Ismail Aga Simko," arrives in Sulaimani (No. 8), and is received with a parade of troops and a salute of seven guns; the day is proclaimed a public holiday.

From references in Nos. 11 and 15 we learn that several deputations have made journeys to Baghdad "to settle the matter of the independence of Kurdistan."

Early in February Fattah Effendi Yuzbashi arrives from Angora (No. 12). This was the beginning of the end. Encouraged by the promises of support brought from the Turks by his brother-in-law, Mahmud finally threw off all restraint and set to work to stir up revolt in the Kurdish districts of the Kirkuk *liwa*. Numbers 13 and 14 are dull and colourless, but from No. 15 (3rd March, 1923) we feel that something has gone wrong. The leading article is an apologia for the self-sacrificing King, Mahmud I., and an appeal for unity; dissensions have broken out. And then, two pages on, a plaintive paragraph: "We looked to the favour of the English Government for the formation of a Kurdish Government, and always tried to preserve the friendship of the English Government; but, alas! it now threatens our downtrodden people. We do not understand what it means. We cannot make things out." The reference is to orders issued to Mahmud to proceed to Baghdad to explain his conduct. He disobeyed, but left the town, with his levies and the treasury, to make his headquarters in the gorges and caves of the Surdash region north-west of Sulaimani.

The *Rozh-i-Kurdistan* comes to a sudden end with his flight, but even from the caves of Jasana publicity is not neglected. On 8th March appears, on a half-sheet of foolscap, the first issue of a new organ, *Bang-i-Haqq* (the *Call of Right*), still "an official, political, literary, and social periodical," but "printed at General Headquarters of the army of Kurdistan." It is confined to a single article, a proclamation of *Jihad*, or war for the faith. Even the name conveys a subtle appeal to religious fanaticism, for *Haqq*, the Right, is the mystic's name for

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God. Number 2 consisted of a similar diatribe, but was never printed. The manuscript fell later into the hands of the present writer; it had been returned by the printer, with an endorsement to the effect that articles were to be signed by the author and countersigned by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and King of Kurdistan.

Number 3, of 12th April, also a half-sheet of foolscap, contains only instructions and a set of rules, signed by Mahmud, for the formation of a committee of national defence. This was the last issue.*

* A complete collection of *Rozh-i-Kurdistan* and *Bang-i-Haqq* has been sent to the Cambridge University Library.

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REVIEWS

FOREIGN BOOKS

MIT FELDMARSCHALL VON DER GOLTZ PASCHA IN MESOPOTAMIEN UND PERSIEN. By his late General Staff Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Hans v. Kiesling. Leipzig: Dieterich 'sche, publishers.

The name of von der Goltz requires no introduction to English—particularly military—readers. His well-known military publications and his activities, which extended over many years, in the improvement and reorganization of the Turkish army had gained for him a world-wide reputation long before the outbreak of the Great War.

Lieutenant-Colonel von Kiesling hopes that this book will serve to keep alive a remembrance of the German Field-Marshal who strove and planned for his country under the burning sun of Mesopotamia and laid down his life there in the execution of his duty, and also that it may serve at the same time to throw light on events which, although they did not take place at the focus of the mighty conflict, still were of great importance for the general course of the war. The book certainly fulfils both its objects.

The account of the manner in which von ver Goltz, already in his seventy-third year, started off from Constantinople on the tedious journey of over 1,500 miles to Baghdad, and of the ardour and self-sacrifice with which he carried out his duties there, can excite nothing but respect and admiration for this illustrious and war-worn veteran. The history of German diplomacy in the Middle East both before and during the war, the story of the fights in Iraq up to the fall of Kut in April, 1916, the activities of the Germans in Persia and Afghanistan, are all recorded in a manner which is as full of interest as it is for the most part impartial and broadminded.

The outbreak of war found von der Goltz in retirement. He had celebrated his fifty years' military jubilee in 1911 and retired in 1913. Notwithstanding his age, he longed for an active command at the front, and was by no means satisfied when the position of Governor-General in Belgium was entrusted to him after the first victorious battles of the German army. He left Brussels of his own accord because he did not consider right the measures laid down for the treatment of the Belgians.

When Turkey entered the war on the side of the Central Powers it naturally followed that von der Goltz was sent to Constantinople, where his long service in the Turkish army had gained for him the confidence and respect of the entire nation. He knew intimately the important

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leaders in Turkey, and was especially esteemed by the Young Turks in the Government. At first he was attached to the headquarters of the Sultan, but was soon entrusted with the command of the first Turkish army, whose rôle was to protect Constantinople against a Russian attack from the Bosphorus, and at the same time to cover the right flank of the Dardanelles front against an attack from the Gulf of Saros. Then came the successful and rapid advance of the English in Mesopotamia, which the Turks alone seemed unable to repel. Towards the end of 1915 von der Goltz was appointed to command all the forces in Iraq and Persia, thus obtaining his long-desired active command at the front. It is clear from such despatches of the Field-Marshal as are quoted that he fully realized the grave difficulties of his task, and the personal dangers which awaited him. Still nothing could deter him.

The journey to Baghdad is described in detail, thus emphasizing the trials with which the Turkish forces had to contend owing to their lengthy and very imperfect line of communication. Incidentally the author observes that he could never understand why the Entente did not deal a blow, based on Cyprus, at the vital point of the line of communication in the neighbourhood of Tarsus-Adana, where a successful thrust, which in his opinion could never have been resisted, would have simultaneously paralyzed all German-Turkish operations in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Persia.

A chapter of especial interest is devoted to the Field-Marshal's share in the operations which led to the fall of Kut. It may confidently be asserted that his experience and ability were invaluable to the Turks, who without his assistance would never have succeeded in resisting the advance of the British, and in capturing Townshend's force at Kut.

Von der Goltz reached the scene of operations at a critical time just after the battle of Ctesiphon on November 23. Notwithstanding the arrival of a fresh Armenian division under Halil Bey on the day of the battle, Nureddin, the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, had considered himself beaten, and "on the evening of the 23rd had commenced his retreat to Baghdad, when he heard through plundering Arabs that the English had also fallen back." He turned his army round and followed up the English to Kut-el-Amara, but the fact that the English retirement on this occasion was not seriously molested is fully explained by the delay caused by his intercepted retreat.

On December 12 von der Goltz reached Kut-el-Amara and took over command of the operations. Nureddin was of opinion that he had only to deal with the remnants of Townshend's force. He was an impetuous leader, and after two unsuccessful attempts to take the place by storm wished to repeat his efforts. Von der Goltz, however, soon discovered from a personal reconnaissance that the whole of

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Townshend's force had remained in Kut, and at once formed the correct conclusion that Townshend was deliberately holding Kut as a *point d'appui* for future operations. He ordered Nureddin to desist from all further attacks as too dangerous.

The Field-Marshal had gained his first experience of fighting in the Austrian war of 1866, when, as an infantry leader, he was wounded at the battle of Trautenau. Some of his experiences in this war and in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 had been embodied in his book "The Conduct of War," where he wrote as follows: "Stubborn assailants readily yield to the temptation, especially in local fights, of making great efforts to gain some objective, the attainment of which is not worth the sacrifice. The attack may thus cause a waste of troops. Even success will often be so dearly bought, particularly against the terrible firearms of modern times, that the general situation is thereby made worse rather than better. Pyrrhic victories are the bane of the modern offensive." It may be noted that these remarks were written before the introduction of magazine rifles and machine guns. Von der Goltz must indeed have rejoiced when he discovered that his opponents were all too ready to adopt the very tactics which he had condemned, and to fritter away their forces by unscientific attacks against his well-entrenched positions. When he perceived that the one—and only—well-organized attack was about to be delivered, after weeks of careful sapping, on April 7 against the Felahiyeh position, he wisely withdrew the Turks before the blow fell to the still more formidable Sannaiyat position in rear. No less than three attempts to storm this position in broad daylight were made by the English within the next two weeks, but they all failed owing to lack of time for sufficient preparation. As a result Townshend was compelled to surrender with all his force at Kut on April 29 after a long and brilliant defence, but the gallant Field-Marshal whose brain was chiefly responsible for its fall did not live to see his efforts crowned with victory. He died in Baghdad a victim to spotted typhus on April 19.

No less interesting than the account of the fighting round Kut is the record of German activities in Persia and Afghanistan during the war. The Germans aspired to the creation of a triple alliance of the Mahomedan states of Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, and to the disturbance of Great Britain in the most sensitive part of her empire. The scheme proved too ambitious, but was only circumvented after the expenditure of much energy and vast sums of money on the part of the British in those distant countries. At the time of von der Goltz's arrival in the East, German activities in those regions were being rapidly developed. Graf Kanitz had just arrived in Persia, and had succeeded in concluding a treaty with the adventurer Nizam-es-Sultaneh. This treaty is given in full as an appendix, and makes instructive reading. Kermanshah had been occupied as a base for all

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German activities in Persia. Factories were opened there for the production of small-arm ammunition, boots, shoes, saddlery, uniforms, and other military equipment. German missions were sent all over Persia, and met with considerable success in stirring up the tribes, especially in South Persia, where the activities of Wassmuss and others were to cause much trouble to the British at Bushire and Shiraz. At one time the Germans almost succeeded in carrying off the young Shah of Persia from Teheran to Kermanshah. They had been promised the assistance of the Persian gendarmerie, commanded by Swedish officers, who for the most part openly espoused the German cause, and for whose devotion a tribute of thanks is recorded in the book.

At the end of 1915 a German mission led by von Hentig and Niedermayer actually reached Kabul in the hope of winning over the Amir of Afghanistan to the side of the Central Powers. This plot also failed, but those who are acquainted with the conditions in Afghanistan will readily agree with the author that the adventurous journey of these gallant Germans may be reckoned among the finest individual feats of the war.

The capture of the German base at Kermanshah by the Russian force under General Baratov at the beginning of 1916 left all these German missions *en l'air*, but did not compel them to cease all their activities for a long time to come.

The book ends with a description of the Field-Marshal's life and surroundings in Baghdad and his last days there. Reference is made to his wonderful energy and the many difficulties with which he had to contend. It is pointed out that the sympathy of the Turks as a nation was never really on the side of the Central Powers, and that the inhabitants of Mesopotamia generally preferred the British to the Turk. Under these circumstances the position of the Field-Marshal was never an easy one, and nobody without his ability, tact, and intimate knowledge of the people could have unravelled the numerous knots which constantly confronted him. After his death the position of the Germans in Mesopotamia became more and more difficult, and the author does not disguise the fact that much of the blame lay with the German officers, who lacked the courtesy and tact of his talented commander, Field-Marshal von der Goltz.

A. M. S. ELSMIE.

L'ISLAM ET LES QUESTIONS MUSULMANES AU POINT DE VUE FRANÇAIS : Conférence faite au centre des hautes études militaires, le 13 Avril, 1923. Par Général Brémond. Paris : Charles Lavauzelle et Cie, Editeurs Militaires.

This is a small pamphlet publishing a lecture which was delivered to military officers. Its object is to attract the attention of the French public to a matter which is held to be of paramount importance to

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their very existence as a nation. It is not contended that a vast subject like Mahomedanism can be exhaustively treated within the compass of a lecture, but it was rightly considered that the ear of the public could be reached better by a brief and vivid sketch, such as is contained in a lecture, than by a mass of matter in a weighty volume.

Professor Huvelin, the eminent French authority on the Levant, who only died in June, 1924, has contributed a eulogistic preface to the book. Copious and extremely interesting notes have also been added for the benefit of those who desire further illustration or elucidation of important points in the text.

First, it may be asked, why are questions connected with Islam of such vital importance to the French nation? General Brémond, who is a practical soldier, is firmly convinced that Germany will renew her aggression of 1914 as soon as there is a reasonable prospect of success. At the same time, according to his calculations, France will only be able to place in the field by the year 1940 one French soldier to every three German soldiers. The great increase in disparity is due to the loss in French population occasioned during the years of the late war, when the birth-rate fell enormously. It is quite clear, therefore, that, failing external alliances, which are apt to be uncertain, the balance can only be redressed by the willing and wholehearted assistance of the population in other parts of the Empire. France must chiefly look to Africa and the Near East to supply the deficiency. In these countries the Mahomedan element is predominant. A sound appreciation of Mahomedan questions is therefore of the greatest importance, in order that the services of the 22,000,000 Mahomedans in the French possessions may be employed to the best advantage in the critical times which may be expected in the future.

General Brémond only claims to deal with the subject from the point of view of French interests, but his service of over thirty years in Arabia, the Levant, Africa, and Madagascar—countries situated at or near the heart of Mahomedanism—gives him an experience which adds great weight to the opinions and conclusions which he has formed in the matter. The able and practical summary contained in this pamphlet provides much food for thought and much that is of great interest to the public of other European nations, who, like France, are continually confronted with the solution of similar problems.

The author traces the rise of Mahomedanism from its inception among the Bedouin Arabs through its reign at Damascus and Baghdad under the Omaiyad and Abbasid Caliphs to the times of Turco-Mongol Islam, which were only terminated the other day on the deposition of the Turkish Caliph. The discussion of the latter stages of Mahomedanism leads to an exposition of many fallacies in connection with popular beliefs concerning the Turks. It is pointed out that the idea of a traditional friendship existing between France

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and Turkey is pure invention. History shows that Charles I., Charles VII., Louis XI., and Charles VIII. were in constant hostility with the Turks, while it is impossible to forget the atrocities committed by the Turks against the French during the late war, or the many outrages inflicted on French residents since the war. The idea that the Turk is an exceptionally fine fighter is also a mistake. Instances are quoted in which large armies of Turks have been defeated by far inferior forces. It is maintained that, in spite of Plevna, Kut-el-Amara, etc., the Turks have owed their successes to the faults of their enemies rather than to their own bravery. Turkey has always had to rely on the non-Musulman element in its population for the production of many of its ablest men. At the present time thousands of Germans are being installed in Turkey to take the places left vacant by the massacred Armenians. Turkey, even though bolstered up by Russia and Germany, cannot last. It is rotten to the core. As soon as the world is re-established, Turkey will crumble away under economic pressure, unless, as appears possible, it places itself under the tutelage of a reconstituted Germany, and accepts a German colonization, protected by Berlin, to replace its vanished Christians.

Having completed a rapid survey of Mahomedanism in general, the author then makes his suggestions with regard to the lines for treatment of the Mahomedan peoples of the French Empire. He recognizes that Mahomedanism, as a creed, creates in its followers an antagonism to the rest of the world. It is a fighting creed. Pan-Islamism, that "political idea of Russian invention and German development, can only be the ally of conquering nations, and can only live by war." Pan-Islamism is, in reality, inimical to the interests of all European nations, who, in the eyes of Musulmans, are all tarred with the same brush. Thus, when the Italians on December 8, 1914, permitted the Naib of the Sultan at Tripoli to proclaim a holy war against the French and their allies, they lost Tripoli, and caused the French to lose the Sahara. When the Spanish are defeated in the Rif, the French have to take precautions in Morocco. When the English have trouble in Egypt, the French have trouble in Tunis.

The author is strongly opposed to any attempt on the part of French officials at fostering or spreading Mahomedanism. His aim would rather be gradually to induce Musulmans to allow their national spirit to take precedence of their religious feelings. He would give every consideration and all possible liberty to Mahomedanism, but not more so than to other religions. He would certainly not encourage in any way the conversion of the fetish-worshipping black people of Africa to Mahomedanism. He points out that, at the time when Pan-Islamic ideas were most flourishing in Germany, one enlightened pro-consul, General von Lettow, the Governor of German East Africa, did not hesitate to stop vigorously the propaganda of Islam in his

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dominions. The loyalty of the black people to von Lettow during the course of the five years' war shows that he was right.

General Brémond concludes his valuable lecture by urging his countrymen to look far ahead, and endeavour gradually—but very gradually—to modernize their fellow-subjects in Africa, imbuing them by slow degrees with the French spirit and the French language. He admits that it will be a lengthy task, in the execution of which great tact and much perseverance will be required. He is sure, however, that it is the best method for insuring the loyal co-operation of the inhabitants in the defence of the French Empire in critical times of danger. He also points out that this method was adopted successfully in bygone centuries by the Romans and Arabs on the same ground.

A. M. S. Elsmie.

ENGLISH BOOKS

The Caliphate. By Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., Litt.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1924. 10s. 6d. net.

Sir Thomas Arnold's scholarly work is a timely reminder that, in spite of Angora, the Caliphate remains an ancient Islamic institution, and has not necessarily, or even probably, come to an end because the new Turkish Republic has repudiated it. Perhaps for the ordinary reader the most interesting part of the book is that in which, as the result of long and careful research work in contemporary documents, Sir Thomas shows us how the Ottoman Sultans originally came to assume the title of Caliph. He tears to pieces the generally accepted version that Selim the Grim, the conqueror of Egypt in 1517, wrested it from a descendant of the Baghdad Caliphs who had taken refuge in Cairo and were allowed to wield a shadowy authority under the protection of its Mameluke Sultans. No trace, he says, can be found of any such transfer in the documents of the time, not even in Sultan Selim's letters to his son giving him a detailed account of his achievements in Egypt, nor in the daily records of the Court chroniclers, nor in the works of two Turkish and one Persian historian who were eye-witnesses of the Sultan's victorious progress. Selim is, indeed, known to have carried off a good many sacred relics which were believed to have come down from the days of the Prophet, but he left the heir of the Baghdad Caliphs in possession of such authority as he had previously enjoyed, and, though he removed him afterwards to Constantinople for a short time, he continued to treat him with consideration until he had to shut him up in a castle to put a stop to his shameful extravagance, "especially in buying dancing girls for his amusement." After Selim's death, in 1520, Soliman the Magnificent even allowed Mutawakkil to return to Cairo, and again to play the Caliph there until he also died in 1543. So much for a story first put forward with an air of authority in 1787 and accepted since then without any attempt to test its

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accuracy, with the result, Sir Thomas remarks, that it has "passed unchallenged from one historical work to another—Oriental as well as European—and has become a commonplace in the modern propagandist literature of the Mohamedan world in support of the Ottoman claims to the Caliphate."

Our author does not, however, merely destroy a legend. He quotes chapter and verse to show that, long before Selim, the Ottoman Sultans had assumed the title of Caliph, because, having destroyed not only Christian kingdoms and principalities, but also the Arab Empires whose rulers had been originally invested with the Caliphates, they decided that they had the best right to it. They required no title-deeds except the sword of Islam, which they wielded far more effectively than any other Mohamedan potentates of the day.

Perhaps for that very reason, when the Ottoman Empire in its turn fell into decay, its Sultans seldom laid any particular stress on their title of Caliph, and in our own days it was emphasized for the first time by that strange but sinister Sultan, Abdul Hamid II., who in his way might be said to have been something of a genius had he not wrecked his great schemes of Pan-Islamic overlordship, extending far beyond the boundaries of Turkey, by his singular combination of ruthless despotism at home and of craven terror of conspiracies even within his own palace. As to the sensational action of the men of Angora in suddenly abolishing the Turkish Caliphate which they had declared only a year before to be the immutable foundation of Turkish power, Sir Thomas is of opinion that "as a political reality, or as embodying the theories that had lent importance to it in the past, the Caliphate had long been dead, and the Turkish National Assembly had faced the realities of the situation in decreeing its abolition." That may be so, for there have been few signs so far of any resentment amongst the Turkish people for a measure which seemed to strike at all their most ancient religious and historical traditions. But may not the Turkish National Assembly have been merely the subservient interpreter of the will of one of those masterful dictators to whom Oriental nations are apt to bow for just as long as his life or power endures?

VALENTINE CHIROL.

PERSIAN LITERATURE IN MODERN TIMES. By E. G. Browne. Cambrige University Press. 1924. 35s. net.

Thanks chiefly to the devoted labours of Professor Browne, materials for the study of Persian literature and thought are more readily accessible in English than in any other language (not excepting Persian); and it is owing almost entirely to his writings that these subjects are now studied, and with respect and even reverence, not only by Oriental scholars, but by an ever-widening circle of those whom he has made to realize, as did our seventeenth-century ancestors, that

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the West has as much as ever to learn from the East if it will learn its lesson aright. This book, the product, as Professor Browne tells us in the preface, of the labour of a lifetime, has itself the qualities most appropriate to its subject—namely, sympathy, knowledge, and order.

The first quality, which has informed the author's life since he first devoted himself to the studies of which this work is the climax, permeates this work though, with admirable restraint, he has refrained in this volume from any but the barest reference to current political questions. The events of the past decade are disposed of in the sentences—

"To Persia at least the Russian Revolution came as a godsend, while the subsequent withdrawal of Great Britain after the failure of the Anglo-Persian Agreement left her at last more or less mistress in her own house. How far she will be able to make use of the breathing space thus accorded her remains to be seen."

Only a single paragraph and not a word of comment is devoted to post-war journalism in Persia. Yet in no department of life is more prominently displayed the "inconstancy, fickleness of character, quickly developed weariness, want of perseverance, and recklessness" which a modern Persian writer deplores (p. 488).

It is refreshing to find Morier's famous Hajji Baba stigmatized as "a one-sided portrait, or rather caricature"; the eulogies bestowed in prefatory form on this famous work by Lord Curzon and others should not blind us to the fact that it has done more harm than good to Anglo-Persian relations, and in particular has caused us, in modern times, to underrate the military abilities of the Persian nation. The uniformly favourable testimony of British soldiers of repute, who fought with and in command of Persian troops, such as Sir Robert Sherley, Major H. C. Rawlinson, Shiel, and Lindsay Bethune, has been obscured by the more easily remembered gibes of Hajji Baba.

It is pleasant, too, to note the warm tribute to English missionaries in Persia, "who in sympathy for and understanding of the people amongst whom they work seem to me," says Professor Browne, "greatly superior to those whose labours lie in other fields" (p. 195). He might have included in this merited encomium their seventeenth-century precursors, the Carmelite and Jesuit missionaries; their teaching, not less than that of Protestant evangelists, has indisputably done much to soften the asperities of Islam in Persia and to restore to the body politic something of the religious tolerance of the Safavi monarchs.

It would be impertinent in the present reviewer, or in anyone else, to praise the amazing erudition and industry displayed by Professor Browne in this, as in previous volumes; we are accustomed, whilst we treasure the achievement, to assume the existence of these qualities in any work from his pen. Ranke, said Lord Acton in his inaugural lecture at Cambridge, has taught historians "to be critical, to be

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colourless, to be new," and this is clearly what Acton regarded as the ideal for the historians. Judged by this lofty standard, Professor Browne has written good history, and he has sharpened our appetites for more.

Not a little false coin is current in the Persian literary market-place, but it finds no place amongst our author's wares; new cries and old prejudices are for ever thrusting themselves, in specious guise, on the Professor's notice: steeped in the literary traditions and political history of the past, in which new and old alike have their roots, he is not deceived by them. He has justified Lord Acton's fine declaration of belief that the students of to-day can be more impersonal, disinterested, and just than historians of former ages, to whom nevertheless he renders such ample homage. From these undisguised and genuine records we may learn to look with something of remorse upon our past relations with Persia, and to the future with the assured hope of better things.

A reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement* of October 23 expresses the hope that Professor Browne may now undertake "a standard history of Persia from the time of the overthrow of the Sasanians by the Muslims, one of the crying needs of the historian of Asia, which he, and he alone, can give us." Members of this Society, however, and many others whose work lies in Persia and with Persians, will perhaps feel, with the present writer, that a more urgent task, and one not less congenial to the author, is a study of modern Persians and some analysis of their national characteristics; for whilst of Persian literature and thought, as already remarked, we know much, of Persian character we know little, though we are aware that Englishmen "get on with" Persians of all classes more easily than with any other Eastern race, and acquire by residence in Persia an affection and respect for its people, their manners and customs, widely though they differ from ours, paralleled only by similar sentiments evoked in Europeans who have made their home in an even older Empire—that of China.

Teheran is now within a fortnight of Cambridge. If Professor Browne could spend another "Year among the Persians" and give us the ripe fruits of his experience in another volume, he would render a notable service to both nations, and might pave the way to an understanding that would make history. A. T. WILSON.

BEN KENDIM: A RECORD OF EASTERN TRAVEL. By Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Aubrey Herbert. Edited by Desmond MacCarthy. Illustrated with six maps. London: Hutchinson and Co. 1924. 21s. net.

Aubrey Herbert was often called in Parliament "Member for Turkey." In season and, as some, but not he, thought, out of season,

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he would recur to his topic, careless if he wearied the House, or earned the reputation of crying "Wolf!" The reason was that he had entered politics in 1911, just as it became a certainty that the policy of our Foreign Office and our Constantinople Embassy was effectually chilling the Young Turks' desire to throw in their lot with Great Britain, and making them pin their heart on their other sleeve—the one next to Germany. He had been visiting in desultory fashion various Turkish lands since 1904, and after seeing something of Macedonia and Asia Minor, had resided awhile in Constantinople as Honorary Attaché on Sir Nicholas O'Connor's staff. Before that, desirous to see with his own eyes how the much criticized provincial administration of the Turk really governed the ends of the Empire, he had gone off to the Yemen, and by bluff and persistence, and not a little by his own personal charm, got himself and his companion, Mr. Leland Buxton, escorted up to Sana'a—a journey whose description provides one of the most delightful chapters of this book. Failing to obtain permission to ride on to Aden, the pair were escorted back to Hodeida, thence made their way to Bombay (where Aubrey Herbert went into hospital with severe typhoid), and thence again, when he was barely convalescent, into—of all places—the Persian Gulf, and stayed in Bahrein, with the purpose of reaching the Arabian coast and crossing the great Peninsula, as a dozen years later Philby was to do. How Aubrey Herbert tried this enterprise alone, and when he found, after three weeks' inaction in the fort at Ajer, that his Turkish hosts meant him to stay there for ever rather than go a mile inland, stole away at night with no equipment but a bag of Maria Theresa dollars, in order to walk to a distant well, where he hoped to be picked up by some inward-bound caravan or other—this story, with that of his half-healed body's collapse under the weight of the dollars, and his ignominious return, readers of first-hand adventure must see that they do not miss in "Ben Kendim." He got home eventually by way of Baghdad and the desert route to Damascus—then risky enough—and enjoyed a last taste of delightful danger in the desert south of Gaza, when, in defiance of the frontier dispute which had developed in Sinai between Great Britain and Turkey, he tried to pass alone towards Egypt.

At first he was no lover of Turks. Bred in Midlothian tradition, he wrote verses about their cruelty and fanatic barbarism which must have approved themselves to Mr. Gladstone in the shades. But, no Philhellene either, he went to the Near East with heart unpledged. Once among Turks, he began to find in them qualities peculiarly congenial to his own nature, which other Near Easterns rather conspicuously lacked. They were silent sportsmen, and they could show amazing endurance, patience, honesty, and fidelity. He met an Albanian, Riza, and took him into his occasional service and his lasting confidence. He learned Turkish, and, as he himself has said, you never

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heartily hate a people whose tongue you speak. Then he began to forgather with Turkish reformers, and to be persuaded that, under their windy idealism, ran a stern purpose and a passionate desire for British friendship and guidance. He met many Christians, Greek and other, and few pleased him. The Turk seemed the one gentleman and the one solid element in the Eastern peoples.

He hailed the Revolution of 1908-09 with a joy only to be equalled by his disappointment when, partly from causes beyond the control of the Young Turks, partly from their Ottomanizing fanaticism, the bloom of its youth too soon faded, and it gave occasion to its enemies at the British Embassy. The welter of resultant conflicting claims in North Albania drew him away, and he began a series of hazardous visits to that distressful land. Probably no Briton now alive has passed at such perilous crises unharmed through so much of forbidden Albania, and none—not even Miss Durham—has written about its people and its politics with such knowledge, such sanity, and such charm. The Albanian chapters of "Ben Kendim" are, even more than the Arabian, just Aubrey Herbert himself; and those who knew the author in life will agree that no better commendation can be given to a reader.

When war broke out he was the first to serve; but when Turkey came in on the enemy's side it hit him hard. But he served against his friends, snatching only, hoping against hope, at any chance of reconciliation. How, in the Gallipoli peninsula, he found himself, during a truce, leading a band of Albanian whilom friends in the field, he tells in "Ben Kendim." What he does not tell there is that, whenever he was sent with a megaphone into an advanced trench to read proclamations to the enemy, his reading would be followed by a concentrated bombardment of the trench, whence he would return plastered with mud, and, all his love momentarily forgotten, proclaiming the Turks God's own swine! The Peace Conference was a sorer trial to him than the war, and its result the worst of disasters. From Sèvres to Lausanne he cried in the wilderness against the pro-Greek policy of Mr. Lloyd George (how he hated him!) and the Permanent Secretary of the Foreign Office, and made more than one effort to bring the Kemalists and the remnant of the Committee of Union and Progress into touch with our diplomacy. One such effort, made with Talaat Pasha in Düsseldorf a few days before the latter's assassination, is the theme of one of the most curiously interesting, and not the least valuable, chapters of his last book.

"Ben Kendim" means in Turkish "I myself." The book is an autobiography, unfortunately only fragmentary, of a life as full as it could be made, but all too brief. Parts of it only too patently have escaped the author's revising hand; but any and all its shortcomings are insufficient to deprive it of the right to be called one of the most notable books of adventure and of foreign politics that have appeared in our time. D. G. H.

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ANATOLICA. By Harry Charles Luke. London: Macmillan and Co., 1924. 16s. net.

My first acquaintance with Mr. Luke as a writer on the Near East was made through the scholarly medium of the *Quarterly Review* (July, 1922). His article, entitled "Cities of Transcaucasia," made an impression on me which the lapse of some years has been very far from effacing. I still think of it as one of the best articles of that type that I ever read. Matter and style are alike attractive. To say that I read it from start to finish with close attention and genuine pleasure is to express myself mildly. During the course of my travels I thrice did the railway journey between Baku and Batoum, stopping on occasion for some days at Baku, Tiflis, and Batoum, and I further coasted along both the Caspian and Black Sea coasts of the Caucasus. That mere geographical outline Mr. Luke's article filled in with historical, ethnographical, and archæological details, the perusal of which I thoroughly appreciated.

My first introduction to Mr. Luke occupies the last chapter of his "Anatolica." His "introductory" chapter carries me back over a period exceeding forty years, to the time when I first began my study of the Persian language. His "old Turkish scribe" is the "very spit" of my old Persian Mirza. It is forty-three years since I first saw my Mirza seated on the floor of my bungalow in Hyderabad, Sind, and using the nail, not of his little finger, but of his thumb, as far as I remember, for designing on a loose half-sheet of notepaper, resting on his left hand, a perfect and elegant reproduction of Persian in *Naskhi* script. He was a most interesting man, an Ispaháni, well-educated, who in his younger days had served with the Persian Embassy at Constantinople during the Crimean War. His descriptions of the British, French, and Sardinian soldiers and sailors whom he met in the public resorts of the Ottoman capital at that time were curious, and now and again humorous. From Constantinople he had passed on to Cairo, and thence to India. He remained a good friend of mine as long as he lived, and to this day I look back upon his memory with more than pleasure. I preserve among things that I do not part with two specimens of his thumb-nail writing.

At a rough calculation some eighty years would seem to have elapsed between the visits of the Hon. Robert Curzon (later in life the fourteenth Baron Zouche) and of Mr. H. C. Luke to Mount Athos. Perhaps the most startling contrasts between the Mount Athos of the middle of the nineteenth century and the Mount Athos of the early twentieth, are those recorded at page 2. I refrain from quotation. I will merely say that the "holy men" show a perfectly up-to-date aptitude both for science and finance. It is not uninteresting to note that the founder of the first Serbian monarchy retired in 1195 to his monastery at Chilendar, much as Charles V., who may be regarded

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as the last great head of the Holy Roman Empire, retired in 1556 to the monastery of Yuste in Estramadura.

Mr. Luke conducts us next to Salonica, Adrianople, and the old Seraglio, and so on to "Le doux pays de Chypre." Our author, I note, does not extend to the old Seraglio that tender tie with the Goddess of Love which he so pointedly associates with the island which Greek legend has handed down to us as the favoured home of that goddess; and yet, surely, Venus was not quite a stranger in the *andarún* of the Sultans.

The Cyprus of to-day, as Mr. Roland Michell set it before us in his lecture some few years ago, we have come to view as a battle-ground of Greek and Moslem rivalry, and as an invaluable point of vantage for Great Britain in the Levant. As to its history, its archæology and its remarkable Gothic architecture, we can but turn to the chroniclers of the Crusades and of the Hospitallers, and to such other monumental works as that of M. Enlart on "L'Art Gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre" (Paris, 1899), and I would also recommend to the notice of members of the Central Asian Society a delightful little book by Comte Jean de Kergorlay, entitled "Soirs d'Epopée, Rhodes et Chypre" (Paris, 1913).

Chapter VIII. of "Anatolica" brings us to the "Holy Sepulchre," scenes and ceremonies in which we have seen depicted by Mr. Luke in very graphic articles in *The Times;* and in Chapter IX. we are introduced to Petra, a marvel of colouring, which we who have not seen but merely read of it can only depict to ourselves in a most inadequate fashion. Mr. Luke draws his picture of it at p. 150, and the reader must comfort him or herself as best he can with that. After which I will invite him to read another charming book by Comte Jean de Kergorlay entitled "Sites Délaissés d'Orient" (also Paris, 1913), which also describes Petra.

The title "Transcaucasia" brings back so many memories, the struggle for supremacy there between the Persian and Russian monarchies, and later the gallant stand made by the Circassian Shamyl against the overpowering Moscovite might. Laurence Oliphant aud James Bryce are well known as travellers in and writers on this part of the world. I have before me James Bryce's account of his ascent of Ararat in 1876, with a frontispiece very like that which illustrates "Anatolica," only showing, as I gather, more foreground. These regions have suffered little less severely than Europe from the internecine struggle started by German ambition in 1914; and, while the Armistice stopped actual fighting in Western Europe in November, 1918, peace has not been even yet established in the Caucasus and among the heterogeneous races to the south of it. Georgia, we know, is still suffering at the hands of the Russian Bolshevist, and the mere mention of Turk, Kurd, Armenian, Assyrian and Arab suggests unrest war, and massacre.

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We are indebted to Mr. Luke for a volume which attests at once his competence as scholar and historian and his power of graphic description. The chapters which he devotes to Nicosia and Famagusta in Cyprus, touching as they do now upon the romantic story of the Hospitallers, and again upon the remarkable spread of the Babi or Bahá-i faith, blended with a sketch of Christian aud Moslem rule in Cyprus and navigation and commerce in the Mediterranean, may well engage our close attention. Not the least remarkable of the issues of the Great War is the passage of Palestine and Cyprus under British rule.

A. C. YATE.

TRANS-JORDAN: Some Impressions. By Mrs. Steuart Erskine. London: Ernest Benn, Ltd. 1924. 12s. net.

Mrs. Steuart Erskine in the account of her month's travel in Trans-Jordan has given us some delightful impressions of a country which, although hitherto little heard of, has recently come to occupy a prominent position in Near Eastern affairs.

If Belgium has been termed the cockpit of Europe, Trans-Jordan may be said to occupy the same unenviable position in Asia. A land of tribes, as Mrs. Erskine tells us, it has been conquered by one nation after another; successive invasions of Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans have swept ruthlessly through the country, each civilization in turn leaving its imprint on the architecture and literature with which it came in contact.

Trans-Jordan is intimately connected with Old Testament history. It was from the summit of Mount Nebo that Moses first surveyed the Promised Land and Gilead, the northern part of Trans-Jordan, where the descendants of Reuben and Gad claimed the first concessions for its cultivation and development. We are also told that Esau sought consolation in Petra after he surrendered his birthright to Jacob, and there is even a legend that Herod took refuge in the same city after the Massacre of the Innocents.

Apart from its archæological interest, Petra, "the rose-red city half as old as time," to which Mrs. Erskine devotes several interesting chapters of her book, possesses a quite indescribable charm of its own. No one who has visited this curious city of temples and cave dwellings will ever forget the wonderful approach through the narrow Siq, or gorge—a cleft which is said to have appeared when Moses struck the rock and caused the waters to gush forth and quench the thirst of the Israelites. As one emerges from the towering walls of Nubian sandstone, the first view of the Khazna Fur'un, or Treasure House of Pharaoh, the sun striking full on the flame-coloured face of the temple with its delicate veining of purple, orange, and green, holds one spell-bound.

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Petra must once have been the centre of some of the most important caravan routes of the East. It was occupied successively by the Israelites, the Nabatæns, the Romans and the Crusaders, all of whom have left traces of their influence; but Western civilization seems to have lost touch with Arabia Petræa till 1812, when Burckhardt, disguised as a sheikh, penetrated into the city and made some important discoveries. The road to Petra will undoubtedly be improved in the future, and by providing greater facilities for tourists it may well prove to be one of the most profitable sources of income to the country.

Although Mrs. Erskine has, perhaps wisely, refrained from giving us a critical survey of the existing administration in Trans-Jordan, or from prophesying its political future, she has told us some of the difficulties with which the Government have to contend, chief among which are the question of finance and the Emir's predilection for favouring the lawless part of his community at the expense of the law-abiding. As long as Abdullah adheres to this policy he will find his country used as a convenient dumping ground for the undesirables of the Near East. It has already led him into more than one delicate situation—notably on the occasion when General Gouraud's assailants sought refuge in his hospitable territory. With regard to finance, the natural resources of Trans-Jordan combined with a grant in aid of some £60,000 from the Palestine Government should be enough to keep it going, but until security can be assured to its cultivators there is little hope of making the country a prosperous one.

Trans-Jordan is one of the youngest States in Asia, only having received its political independence in 1922. The Emir Abdullah, who came to the country a year previously, has by no means found his path strewn with roses, and the recent Adwan rebellion and constant menace of Wahabi invasion renders his position in Trans-Jordan a precarious one. His refusal to convene a representative Assembly as provided for in the Declaration of Independence has resulted in an autocratic tyranny which rivals in unpopularity that of the previous Turkish régime.

British influence in Trans-Jordan is only necessary to prevent its interference with neighbouring States. By the terms of the mandate we stand in the position of adviser, but as Mrs. Erskine points out, it is one thing to give advice, and another thing to see that it is carried out. In this connection the recent resignation of Mr. Philby, the British Resident in Trans-Jordan, speaks for itself.

Athough originally the separation of Trans-Jordan from the Palestine Administration was considered its one hope of survival as an independent State, its close economic connection with Palestine appears to render a reunion inevitable. Mrs. Erskine quotes the following very pertinent remark of an Arab: "The English are curious people; they have made three States out of this country and have given them

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three rulers. But what would you have? They have even divided God into three parts!"

Mrs. Erskine's book contains a great deal of interesting historical information, and, as Lord Raglan comments in his preface, the author has avoided wearisome statistics or enumerating at great length difficulties encountered in her wanderings — pitfalls which the traveller who writes his memoirs avoids only too seldom. The volume, which is illustrated by some excellent photographs, will be welcomed alike by those who have had the good fortune to visit some of the places mentioned, and by those who are contemplating a journey to the land east of Jordan. A. O. T.

TALES FROM TURKISTAN. By Stor Lob. London: Wm. Blackwood and Sons. 1924. 6s.

In this volume of stories and sketches, some of the best that have been published by the house of Blackwood, the author, whose identity under the nom-de-plume of "Stor Lob" may or may not be known, does not seek to disguise his calling or his opinions regarding several of the problems facing our administrators in the East. Several of the stories (most of which have already appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*) deal with true episodes in the recent history of that most fascinating of eastern countries, Turkistan. The best of these is, perhaps, "The Schooner and the Soviet," in which the author describes the adventures of a junior but very resourceful subaltern and his small party of Punjabis, Turkmans, and Russians in their attempt to carry out one of the many extraordinary and arduous tasks entrusted to our officers during the period of storm and stress which befell the Russian dominions in Central Asia and the surrounding countries after the collapse of the Northern Colossus.

The characters, who are undoubtedly based on actual people, are sympathetically drawn, and the author has succeeded in preserving the very elusive atmosphere of that region of desert and "aoul" with surprising vividness and charm. Although to the general reader the disguising of the names of places by inventions of the author will not in any way mar the interest of the stories, yet to those who have personal experiences of the same area, or who have taken an active interest in events in Central Asia during the past few years, the substitution of Beshkent for Tashkent, and Samarkent for Samarkand, to mention several amongst many, seems hardly necessary.

"The Forbidden Fortress of Khorusan" is an excellent description of the Kelat-i-Nadiri fortress built by Nadir Shah in the mountain fastnesses of north-east Persia, and "An Offensive in Rastam," and "Khuda" vividly describe incidents which took place on the borders of Omar Khayyám's province during the period following the withdrawal of the small British force from Central Asia in 1919.

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One of the most capital stories in a book of good yarns is "The Counter-Raiders," in which the scene is changed to an imaginary Northern Indian State. Here the author very skilfully depicts an offensive against frontier tribes under conditions very different from those existing in the past and present, and extremely unlikely to exist in the near future, unless the separation of the Punjaub from the rest of India, and the attendant changes in local politics and army affairs that such a change would mean, were actually to take place. There is much food for reflection in this clever story, which is written by one who obviously knows his job and loves his work. Unless the present writer is much mistaken, there are many who share the convictions of "Stor Lob," and his indignation at the treatment meted out to the fighting men who stood by us during the war.

The remaining sketches, "Scythians and Saracens," "Seven Years of War," are of equal excellence, and stand well out of the average "war story" depicting incidents on the Western front.

"In Seven Years of War" the writer is rightfully bitter regarding the neglect of the "powers that be" in their refusal sufficiently to recognize the services of the gallant fighting races of Northern India, and the mawkish and shortsighted policy of handing the destinies of India, and with it the future of those who fought shoulder to shoulder with us in many battles, to the mercies of "a fungus of Orientalized Bureaucracy, a Dravidian wave infiltrating from the eastward, from degenerate Hindustan." C. H. E.

INDIA: A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW. By the Earl of Ronaldshay, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Constable and Co., London and Bombay, 1924. Price 18s.

The scope of this thoroughly readable book is best described in the author's own words; the aim he set before him being "to bring together vignettes of Indian history; glimpses of Indian architecture and archæology, sketches of the social and industrial economy of her peoples; indications of the modes in which their religious thought has found expression; illustrations of their unceasing war with their environment, particularly in the matter of climate and disease—to construct a mosaic which will present to the man who wishes to know something of this huge and varied land, whose recent history has been bound up so intimately with his own, an intelligible conspectus." Lord Ronaldshay's own power of observation, combined with wide reading and a graceful style, has presented these vignettes in such a way as to give a clear insight into the many and varied problems of India.

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FROM CHINA TO HKAMTI LONG. By Captain F. Kingdon Ward. Edward Arnold and Co. 1924. 18s. net.

This new book, from the facile pen of Captain Kingdon Ward, is a worthy successor to his previous works on those fascinating regions where Tibet, China, and Burma meet.

It records the story of his second attempt to march overland from China to India, an attempt frustrated by sickness when within sight of the borderline and when the goal had been well-nigh reached.

The book is, in point of fact, the record of two separate expeditions. Chapters I. and II. describe a journey from Lashio to Yung Ning in 1921. The remainder of the book is devoted to the author's travels from that place to Hkamti Long, in Upper Burma, and so on to Myitkina and Rangoon, in 1922-23.

The primary object of these journeys, as of the author's previous ones in these regions, was botanical research, in which he has made so lasting a name for himself. To the lay reader lengthy catalogues of scientific names of plants and flowers are apt to become a little wearisome, but the enthusiasm of the writer and the felicitous wording of his descriptions of plant life, of mountain and forest scenery, and of men and things in general are more than sufficient compensation. How picturesque, for instance, are the following gems of word-painting: "In early spring before the snows have melted the forest is a tossing ocean of green combers, dabbled with a surf of rhododendron foaming into blossom"; "out of the tangle appeared birch-trees, whose tattered bark flapped dismally in the wind; while from every branch and twig hung long streamers of pale-green lichen, which swayed to and fro like seaweed in a tideway." Again, how vivid and arresting are passages such as the following: "As we plunged down towards Indo-Malaya, the murmur of the myriad streams which the Irrawaddy gulps greedily down seems to float up to us through the velvet jungle. Down, down we went over the rock-slabs, through bamboo and rhododendron. A trickle of water appeared, and presently rills came sluicing down the mountain scuppers, and the rills grew into becks, and the becks became torrents, and the vast forest flung open its arms to us, hugged us in its merciless embrace, and swallowed us up."

"A soft peace enfolds the world. Doves coo in the jack-fruit trees about the village; mina birds chuckle to one another in the roofs; and the silvery tinkle of bells from the monastery, whose thatched spire peeps up from the palm grove, mingles with the lowing of cattle. A calm-faced monk in yellow robe beats a spinning gong, and the high throbbing note calls the neatly dressed Shan women to evening prayer. And when the sun has dipped down behind the purple ranges bats flit to and fro in the shadows, wheeling through the hut and out again with sure skill." One can almost see the scene. One can almost hear the tinkle of the bells. Let us, however, come back to the actual journeys.

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In 1921 Captain Kingdon Ward travelled from Lashio, the terminus of the Northern Shan States Railway, 561 miles from Rangoon, to the Kunlon Ferry over the Salween, and thence, via the Namting Valley, Shunning, and Menghua, to Tali, Yungpeh, and Yung Ning. He thus traversed West-Central Yünnan, from south to north. Unfortunately, the map at the end of the book does not include the first half of this journey—*i.e.*, the portion from Lashio to the Yang-pi-ho.

In 1922 Captain Kingdon Ward again went to Yung Ning, but this time by the familiar route via Bhamo, Teng Yüeh, Tali, and Likiang. After a short side-trip to Muli (on the Litang river) and back, he set out, in June, from Yung Ning on his arduous journey to Burma. A week's march brought him to Likiang. Leaving that place on July 20 he dropped down to the Yangtze at Shihku, and so up the Yangtze Valley and over the "divide" between it and the Mekong to A-tun-tzu and Ya-ka-lo. Here he made two short expeditions into the high snowy range to the west, climbing to 17,000 feet, exploring and collecting plants. He gives the height of the peak of Damyon as about 19,000 feet. A third short side-trip was made to the north-east, as far as the Chiang-ka river, on the road to Ba-tang.

Leaving Ya-ka-lo finally on September 22, the author travelled via A-tun-tzu to Tzu-ku, whence, on October 20, he entered upon the most difficult part of his journey, exchanging pack for human transport at this point, and plunging into the mountain ranges with a minimum of baggage carried by a few mountaineer porters. Seventeen days of strenuous marching over ill-defined mountain and jungle tracks brought the traveller to the head of "the big road" (*i.e.*, the British road from Fort Hertz to the lower Taron river), and one can well imagine the enormous relief it must have been to him to strike it. Thence eleven comparatively easy marches took him to Fort Hertz, the headquarters of the civil administration of the new district of Putao.

After a welcome fortnight's rest among fellow-countrymen, Captain Kingdon Ward again set off northwards towards the sources of the Mali Kha (western branch of the Irrawaddy), and it was on this trip that he was laid low by a severe attack of fever, and was carried back, more dead than alive, to Putao, and so ended his second attempt to get through to India. A further sojourn at Fort Hertz enabled the author to be present at the Christmas "durbar" and the "Putao week," which furnished material for a bright and entertaining chapter and interesting photographs of the surrounding tribesfolk—Shan, Kachin, Lisu, and Mishmi.

The long journey terminated in an uneventful "trek" down the "high-road" to Myitkina, and a railway journey thence to Rangoon, where he embarked for England.

Many interesting points are clearly brought out in this instructive volume—*e.g.*, the general westerly slope of the very crumpled crust of

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the earth between the Mekong and the Irrawaddy; the fact of *Marus* being found in the Northern Shan States, so remote from the main habitat of their race, far away in the north along the N'mai Kha; the resuscitation of poppy-growing (for opium); the steady retreat of the glaciers, pointing to a gradual decrease in humidity; the mention of seventy-five varieties of rhododendrons in Burma alone, and the discovery of a leaf of one of them, 2 feet long by 8 inches wide; the curious chorus of the rarely seen "hoolock" gibbons. The present reviewer has heard their weird chorus passing along the sea of tree-tops, almost daily, for weeks on end, without ever catching a glimpse of the shy choristers themselves.

The author has a good deal to say about missionaries and their work, with a distinct partiality for those of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

But few adverse comments and criticisms seem to be called for. The use by the author of unfamiliar words, such as "cwm" and "ghyll" is a little puzzling.

The spelling in the text does not always correspond with that on the map—*e.g.*, Atuntzu, Menghua, Tzuku in the former are shown as Atuntze, Menghwa, and Tzeku in the latter. It is odd that, in a botanical book, no mention should be made of the sugar-cane cultivation and the sugar-presses in the Yangtze Valley about Kinkiangkai. On p. 47 mention is made of an "*iman* mumbling the *muzzein*." *Imam* and *muezzin* are doubtless intended; but even so, that is incorrect. The "muezzin" is the *man* who chants the "call to prayer" (*azzan*).

A slip occurs on p. 69. It is, of course, impossible to go by boat down the Yangtze from Chitsung to *Likiang*, seeing that the latter place is at an altitude of 8,000 feet odd, and in the middle of the great loop of the Yangtze, which lies some 2,000 feet lower. The author doubtless means Shihku or Ahsi.

The mention of baboons (on p. 310) is surely a zoological inaccuracy. Is not the habitat of the genus *papio* confined to Africa and Arabia?

Compared with the merits of the book these criticisms are perhaps but trivial, and it may, in brief, be said that while the work will chiefly appeal to the botanist, botany is but the peg on which Captain Kingdon Ward has hung an interesting and variegated narrative of travel amid some of Nature's grandest and wildest scenes, bringing us face to face with some of the most primitive types of mankind.

M. E. W.

ZANZIBAR: AN ACCOUNT OF ITS PEOPLE, INDUSTRIES, AND HISTORY. Zanzibar: The Local Committee of the British Empire Exhibition. Paper. Pp. xx + 84.

This booklet, prepared for distribution at the British Empire Exhibition, contains sections on the ethnology, trade, agriculture, history,

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economic minerals, and native industries and occupations of Zanzibar, written by Government officials for the benefit of visitors to the Exhibition who may desire to increase their knowledge of this small but prosperous Protectorate.

The information contained in this handbook should prove not only of interest to the general public, but also of value to those who wish to study the people of Zanzibar from a particular aspect, as, though necessarily condensed, a considerable amount of reliable information is presented to the reader.

The collection from Zanzibar natives of historical and ethnological facts is rendered difficult by, on the one hand, their somewhat suspicious and timid attitude, and, on the other hand, by their increasing affectation of ignorance of what might be regarded as uncivilized customs. Outside the sultanate, sources of much valuable historical information remain untapped owing to their inaccessibility to the searcher. Both in Portugal and in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf there are possibly many documents of the greatest importance to the historian of the east coast of Africa, quite apart from the better known and frequently quoted authorities, whose observations have been conveniently summarized by Mr. W. H. Ingrams in the historical section of the Zanzibar handbook.

While the effects of Persian intermingling with the oldest Zanzibar stock may be observed in a variety of ways in the customs, proper names, and traditions of the Wahadimu, Watumbatu, and Wapemba, and in the claim of the Washirazi to be descendants of immigrants from Shiraz, very little dependable information is available as to the causes, extent, and period of the settlement.

Some facts may be deduced from the presence of fragments of Chinese and Persian pottery and Oriental beads in considerable quantities in the neighbourhood of ruined buildings and tombs at the old settlements; but the Swahili and Arabic documents referring to the subject frequently appear to be transliterations by ill-educated scribes; they are inaccurate in regard to numbers, and occasionally suggest fabrication with a view to proving a tribal title to property. In this connection may be observed the native chronicler's tendency to overestimate the importance of the events described and inclination to suggest that the only immigration worthy of note was that of his own ancestors.

The conjecture identifying El Masud's Kambula with Mkumbuu in Pemba deserves consideration. Unfortunately, the ruins at Mkumbuu, as elsewhere, have suffered much from erosion and at the hands of bygone builders in search of stone.

Although the sites of the ancient Zanzibar and Pemba settlements indicate the past existence of towns of considerable size, it is doubtful if they were of as great importance as many of the other settlements of Asiatics on the east coast of Africa.

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It is obvious that there remains ample scope for further and most interesting investigation into the history of the Asiatic connection with East Africa. A number of ancient coins found in Zanzibar, now being examined at the British Museum, may prove to be of some interest.*

The handbook possesses a most useful and comprehensive bibliography, which greatly adds to its value as a compact work of reference.

It is unfortunate that, possibly owing to anxiety to publish the book in time to permit of its distribution at the Exhibition, it suffers from lack of uniformity of type and a number of typographical errors.

* The British Museum have informed me that the coins I recently submitted to them are of the Kilwa dynasty, Sultan Ali bin Hassan. Kilwa is south of Dar-es-salam. Very little is known of this dynasty, and it has occurred to me that it may be connected with a local legend of an important immigration from "islands in the Persian Gulf." The account of Ormuz, in the Hakluyt Society's translation of Duarte Barbosa, may have some bearing on this legend.

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OBITUARY

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR LEE STACK, G.B.E., C.M.G.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR LEE STACK, G.B.E., C.M.G., Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, died at Cairo just before midnight, November 20-21, of wounds received on November 19 at the hands of a gang of Egyptian assassins, who fired some twenty-five revolver shots at him and at those accompanying him in a motor-car through the streets of Cairo. The following notes are based (by permission) on the obituary notice which appeared in *The Times* of November 21, 1924:

Lee Oliver Fitzmaurice Stack, son of Oliver Stack, was born on May 15, 1868. He was educated at Clifton and passed through the R.M.C., Sandhurst, into the army, being commissioned in the Border Regiment on February 11, 1888, as Second Lieutenant. In September, 1889, he became a Lieutenant and in June, 1896, was promoted Captain. In 1898 he accompanied his Battalion to Malta from Aldershot.

In 1899 the outbreak of religious disturbances in Crete necessitated the dispatch of an international force, both naval and military, to restore order in that island. This was the turning-point in Stack's career, for being selected as Staff Officer to the British Military Commissioner and Commander in Crete, he relinquished his somewhat uneventful career in a line regiment and acquired a taste for service in the East which led to his immediate selection for transfer to the Egyptian Army. From July, 1899, when he landed in Egypt, to the day of his death, his services were devoted to that country and to the Sudan. While A.A.G. of the Egyptian Army, in 1902, he commanded a small column in minor operations, which culminated in the re-occupation of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Shortly afterwards he was selected for the post of military and private secretary to the Sirdar, Sir Reginald Wingate, and in February, 1908, he received the more important and independent appointment of Director of Intelligence.

In 1910 Stack retired from the army and was appointed to the Civil Administration of the Sudan and became Civil Secretary to that Government in 1913. He acquired a profound knowledge of the Sudan, and took the keenest interest in its irrigation and its commercial problems. At the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, Stack was at Khartoum, and when Sir Reginald Wingate was summoned to Cairo to succeed Sir H. McMahon as High Commissioner, Stack assumed the office of Sirdar. The appointment was nominally temporary and

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carried with it the status of Major-General. During the Nationalist outbreaks at Cairo at the close of the War, Stack maintained peace and order in the Sudan, of which territory he became actual Governor-General, and Sirdar of the Egyptian Army. It was his firm hand and intimate knowledge of all its problems which maintained comparative peace and order in the Sudan throughout the five years from his accession to its control. It is as administrator more than as soldier that his name will be held in reverence. It is by the achievements of men of such character and qualifications that the reputation of the British Empire is maintained all round the world.

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APPENDIX

TRANS-JORDAN

(*The following remarks by Colonel Bramley were inadvertently omitted from the discussion following Mr. Philby's lecture, Vol. XI., Part IV., p.* 296.)

COLONEL BRAMLEY: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen, —I have much pleasure in supporting the lecturer with regard to the statements he has made in the matter of the misgovernment of Trans-Jordan under the Emir Abdulla during the period under review. It must, however, be remembered that the power to compel Abdulla to act up to his obligations was vested, jointly, in His Majesty's High Commissioner in Palestine, the Middle East section of the Colonial Office, and the British representative at Amman, all of whom were fully cognizant of the state of affairs described by Mr. Philby. One of the banes of our existence in Palestine during that period was the utter disorder and total want of control over the lawless elements and criminals in Trans-Jordan. It unfortunately went even beyond that. Every outlaw, every criminal, who wished to evade justice, and every Moslem agitator who wanted to escape our attentions in Palestine, were all assured not only safe refuge, but staunch friends and supporters amongst the highest native officials in Amman. Our own jurisdiction ended at the Jordan, and east of that line was safe sanctuary for our worst and most dangerous brigands and other disturbers of the public peace both criminal and political. This state of affairs in Trans-Jordania, as can well be imagined, materially increased our own troubles in respect to the maintenance of public security in Palestine. It was a couple of years in consequence before we succeeded in ridding the country of these miscreants, and then only as they returned from time to time to our own territory. It necessitated not only the maintenance of a proportionately large and expensive police force and gendarmerie, but compelled us to arm considerable numbers of villages, both Jewish and Moslem, which were liable to raid from Trans-Jordan. Nor was this scandalous state of affairs confined to our own mandatory area in Palestine. The French in Syria had every bit as good reason as ourselves to complain of the Emir's misgovernment and collusion with marauding gangs of assassins operating from his country. The dastardly attempt on the life of our gallant ally, General Gouraud, the French High Commissioner in Syria, whilst travelling between Kunetra and Damascus in 1921, was one of the

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most deplorable episodes that occurred in the history of these countries since they passed into our mandatory control. It was an outrage engineered and carried out by a well-known gang of pan-Syrians who, after fleeing from Damascus, found refuge under the Emir in Trans-Jordania. We knew perfectly well who the perpetrators were—we even offered to assist the Trans-Jordania police in effecting their arrest. The High Commissioner in Palestine, however, considered it inexpedient to compel the Emir to act up to his obligations, and so the culprits were never apprehended. It was shortly after this that the prominent pan-Syrian refugee in Trans-Jordan referred to by Mr. Philby, and who was wanted by the French on a series of charges in Syria, ventured into Palestine, and was promptly arrested by us and handed over to our Allies—an incident which, as the lecturer has told us—very nearly cost Peake Bey his life. The inaction of the Palestine Government alienated us from all sympathy from our neighbours the French. General Gouraud, who was just then about to pay Sir Herbert Samuel a complimentary visit in return for the latter's previous visit to Syria, cancelled his engagement and refused to visit Palestine so long as this gang remained unaccounted for, and it took a long time to re-establish anything like friendly reciprocation in the matter of border affairs with the French after that. Notoriously dangerous political agitators in Palestine, when things became too hot for them, were always safe the instant they crossed the Allenby Bridge over the Jordan at Jericho, though in one notorious case, at least, the responsibility for such protection rests every bit as much with the British adviser in Amman as with the Emir himself. But in every one of these cases the fact remains that the remedy at all times lay in the hands of the High Commissioner in Palestine and the Middle East section of the Colonial Office, who, for excellent reasons, which we are unable to go into to-night, deemed it advisable to temporize rather than to sternly enforce the Emir's responsibilities, though this was repeatedly advised by district governors and myself as Director of Public Security.

During 1922-23 things continued to go from bad to worse. The Emir and his myrmidons were intensely unpopular both in Palestine and Trans-Jordan, not only because of the suspicions they had aroused amongst their own co-religionists of being partial to Zionist intrigue and money, and for the acceptance by Abdulla of the policy inculcated by the Balfour Declaration, but he was equally hated in Trans-Jordan by his own subjects as a result of his own grasping, rapacious methods of government, which they knew were only possible by reason of the armed support accorded him by the British Government, but for which his faithful subjects would have knocked him off his perch long ago. Towards the end of 1922 there was such distress and unrest in Trans-Jordan caused by the Emir's wholesale commandeering of camels and horses, ostensibly to equip an expedition against the

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Wahabis, that it led to a wholesale emigration of the inhabitants of Trans-Jordan into Palestine. The Adwan rebellion in 1923 was the culminating feature of that discontent; and it is with the deepest regret that one feels that armed forces of the British Crown were used in so unjust a cause against a tribe which had always regarded the British as its protector.

As regards the real boundaries of Trans-Jordan and Palestine, I think anybody who has studied the question can come to no other conclusion than that the boundary of this area, taken as a whole, is the desert line east of Trans-Jordan. Every empire which has in the past ruled in this area has always been forced on to that line for its proper protection, and until you can succeed in keeping the nomad Arab back in his own desert, and the local tribes within these boundaries to settle down and take to agriculture, there never can be any peace either in Palestine or Jordania. The Jordan is in any case a false boundary line in whatsoever sense we may look at it—military, fiscal, customs, or for any other purpose. In fact, it is precisely this question of artificial and very irritating territorial boundaries which the French and ourselves between us have now set up throughout Syria and Palestine (which before the war was all one country for purposes of administration, travel, and trade), which has caused much very justifiable annoyance and irritation to the inhabitants of the country, who now find themselves confronted with customs, passports, octroi, and other restrictions directly effecting the well-being and convenience of people who, though living under separate administrations, are all closely connected by kinsmanship or trade. The sooner this can be all re-adjusted the better.

For these reasons Palestine and Trans-Jordan are inseparable, administratively, ethnologically, and economically, and should be under one direct control; but it is absolutely indispensable that for some time to come, at all events, such government be absolutely impartial and purely British in its elements and not in any way tainted with Jewish or other similar influences. The task is not an insuperable one. There is no question of trying to work round or behind the policy laid down in the now celebrated Balfour Declaration. There is no need for that, and there is plenty of room in Palestine and Trans-Jordan for both Jews and Gentiles, who do not aspire too quickly to secure their own individual political ascendancy. All that is wanted for the moment is to set up a strong Government which will command the confidence of the people as being indisputably British in its composition and conducted by practical, efficient, and *experienced* Civil Servants of the Crown who know their business as ordinary civil administrators, and not politicians advised by Jews and flotsam of war in the shape of personnel discarded by a service of "ex-advisers" and chancellory subordinates or even ex-tourist Dragomans from Cairo—whatever influences these gentlemen

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may possess in high places at home. The issues in Palestine are too involved and of too great a consequence to the Empire to be allowed to remain in incompetent hands of people who prefer compromise and distortion of facts to the correct solution of political or administrative problems as they arise until such time as the people of Palestine—Jew and Gentile—are in position to manage their own affairs, if such a dream can ever be fulfilled.

It was with special pleasure I heard the speaker give his measure of praise—and well-deserved praise—to his colleague Peake Bey, for I happen to have been the man to pick him out for this special job, and had Peake Bey been allowed to exercise the powers I repeatedly recommended that he should be invested with in Trans-Jordan, not only in regard to the reserve force, but in regard to the command of the civil police as well, but which the Emir would never allow him, you would have heard a good deal less to-night of these troubles in Trans-Jordan and Palestine.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XII.

1925

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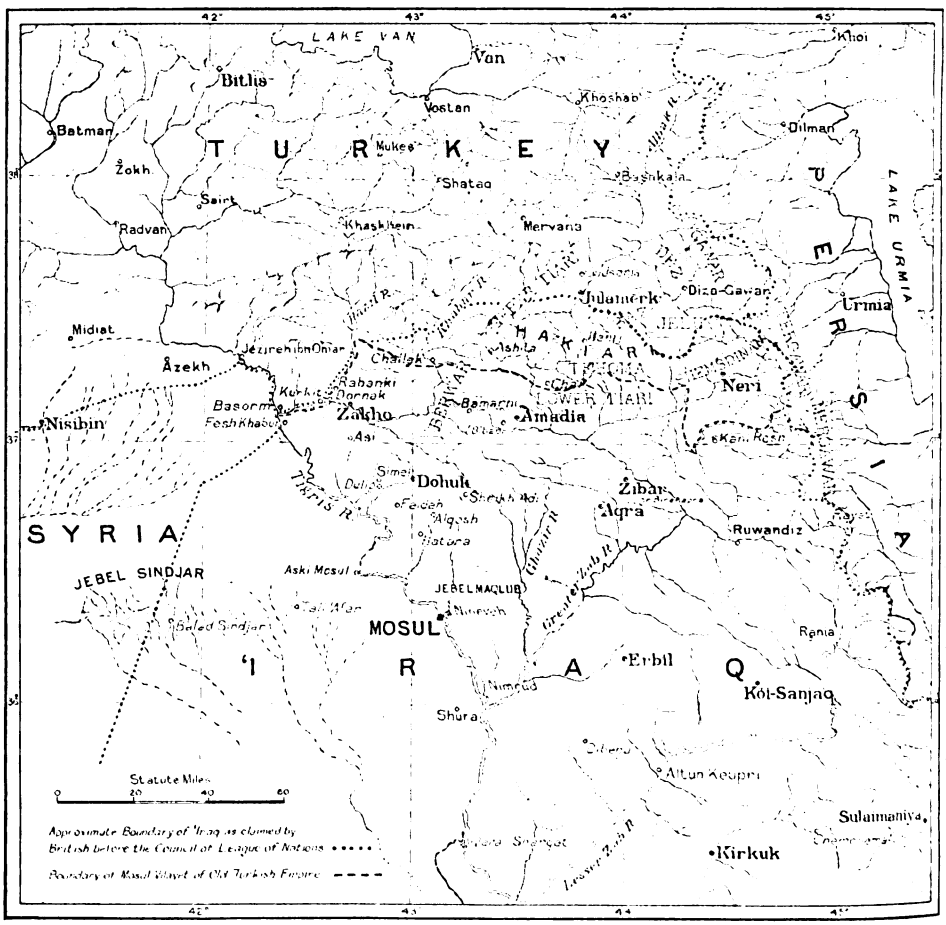

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Friday, December 12, 1924. The Right Hon. Viscount Peel, G.B.E. (Chairman of the Society), presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will ask the Honorary Secretary to make an announcement.

The HON. SECRETARY (Sir Raleigh Egerton): I have to announce to the members of the Central Asian Society that the Council have elected fifteen members. I repeat my usual observation that we shall welcome more.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I hope you have digested the good advice that has been given to you by the Honorary Secretary. We have met here not only to listen to his wise counsel but to hear a lecture on the Assyrians by Major Bentinck. Major Bentinck's record shows that he has had considerable experience in the Near Eastern countries. He served with his regiment, the 3rd Coldstream Guards, from 1909 to 1911 in Egypt. From 1913 to 1914 he was seconded to the King's African Rifles, and served, I understand, in Somaliland, where he was wounded. Next he was with his regiment in France, and was wounded very early in the war in September, 1914. In 1916 and 1917 he served with the Egyptian army, and between 1917 and 1920 was under the orders of the Foreign Office in Abyssinia. In 1922 and 1923 he commanded a battalion of Assyrians in Mesopotamia; he speaks, therefore, with a great deal of experience of the subject and of the people.

THE ASSYRIANS

Major BENTINCK: Before I begin my lecture I would like to thank those who have helped me. I am most grateful to Sir Edgar Wigram, Squadron-Leader Leacroft, and Captain Barstow, who have most kindly allowed me to use their slides. To another gentleman I am indebted for some very valuable information. I trust I may do justice to the help that they have given me.

I am speaking about the Assyrians as the result of serving with them for twelve months. Since I shall have to speak also of both Kurds and Arabs, I would like to say that I served also in a unit composed of both these peoples. I am saying this merely to emphasize the fact that I am not, so to speak, exclusively pro-Assyrian, without

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any knowledge of the other races of Iraq ; I like both Kurd and Arab, and during the fifteen months I served in Iraq, my personal servant was an Arab and my *syce* a Kurd. But when it comes to comparing these three peoples, I state most definitely that the Assyrian, from a military point of view, is infinitely more efficient and, from a moral standpoint, far superior to either Kurd or Arab. These facts are indisputable, and I challenge contradiction !

The Assyrians are Christians—not as the result of English missionaries, but dating back to hundreds of years before St. Augustine appeared in this island. They have maintained their faith in spite of fire and devil worshippers, Zoroastrians and Yezidis, and have met death rather than submit to the teaching of the Moslem prophet.

Who, then, are the Assyrians? The map shows the district which they occupied and how it lies with regard to other countries—Persia, Turkey, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine. It was here that the Assyrians lived in the past, and it is here that they are endeavouring, against heavy odds, to maintain their existence.

Their story starts in early history, about 2000 B.C. The Assyrians of to-day inherit the warlike spirit of their ancestors, and their features strongly resemble those of their forefathers. The earliest known of their great cities was Assur, now called Kalaat Shergat. Later Kalkhi, now known as Nimrud, was founded by Shalmaneser I., probably about 1270 B.C., and later still the Assyrians transferred their capital to Nineveh. Nebur Yunis, opposite Mosul, has been built over the mounds covering its ruins. Under Tiglath Pileser I. (about 1100 B.C.) the Assyrians captured Babylon, but it was under Pul or Tiglath Pileser II. (*i.e.*, from 745 to 600 B.C.) that Assyria reached her greatest strength. From 669 B.C. to 645 B.C. she warred with Elam and captured their capital, Susa. From about 1100 B.C. and at varying intervals Assyria fought the Medes, whose capital was Ecbatana, now called Hamadan, in Persia. For a long time Assyria was successful, but finally, in 600 B.C., the Medes captured Nineveh, and the Assyrian Empire ceased to exist.

Such is the brief history of their remote past. The Assyrians accepted Christianity about the first century, and formed part of the Christian Church which claimed to have been founded by St. Thomas. Its headquarters were at Solencia Ctesiphon, and from this centre missions were sent all over Central Asia, extending from Mesopotamia through Persia into Afghanistan and Tartary and even into China, to Southern India, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf. There is a monument still existing at Sinanfu in Central China, inscribed in Syriac and Chinese, which was set up in A.D. 781. A Christian settlement at Malabar still testifies to their missionary zeal, and the Assyrian Bishop of Malabar was recently in this country. From being known as the Church of the Persian Empire they were later known as the Eastern Syrian Church. This

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church is now divided into Nestorians and Chaldeans, the former thus named from a so-called heresy preached by Nestorius, and the latter because they acknowledge the Pope of Rome. The present language of the Assyrians is Syriac, and much resembles the Aramaic spoken by our Lord. It is particularly the so-called Nestorian branch with which I am dealing, for to this branch belong all the hillmen of Tyari, Tkhuma, Jelu, Baz, and Dizan, and it was from these that our own military levies were raised. (Perhaps I should explain that by levies I mean the native troops raised locally from Arabs, Kurds, and Assyrians and commanded by British officers.)

The title of "Marshimun" is held by the Assyrian Patriarch, the Assyrians' temporal and spiritual head. The title became hereditary about two hundred years ago, and it is now confined to one family. The Patriarch is not allowed to eat meat or to marry, and on his death the successor is usually chosen from his unmarried brothers or his nephews. Under the Marshimun are metropolitan bishops, bishops, deacons, and priests. The present Marshimun is about sixteen years old; his father, David, is a senior native officer in the Levies, holding the rank of *rab-chala—i.e.*, commander of a thousand. Of his two immediate predecessors, one, Benjamin, was murdered by Simko the Kurd; the other died of consumption in Baquba camp. Their sister, the Lady Surma, was in this country on behalf of the Assyrians a few years ago; she has real power among her people.

Surma's sister married Shlieman, eldest son of Ismail, Malik—*i.e.*, chief—of the Upper Tyari tribe. There is a story told of this old chief which serves to show the chivalry that exists amongst these wild Highlanders. In January, 1907, the Turks sent a company of Kurds through Tyari territory; the men were only half-trained, and so when they met four Assyrians they shot them for fear that they themselves might be attacked. Afraid of their deed, they hurried off to tell the Tyari chief lest their lives should pay forfeit to the clansmen. Crossing the bridge to Ismail's house, they told their story and begged his protection. This he generously gave; the avengers, however, soon arrived to claim their blood, but Ismail kept his promise and refused to deliver the wretched Kurds, going so far as to dare his own men to cross the bridge. The hillsmen deliberated until night, and then the Malik, under cover of darkness, accompanied by Shlieman, his eldest son, escorted the Kurds by another road to their destination, Julamerk. So much for the word of an Assyrian.

Before the war the Assyrians were a "millet," or small nation, under the Turks. The "millet" was divided into tribes under their chiefs, and all were under the Patriarch. Actually, the six highland tribes (Upper and Lower Tyari, Tkhuma, Jelu, Baz, and Dizan) were to all intents and purposes independent, never having been subdued by the Turks. The Lowlanders were under Kurkish Aghas and paid

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taxes. The Highlanders were largely shepherds, though in some tribes there were good artisans. Their valleys, lying between the mountain ranges, were terraced and cultivated. It is these mountains that the Assyrians love, and little or no value attaches to them from the point of view of agriculture or minerals.

In November, 1914, the Turks sided with the Central Powers. They proclaimed a *jehad*, and by pillaging the Christian villages round Bash Kala, they made it clear what the Christians might expect from them. A force of Kurds and Turks swept down on Urmia from the west, wiping out Mergawar and Tergawar. The mountaineers, however—*i.e.*, the six tribes I have mentioned—remained untouched through the winter of 1914-15. In the spring of 1915, mistrusting the overtures the Turks were making to them, they joined the Russians who had advanced to Urmia. From this date, then, the Assyrians definitely became our allies, and proved a real thorn in the Turkish side. Five weeks later the Russians retreated from Urmia, and the Assyrians were left to fight for their very existence. The outskirts of their mountain districts were pillaged, including their religious centre, Qudshanis, but they held their mountains. It was at this time that the Turks endeavoured to reduce the Assyrians to submission by threatening the life of Hormis, the Marshimun's brother, who was in their country. Benjamin, the Marshimun, however, deeming the lives of his people of more value than that of his brother, refused to submit to the Turkish demand, and Hormis was put to death.

In August, 1915, the Turks, advancing from the south, again attacked the mountaineers. This time they were more successful; the Assyrians, however, still held on to their more unassailable heights, keeping themselves alive by raiding the valleys. Winter forced them to evacuate these fastnesses, and in the late autumn of 1915, about 25,000, including women and children, formed themselves into two columns, and pushed through to Urmia, a feat in itself when one realizes the country through which they had to move.

Here in Urmia, with the help of Russian arms, they waged a successful guerilla warfare against Turk and Kurd until the spring of 1918. Then Simko, Agha of the Shekkak Kurds, proposed to the Marshimun that they should unite against the Turks. Acting against their better judgment, Benjamin, the Marshimun, and David, his brother, went to the house of the Kurdish chief to confer. As they left in all apparent friendliness Kurds from the roof shot down the Marshimun, and David barely escaped with his life; in fact, he lay for some time wounded in the house of an Armenian. So much for the word of a Kurd. I can remember speaking to an Assyrian officer in the Levies about this treacherous affair. "Sir," he said, "if I saw Simko and knew that I should die next, I would kill Simko first."

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The position of the Assyrians at Urmia now became untenable, and eventually, with the Agha Petros—an Assyrian—as their leader, they pushed south and, at the cost of some 15,000 lives, got into touch with the British in North-west Persia. They travelled to Mesopotamia by way of Hamadan and Kermanshah, and found shelter in the refugee camp at Baquba.

This is the history of the Assyrians up to the close of the war, and it suffices to show how, like other small peoples, their future became a matter for us, or rather for the Allies to decide. Now came the question of what was to be done about this "our smallest Ally." As there was no clear policy in Mesopotamia at the time, the question was a very difficult one to answer.

In 1919 the Assyrians were first used in operations against the Kurds under British officers, and at once showed their worth. An attempt in 1920 to repatriate the people failed, largely owing to the Arab rebellion, and a second attempt, under Agha Petros, was equally unsuccessful for want of proper organization. In 1921 a certain number were infiltrated through the Amadia valley, and in 1922 more were settled in villages on the Mosul plain. Later still the hardier ones pushed right through to rebuild their homes in the mountains; of these I shall have more to say presently.

In 1921 the Assyrian Levies were established, and increased in 1922. From this time until now these Levies have proved a very useful force, and their numbers to-day (I am speaking particularly of the Assyrians) must be something like three thousand; they consist of three infantry battalions, one pack battery, and a machine-gun section. They were stationed on the northern frontier of Iraq. Dulip was made the headquarters of the 2nd Assyrian battalion, with outposts at Feish Khabur and at Zakho. There is a beautiful bridge across the Khabur river on which Zakho is situated. It is obviously Roman in origin, although it is called Alexander's bridge. A story is told that for long the builders were unable to persuade the centre arch to hold, and finally, in despair, they vowed that the first living creature to pass should be built into the stonework alive. A lovely Kurdish maiden with two Saluki hounds unwittingly passed by. The centre arch has held ever since. Mosul formed the Levy Brigade headquarters, and here, too, were the headquarters of the 3rd Assyrian battalion, whose outposts were at Mindan and Akra. The 4th Assyrian battalion was stationed in Mosul as well as the Assyrian pack battery, and the 2nd Levy Cavalry Regiment. This latter unit was composed of Kurds and Arabs, and was later amalgamated with the 1st Cavalry Regiment, and stationed at Kirkuk.

The map shows how Iraq is ringed round to the north and east by the Kurdish hills. The Kurds who live here have been, both during and since the war, a continual source of trouble to us. Turkish propa-

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ganda has been, I think, to a large extent responsible for this. In the early summer of 1922 the Assyrian troops were used in the Suleimaniya operations with some success; the Commander-in-Chief chose them for special praise. In the autumn of 1922, two Assyrian companies were sent through to Amadia on a punitive expedition against the Kurds, who had raided the place. The Kurds under Fares Agha persuaded Abdul Latif, a townsman of Amadia, to let them into the town. Now Amadia is built on the ridge of a hill which juts out into the valley from the mountain side. There is but one gate, and that only approached by a steep climb. At night the Kurds, scaling the precipitous face of the hill, were hauled up one by one into Abdul's house. Once within the walls, they proceeded to try and master the town, and nearly succeeded in doing so. Mar Surgis, an Assyrian bishop returning from Bewar, heard the firing as he came down the Sapna valley, and with a party of Baz and Jelu Highlanders supported the police in the town and ejected the Kurds. During the operations which followed, these raiders evaded the Levies, although certain Irregulars got into touch with them. To show the toughness of the hillsmen who composed this Levy force, one march started at 12 midnight and finished at 7 p.m., nineteen hours with only two hours' halt, and the following day there were only three sick.

During 1922-23 the Turkish advance on Mosul was always a possibility, and in those winter months Assyrian and Turkish sentries eyed each other across the Khabur river. In the spring of 1923 the Assyrian Levies were withdrawn from the frontier for operations in Eastern Kurdistan. They were concentrated as a brigade at Erbil, the ancient Arbila, where Alexander the Great once overthrew the forces of Darius the Persian. The objective was Rowanduz, a town about forty miles west of the Persian frontier, within Iraq and since 1920 a nest of Turkish intrigue; it was occupied by the Turks under Euz de Mir, a Turk. The Turkish commander sent flamboyant messages as to how, rather than surrender the town, the defenders would fight to the last man. How pitifully he failed to substantiate his challenge will be shown. An Imperial column marched to Rowanduz by a parallel route to that followed by the Levies and, while the former crossed the Bajan Pass to the south-west of the objective, the latter pushed due east through the Rowanduz Gorge. The country was eminently suited for defence, for it consisted of successive ranges of lofty ridges, notably Baba-Chikchik and the Spilik Dagh. The latter position was especially formidable, and was fortified by an underfeature crowned with stone *sangars*. A night march and an attack at dawn were planned and executed, but Kurd and Turk had melted away. Rowanduz Gorge could have been held by a mere handful of men. It is seven miles long and down it four torrents join, cutting through precipitous walls which tower thousands of feet above. A track clings

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to the rocky mountain side, and along this path the army marched. The town had been evacuated by Euz de Mir, and Rowanduz was occupied and has been held by us ever since.

The behaviour of the Assyrians left little to be desired. Coming as they did from the fever-stricken plain of Mosul, their fitness was wonderful and the percentage of sick incredibly small. I can see them now, as we wormed our way through those Kurdish hills, piqueting the heights as they came, scaling the steep sides at a run. I can hear their shouts of mirth as they rushed through some icy torrent, and when the night closed down at the end of a weary day arms would be linked and, in the firelight, song and dance would while away the time they awaited their evening meal.

The Assyrians have their faults. Who have not? But, curbed and disciplined, one can want no finer fighting material. This year, at Kirkuk, their copybook was badly smudged, though, I would like to say, not as badly as some might think.

And now we come to the final scene, staged last September. The setting of the story, the Hakiari mountains. To trace the whole length of the northern frontier of Iraq would take too long and is moreover unnecessary; sufficient to say that coming from the north-east the frontier line strikes the Hazil river and follows this stream south to its junction with the Khabur river, when it turns due west along the course of this tributary until it joins the Tigris. This valley of the Khabur and Hazil is overlooked by Zakho post. Away to the north-east of Zakho lay the uncontrolled Assyrian highlands. The story (it was told in *The Times*) is as follows:

The Vali of Julamerk, contrary to British advice, entered the Assyrian district to collect tribute from a Kurd at Chal. He was captured by Assyrians, but speedily released, and explanations given by ourselves. However, the Turks organized a punitive expedition of two columns, and, since their natural route by Julamerk was difficult, one column was sent by way of the Khabur valley and moved from Jezira ibn Omar along the plain below the Zakho post, which since the Rowanduz operations had been held by King Feisal's Arab army. At the junction of the Hazil and Khabur rivers is Dornuk, an Iraq police post on the left bank of the Hazil; the Turkish post is opposite at Kurkit. The Turks crossed the Hazil river at Rubanki, which lies to the north of Dornuk and on the same side of the river. Here they were in British territory. Our Air Force bombed them and they retired across the river. With reinforcements from Jezira they advanced again. This time we held our hand, referring the matter to the League of Nations.

Meanwhile, what of the Assyrians, who we nominally protect and three thousand of whose fighting men were employed in our Levies? With the loss of these men, who as I have shown had been withdrawn from the frontier, the Assyrians, mostly old men, women, and children,

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proved an easy prey to the Turks. Some 6,000 to 8,000 refugees were driven down through Amadia into Iraq from the villages they had only recently rebuilt. Was this necessary? Here at Amadia the flood was stemmed by a handful of Assyrian Levies under a British officer, and an irregular force was formed which stopped the Turkish advance. The Assyrian hillmen, stiffened by this force, drove back the Turks. On one occasion a native Bishop, dressed in a lounge coat and Kurdish trousers, himself successfully led an assault on a Turkish position.

There is much talk about the frontier and its *status quo*, but what of the human lives and wrecked homes? Does their status count for nothing?

A certain gentleman stated that we had done a lot for the Assyrians but they had done little for themselves. I do not know much about that—perhaps they have not done much for themselves, but one thing I do know, and that is that they have done a great deal for us. During the war they certainly played a part, but I think their use has been even greater since the war. During 1922-23-24 they made it possible by their loyalty and reliability for us to reduce our ground forces in Iraq. In the Suleimaniya, Amadia, and Rowanduz operations they were actively engaged to everybody's satisfaction, and during 1922-23 they held the frontier against the threatened Kemalist offensive.

What now of the future of these Hakiari Highlanders, this virile Christian race whose history I have tried to describe to you?

There is the Mosul plain, on which many have been settled. What does it offer? Fever certainly. It is the worst fever area in all Iraq—99 to 100 per cent. positive tests were obtained in almost every one of its villages. For ten months I lived on this plain and saw its ravages amongst the civilian population and my own Assyrian soldiers. In many villages 100 per cent. were suffering from fever, and in 1921 as many as 25 per cent. died in three months. I have seen the almost incredible change in health when the Assyrian Levies moved to the hills. I submit that if the Assyrians are to be settled on the plain, their extermination will be just as effective as it would be under the Turk, and one of the oldest races in history will cease to exist.

No. To my mind the future of the Assyrians, if they are to have a future, lies inseparable from their hills—the mountains on which they have lived for generations—their ancient home. Surely justice will be done to these Highlanders, this remnant of an historic race. Barren and inhospitable their land may be, rugged and rude their snow-capped heights, humble is the desire which throbs insistently from them, "O give us back our hills, our torrents and our rocks."

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE: Lord Peel, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Our lecturer has given us a thorough insight into the country of the Assyrians; he has described them as a virile race who have done a

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great deal for us, and I think we shall all acknowledge that is a very true description. Now the Central Asian Society has taken up this question of the Assyrians, we have published papers on it at various times, and I would ask all the members of the Society who are here to-day, if they want to study the question, to look up the previous papers on the subject. Take, for instance, "The Assyrian Adventure of 1920," by Lieut.-Colonel Cunliffe Owen, in the *Journal* at the beginning of 1923. Then we have a second paper, "The Assyrian Chaldeans," by Major Rynd, which gives us some further information about them; and our lecturer to-day gave us a short paper on the subject at the beginning of this year. He has now supplemented that by the very interesting lecture we have just heard. If there are any here who take an interest in these people and are not members of the Society, I can only say I hope they will join the Society, and study these previous papers, which I am sure will be of great interest to them. The question of these Assyrians, I think we must all acknowledge, is one vital to our mandated territory in Iraq, and of extreme importance to ourselves. These men have fought for us, and look to us to protect them, and it is our duty, I think, to do so. On the map we have seen the territory which they have re-occupied, and from which they have now been driven. It is a sad story. I think we ought to understand that when we are talking of the Assyrians, we are talking mainly of the Nestorians. These Nestorians, I gather, are what we may call the Protestant portion of the race, while the Chaldeans are the Roman Catholic portion. These latter give allegiance to the Pope of Rome and belong to the Roman Church. Another section of them is described in a previous paper as Jacobites, who are subject to the Patriarch of Antioch. Major Rynd, in his article, further says that the Devil worshippers—known as the Yezidis—are also claimed as belonging to this race; but that they left the Christian fold very early and relapsed into paganism. It is a curious thing, in this very room two or three weeks ago, I was listening to a lecture by Lord Thomson on his recent experience with the Air Force in Mesopotamia; and he described to us that when he was inspecting a battalion of these Assyrians he came to a company which struck him as different from the rest; and when he asked who they were he was told they were devil worshippers. I asked him to explain why the devil worshippers should be specially joined up with the Christians, but he could not give an answer to that. I do not know whether our lecturer can tell us how many companies of these devil worshippers there are among the Assyrian battalions, and why they were specially selected for enrolment amongst them.

The LECTURER: I am not sure, but they were being raised as I left.

Sir CHARLES YATE: They seem to get on well together, and I hope they will continue to do so. There is not the slightest doubt the

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Assyrians are good soldiers, and I think upon those good soldiers who are garrisoning the frontier the stability of the Iraq Government largely depends. I should mention that these levies are paid for by the British Government, not by the Iraq Government: all the levies are under British officers, and paid for by the British Government. The Arab army, which is paid for by the Iraq Government, consists of Arabs only, and has no British officers I believe they are mostly town Arabs, and I do not think we can call them great soldiers—from what I have heard they are mainly useful as police. I think it is necessary that the frontier should be garrisoned by this virile race of Assyrians if the frontier is to be held at all. If the Assyrians are disbanded it is impossible to say what will happen to the Iraq Government. I do not know what the opinion of the lecturer is on that subject, but I think I am right in saying that while the Assyrian Levies were on this frontier the Turks did not advance. When the Assyrian Levies were withdrawn, then it was that the Turks advanced. I believe the Assyrian Levies have a good name all over the country as good fighting men. (Applause.) The question of the future of this people is of real importance to us: we ought not to desert them. The frontier has been shown on the map this afternoon. First, there is the old Turkish frontier of the Mosul vilayet, then the portion occupied by the Assyrians, and beyond it Julamerk gives the present Turkish frontier. I think it most important we should insist on retaining the hills now occupied by the Assyrians. We must have that, as a buffer state we may call it, to divide the Turks from the Arabs, and I hope and trust that as the question is being now decided by the League of Nations, a decision will be given in our favour. If the League does not give a decision in our favour, I think it will be a very bad thing indeed for the Iraq Government.

We must thank our lecturer for bringing the case of these unfortunate people to our notice, and I can only hope that the Government, who have now placed the matter in the hands of the League of Nations, will be able to obtain the satisfactory decision that we should hope for.

Sir EDGAR WIGRAM: I feel there are likely to be several people in the room whose information about the Assyrians is of more recent date and better grounded than mine. The points I want to emphasize are rather obvious, and my only excuse for mentioning them is that I think they may be so obvious as to be overlooked. Some have been mentioned by the lecturer. The first point is that nobody except the Assyrians wants the Hakiari valleys as a residence. Nobody else in his senses would want them, and the only reason why the Assyrians want them is simply because they happen to be their own. Born mountaineers, as the Assyrians are, can only live in a mountain country. It is no use at all offering them an alternative home in Mesopotamia, Canada, or Australia; they would simply disperse and

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die out. The Assyrians, as has been mentioned, fought on our side during the war; they came in early of their own free will on the invitation of the Russians. We endorsed that invitation afterwards by our conduct and used their services. They did very good service; I have heard from many other officers besides Major Bentinck that really they formed the most reliable of the Mesopotamian Levies. We have rewarded them to some extent—perhaps over-lavishly in the way of doles and subsidies—but the one thing they want we have so far withheld; and they ask with some show of reason what is the use of our friendship if we cannot restore to them the one thing they value and put them back into their own territories, which are the only corner of the world in which they can possibly live. The opposition to their return comes not from the Kurds who live with them, but from the Turks, and the only reason why the Turks want the Assyrian valleys is, I am convinced, that they think in the future those valleys will form outposts from which they will be able to menace Mosul. Certainly Mesopotamia will have no chance of development unless Mosul and the line of railway are protected from interference from the mountains, and the Assyrians in their valleys north of Mosul will be able to secure a most important and vulnerable point of the frontier—that north of Mosul—because neither Kurd nor Turk will care to meddle with the Assyrians if they know they are going to have any backing at all from behind. The frontier now being drawn by the Commission appointed by the League of Nations will, I trust, give to the Assyrians their own valleys, which really belong to them; and I hope it will also be a clear and easily recognizable line. Rivers are really no good as frontiers in that country; both sides of a river valley make one self-contained entity. The real frontiers are the mountain ridges which separate the valleys, and which no one crosses unless he feels obliged. (Hear, hear.) The delimitation of such a frontier would be exceedingly rough travelling for the Commission, but it is the only frontier which would be of practicable use. Of course the Commission will have one temptation—that of following the line of least resistance and showing undue favour to the party which is likely to make most fuss; and we shall also, as mandatories of Iraq, have another temptation later—the temptation of trusting too much to the signatures on a scrap of paper, and not avenging violations of the frontier as promptly as we ought to do. But I feel confident that if justice is done to the Assyrians, and they are placed back in their own valleys, they will be able with very little backing to maintain their own ground against the Turks.

Mr. BUXTON: I do not wish to add anything to the discussion, because the points I desired to emphasize have already been put forward both by Major Bentinck and the subsequent speakers. I would only like to say that it was my own experience—and one of the

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most interesting experiences that I have had—to be a prisoner of the Agha Simko, who was referred to in the lecture as the treacherous slayer of Mar Shimun. The Agha Simko was an exceedingly brave, handsome, but bloodthirsty ruffian, who betrayed the Patriarch after giving him hospitality under his own roof. My experiences in the northern part of this territory, between Urmia and Van, lead me to confirm what has been said about the fine qualities of the Assyrian people, and I feel that all of us can be nothing but conscience-stricken on this subject regarding the way we have betrayed these brave allies of ours. I cannot understand why it was, if our Government had not made up its mind to hold that country, that the Assyrians were ever permitted to go back to their mountains. It seems to me utterly shameful to have allowed these people to go back to their hills, and then, just as soon as they have rebuilt their villages, to withdraw. Therefore I hope that the Society and everyone present will do what they can to arouse public opinion, so that when the question of the Iraq frontier is being discussed, as no doubt it will be further discussed by the public and Press, everything possible may be done to press the claims of these people. There are no doubt other considerations which will have to be taken into account—the need for economy, etc.—and there will be a strong temptation to throw the whole responsibility on to the Iraq Government, but we must not leave the country without providing security for this little people.

The CHAIRMAN: I will say a few words before I close the proceedings. I thought the case for the Assyrians was stated succinctly and clearly by Sir Edgar Wigram, and no doubt their case is a very unfortunate and very hard one. Unfortunately, it often happens that when the whole world is being reshaped, these smaller peoples, however nteresting their historical traditions may be, are forgotten among the larger questions pressing on the Foreign Offices and Chancellories of Europe. The problem is difficult. These people do not want to be placed under the Government of Iraq or that of the Turk. The alternative of some home elsewhere is to my mind very hopeless indeed; we have had a great and bitter experience in the transfer of populations that has recently taken place between Turkey and Greece. (Hear, hear.) Those who are familiar with what went on at that time are not very anxious to repeat the experiment. But I should say the case is even worse for the transfer of the Assyrians. In the case of the Greeks and Turks they were being exchanged into countries where they would live amongst their own countrymen, so that that case was simpler; to take away the Assyrians, and put them in some other part of the world, where they would have no natural affinities, either racial or social, with the people of the country, would be a hopeless task. I am not going into all the difficult questions that would be raised by that problem; one can only hope that, now the boundary is being

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delimited by the Mosul Commission, under the auspices of the League of Nations, some possible way will be found for making provision for this people. I have now to thank our lecturer not only for his lecture, but also for the very interesting slides he gave us. I am infantile enough to be able to learn a good deal through the eyes as well as through the ears. It is a form of education I always appreciate. I enjoyed the lecture, and I think we are very much indebted to Major Bentinck for coming here this afternoon and giving us so interesting a picture on the geographical aspect of the country. He plunged into early history, and took us back as far as 1300 B.C. He told us something of the historical side of the Assyrians, their position as an ancient nation and a Christian nation, their division into different religious sects; and also he gave from his own experience a view of their value as fighting men, and the capacity they have shown as soldiers. I am bound to say that I think most races of the world show well as soldiers when they are trained and led by British officers. (Hear, hear.) On your behalf I venture to tender the very hearty thanks of the Society to Major Bentinck. (Applause.)

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, on Friday, January 16, 1925, when the Right Hon. Viscount Peel presided at a lecture on "Turkey To-day" by Lieut.-Colonel J. H. M. Cornwall, C.B.E.

Before the lecture commenced the Chairman asked Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton, Hon. Secretary, to announce the number of members newly elected.

The HON. SECRETARY (Sir Raleigh Egerton): Ladies and Gentlemen, members of the Central Asian Society,—I have to inform you that we have elected eighteen new members since our last meeting. We have to thank two or three of our members—I will not mention them by name—for great energy in recruiting, and if a few other members would join in the task of recruiting members, we should very soon reach the thousand that we aim at.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have met here to-day to listen to a paper on "Turkey To-day" by Lieut.-Colonel J. H. M. Cornwall, C.B.E. Colonel Cornwall, in spite of his youthful appearance, has had a long and distinguished military career already. He is especially qualified also by his experience to speak to us on the subject of Turkey. He went out in January, 1920, to Turkey with a brigade of the Royal Field Artillery, and then in April, 1920, he was appointed to the command of the British troops at Chanak. In August, 1921, he was appointed Intelligence Officer to General Sir Charles Harington in Constantinople until the evacuation of the British forces in October, 1923. He remained in Constantinople after the evacuation in order to study Turkey and the Turks. In July, 1924, he was appointed British Delegate on the Commission to delimit the demilitarized zone in Thrace, on which work he is still employed. We therefore have an officer who has very great knowledge of Turkey and Turkish methods, and we look forward with very great pleasure to his lecture. I will call on Colonel Cornwall to give his lecture.

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TURKEY TO-DAY

It is with some diffidence that I venture to-day to address the Central Asian Society, for I must confess that I have never been in Central Asia. My excuse is that I have recently travelled in Central Asia Minor, and by all accounts there is considerable similarity geographically between the steppe lands watered by the Oxus and the upland plateau of Anatolia. Ethnographically, too, Turkey forms the final habitat of those Turanian nomads who wandered between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries from the Tarim Basin to the banks of the Maritza. When you cross the Bosphorus and climb up 3,000 feet into the hinterland of Anatolia, you find yourself in the midst of a primitive people and a backward civilization which is truly Asiatic.

It is well-known history, which I need not recapitulate, how the Ottoman Empire rose to its zenith and declined; how from the sixteenth century onwards the outlying and less Ottomanized portions of Suleiman's great empire fell away from the ever-weakening grip of the Padishahs in Constantinople. This centrifugal process continued steadily until it culminated in the Balkan War of 1912 and the Great War, when Turkey proper was finally shorn of her non-Turkish dependencies in the West and in the East.

After the Great War, when the Peace Treaties were being leisurely debated in 1919 and 1920, the Allies unfortunately failed to agree as to the terms to be imposed on the defeated Turkish nation, and the Allied forces remained for a whole year in occupation of Constantinople before the intentions of their Governments were announced. This delay and indecision both exasperated the Turks and indicated to them the political divergences in the Allied camp. The Turk has always proved a past master at exploiting such a situation to his own advantage.

The Allies had also in May, 1919, had recourse to the unfortunate expedient of letting the Greek army loose on Asia Minor without either effective support or adequate control.

The result was that thousands of exasperated Turks flocked to the standard of revolt raised by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, first at Sivas and then at Angora. So ended 1919.

In January, 1920, the National Pact was formulated by the Turkish Parliament at Constantinople, which then dissolved.

The Turkish Nationalist forces, at first an ill-equipped rabble, succeeded in resisting or evading the Greek army, and Mustafa Kemal strengthened his position by intriguing first with the Soviets and then with some of the Allies.

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EVENTS OF 1921.

March: Treaties with Afghanistan and Soviet Russia.
August: Greek offensive; Sakaria battle.
October: Treaty of Kars. Treaty with M. Franklin-Bouillon.

EVENTS OF 1922.

Then followed nine months' stalemate, during which the Turks went on quietly consolidating their political and military position. The Greeks meanwhile indulged in political intrigues, while the Allies looked on and did nothing.

In July the Greeks made a false move; Mustafa Kemal swiftly took advantage of it, and by the end of August the Greek army was driven back, a beaten rabble, to the Ægean Sea.

Events then followed rapidly.

September: The burning of Smyrna.
October: The Mudania Armistice.
November: The flight of the Sultan.

Then began the Lausanne Conference, which dragged on until July, 1923, followed in October by the evacuation of Constantinople by the Allies, and the proclamation of the Turkish Republic. Finally, in March, 1924, came the expulsion of the Caliph and of all the imperial family and the abolition of the Caliphate.

During the month that followed the defeat of the Greek army in August, 1922, 850,000 Ottoman Greeks abandoned their homes in Anatolia and fled to Greece. I want to begin by clearing up a popular misconception on this subject; the Ottoman Greeks are rather less Greeks than the Americans are English. They are the remnants of the original inhabitants of Anatolia—call them Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, what you will—whom Xenophon called "Barbarians" in the fifth century B.C., whom Alexander conquered and Hellenized in the fourth century B.C., and whom St. Paul converted to Christianity. They are of mixed blood, and since the Christian era began they have been subjected to wave after wave of Mongol and Turkish invasion, in spite of which they have tenaciously maintained the speech that Alexander left them and the faith they got from St. Paul; with them must be reckoned the thriving Greek colonists along the Ægean coast, who were more nearly the descendants of the early Ionian settlers.

When the Greek débâcle took place in August, 1922, there were roughly one and a half million of these so-called Greeks in Asia Minor. Some 850,000 having fled for safety to Greece in the first rush, the problem of the remainder became a difficult one; in fact, it was of such importance to both Greece and Turkey that the two countries

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settled the matter out of court by a special convention signed by M. Venizelos and Ismet Pasha at Lausanne on January 30, 1923. According to this convention, all Ottoman Greeks in Turkey (except those domiciled in Constantinople) were to be transferred to Greece, while all Moslems in Greece (except the inhabitants of Western Thrace) were to be sent in exchange to Turkey. This exchange began in May, 1923, and was practically completed by the end of 1924. It has involved much individual hardship and suffering, but will probably in the end prove to be the most effectual solution of the thorny problem of Christian minorities in Turkey. Since the convention was signed some 500,000 Ottoman Greeks have been exchanged for approximately 350,000 Moslems from Greece. But if we include in the reckoning the 850,000 Ottoman Greeks who fled to Greece in 1922, we see that Turkey has suffered since the war a net loss of 1,000,000 inhabitants, exclusive of the Armenians and other Christian sects who have fled the country. This loss has meant a corresponding gain to the population of Greece. The pre-war population of the territories which now constitute Turkey was about 14,000,000 ; it is now something approaching 8,000,000. As the present infant mortality in Turkey is admitted to be 80 per cent., and the birth-rate is declining, we can look forward to a day in the near future when the population of Turkey will not be more than 7,000,000. The population of Greece is over 6,000,000.

But a still more important factor is the economic loss to Turkey involved by the exchange. Nearly all the trade and commerce of the country was in the hands of the Greeks and Armenians. More especially was it the Ottoman Greeks who wove the carpets, produced the silk, and packed the figs, which formed the staple industries of Turkey. To-day in Anatolia it is almost impossible to get your boots mended.

One can to a certain extent sympathize with the ideals of patriots who wish to prevent their country being exploited by foreigners and mean to keep Turkey for the Turks, but one can only look with sorrow at the results, for instead of improving their country the Turks are bringing about its economic ruin. The interior of Anatolia, once the richest satrapy of the Roman Empire, now resembles a desert. Eastern Thrace, formerly a flourishing province, which as recently as 1912 had a population of 650,000 farmers and merchants, now numbers barely 200,000, and its fertile soil is going back to the condition of a steppe region. I recently visited the little town of Midia on the Black Sea, which before the Balkan War was a prosperous fishing centre and had a population of 9,000, 8,000 of whom were Christians. The town is now in ruins, and a starved-looking population of 600 Turks eke out a miserable existence by burning charcoal. Last spring my wife and I did a journey of over 1,200 miles through Anatolia. From Brusa we went eastward by road as far as the Anatolian Railway, and then took

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the train to Eregli, via Eskishehr, Afiun Qara Hisar, and Konia, after making a very interesting détour into the hills north of Afiun to visit the Phrygian Monuments and the old Royal Road, which led eastward from the sea to the old Hittite capital in Cappadocia. From Eregli we took the road again and traversed the Taurus Mountains by the famous Cilician Gates. We then turned north and crossed the central plateau via Nigde, Qaisari, Yozgad, Chorum, and Amasia, reaching the Black Sea at Samsun. In the course of our wanderings we visited the centre of the silk industry, several carpet-weaving districts, and Turkey's richest silver-mine and coal-field. Everything we saw confirmed the impression that Turkey has committed economic suicide by expelling her Christian population. Everywhere land is falling into uncultivation, railways are few and badly organized, and the roads built during the war by the Germans, Russians, and Greeks are now tumbling to pieces.

A visit to Angora, the new capital of the Turkish Republic, does not afford much more food for optimism. It is a typical Anatolian town of some 30,000 inhabitants, situated at a height of nearly 3,000 feet above sea-level at the eastern edge of an extensive marshy plain. It is 360 miles from Constantinople, and forms the terminus of the railway, though this is now being pushed eastward towards Sivas. One can now travel to Angora in comparative comfort, though the journey is painfully slow, and takes twenty-five hours from Haidar Pasha. The climate of Angora presents few amenities; in summer it is afflicted by drought, dust, flies, and malaria; in winter it is swept by cold blizzards and becomes a quagmire of mud. The drainage, sanitary arrangements, and hotel accommodation are all equally indifferent. The water-supply is also defective, and as the town is situated on the edge of a malaria-breeding marsh, difficult to drain, it is most unhealthy. The only really habitable house is that of the Ottoman Bank manager, the whole of the Christian quarter having been burnt down during the war. Mustafa Kemal and Ismet Pasha have comfortable villas in the village of Chanqaya, three miles south of the town, and new embassies are being built in the same neighbourhood by the Germans and the Russians. Up to the present the Allies maintain their political representatives at Constantinople, being naturally loth to abandon their magnificent embassies there, but the French Government has a semi-official representative at Angora in the person of General Mougin.

The question may be asked why such a remote and insalubrious spot was chosen as the capital of the new Turkey. I believe it was partly for sentimental and partly for practical reasons. To begin with, Angora was the cradle of the Nationalist movement and the seat of the Government as well as General Headquarters during the campaign in Anatolia against the Greeks, whereas ports like Constantinople and Smyrna always were and always will be subject to a good deal of

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European influence. Strategically the site of Angora has been of importance since prehistoric times. Its rock fortress closed the defile by which the old "Royal Road" led eastward from Sardis and Phrygia to the Hittite homelands about the River Halys, and it was here that Alexander the Great, after cutting the Gordian knot on the banks of the Sakaria, received the submission of the Paphlagonians.

Angora is still the most central town in Anatolia which is linked by rail with the coast, its only serious rival in this respect being Konia, the old Seljuk capital, now on the Baghdad railway. But Konia is politically suspect; its position as the headquarters of the Mevlevi dervishes, fanatical supporters of the Caliphate, renders Konia's loyalty to the Kemalist régime more than doubtful. One can still see round the ruins of Ala-ed-din's palace the trenches dug by the troops sent by Mustafa Kemal to suppress the Konia revolt in 1921.

Unfortunately there is intense jealousy and even hostility between Angora and Constantinople. The narrow-minded and short-sighted legislators in the new capital have done everything in their power to belittle and humiliate the proud descendant of Byzantium, even to the extent of restricting the liberty of its press and hampering its commercial prosperity. This is a case of cutting off the supply of golden eggs with a vengeance, for Constantinople comprises all that there is of enlightenment, "intelligenzia," and even of public opinion in Turkey. Commercially, Constantinople was once, and could under a progressive administration again become, one of the richest transit ports and emporiums for the world's trade.

I recently asked an intelligent Turkish friend of mine whether the capital could, under the circumstances, be maintained at Angora. "Yes," he replied, "and in the long run Angora may prove to be the best capital for us in spite of its many disadvantages. When the Sultans resided in Constantinople they squandered all the wealth of the country in building palaces on the Bosphorus, and, in consequence, Anatolia was starved and became a wilderness. Now the taxes will be expended in building roads and railways, and in developing the resources of the country." There is much to be said for this argument, and it is probable that Angora will remain the capital, even if the present Government falls. At the same time, it seems wasteful to abandon all the commodious Government buildings and palaces in and around Constantinople, and to go and erect jerry-built ministries in an unhealthy provincial town, which offers no attractions as a residence.

I have paid two visits to Angora—the first in December, 1923, and the second a year later. I cannot say that I was much impressed by the rate of progress in building the new capital, although considerable efforts are being made. Of course the Turks themselves are incapable of supplying the necessary skill and labour. During my first visit the new buildings were being erected by Greek prisoners, guarded by

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Turkish soldiers; the work is now being done by Germans and Italians. One meets with a great number of Germans in Angora, many of them of the foreman and mechanic class, and one feels that if the Turks will only let them stay, Angora may some day become a town. The material for the Anatolian railway—supposed to be British-owned—is all being purchased in Germany, and the train in which I travelled to Angora last month was drawn by a locomotive built in Germany in 1924. German economic penetration is now very much in the ascendant, and has this advantage over British trade, that the Turks no longer fear Germany as a land-grabbing world Power. The fact is that the Turks are beginning to realize that, economically, they cannot stand on their own legs. The more intelligent among them are asking why their Government does not follow the example of Japan and invite European technical experts to show them how to develop their backward country on up-to-date lines; such advanced spirits, however, are up against the stubborn opposition of the more xenophobe deputies at Angora, who still think they can run their country without outside help, and who are suspicious of any economic penetration which might lead to financial or political control by a foreign Power. Everywhere one encounters the results of this suspicion; all shop-signs and official letters have to be in Turkish characters, and all Christian employees, even Ottoman subjects, are, in defiance of the Lausanne Treaty, being excluded as far as possible from public services and private business.

One of the few successful pieces of constructive work that I can admire in the new Turkey is the establishment of internal security throughout the country. For centuries brigandage has been endemic, and more than ever so during the past few years, but the Angora Government by means of stern measures has almost completely wiped out this scourge, and to-day one can wander without an escort practically all over Asia Minor. In fact, one can say that life and property are safer in the wilds of Anatolia than in Constantinople, as the gendarmerie which patrols the country districts is far more efficient and less corrupt than the police which is responsible for security in the towns.

I hope that I have been able to paint you a true picture of Turkey as it is to-day, and also to have indicated some of the possibilities of the future. My picture may not agree with all the accounts you have heard or read. Some enthusiastic but misguided optimists come back from a short visit to Turkey with glowing accounts of the Turk, his virtues and his regeneration. I too have many Turkish friends, whose good qualities I sincerely admire. No one who has really made the acquaintance of the Anatolian peasant can help liking him, and both at Angora and in Constantinople one meets many Turks who attract one by their intelligence and charm; and the Turk can be very charming,

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especially when he thinks it to his advantage to be so. But as an administrator, even of his own co-religionists, he has his limitations.

I have every sympathy for the ideals of the Turks to-day; so had many friends of Turkey for the ideals of the Young Turk Party in 1908. But I have spent the last five years in Turkey, and whenever anyone tells me that "a new heaven and a new earth" is going to arise on the shores of the Bosphorus, I am reminded of the old Turkish proverb: "*Eski hamam, eski tas,*" which means: "It's the same old bath and the same old bath-bowl."

Colonel STOKES: Lord Peel, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Greatly as I enjoyed listening to the lecturer and seeing that excellent series of slides, perhaps Colonel Cornwall will forgive me for saying that I was rather disappointed he did not tell us a little more about the Turkey of to-day, because the Turkey of to-day is a question of very great interest to the British Empire. I think Colonel Cornwall was a little hard in his strictures on the Turks. One has to remember that they were fighting from 1911 to 1922 practically continuously. At the end of that time they found themselves shorn to a great extent of their territory, but still left with Anatolia. One of the things they did was to move their capital to Angora. Who would not? Would any sane man sit in Constantinople, with the Straits open to the British Fleet, or any other Allied Fleet, able to steam up any afternoon and dictate any terms you like? Is that a good position for a capital? Angora has all sorts of difficulties and disadvantages, but what else could they do? Why is Turkey important to the British Empire? If you look at the map you will find that between our Indian Empire and Russia you have got Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, and—I am using my words advisedly—I am convinced that it is a matter of vital importance that the friendship of those countries should be with us. It is not a question of our having to go and beg for that friendship. They want our friendship and we want theirs. We can have it for the asking, but we shall not get it so long as we pursue the policy of the last twenty-five years, which has been anti-Islamic. Other Governments have seen fit to send their representatives to Angora, but the British representative sits in Constantinople. Are the social amenities of Kabul so greatly superior to those of Angora that we can send a representative to Kabul and not to Angora? Or is it that the British Foreign Office, defeated in diplomacy by the Turks, is having its revenge in this way? We shall be told the Germans are getting in. I was in Berlin the other day. I am told there are 4,000,000 German intellectuals—say there are only 2,000,000—experts in their different trades, out of jobs. Will not they go to Turkey if they get the chance, and will not Turkey take Germans rather than nationals of any other country? Germany is to all Oriental countries the one Western Power without foreign possessions; "therefore," says the Turk, "we can get her disinterested

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friendship." I do not know whether you know what is going on in Germany. One mosque has been built and a second is being built at Berlin. I do not know if you know how many Afghan students are going to Berlin. I have not heard of one in England; and they are going to Paris too. What we want to-day—and it applies to-day more than ever it did—is the friendship of Turkey. Disraeli saw this from the time we took on the Suez Canal. He said that whoever held Constantinople must be the friend of England. I know of no outstanding question which cannot be settled if there is goodwill on our part. That must be the basis of our policy.

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: Lord Peel, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I was very much interested in the lecture, but, like the last speaker, a little disappointed that he did not give us more information about Turkey itself. He gave us some idea as to the present state of affairs, but apparently from his remarks, I should say that there is very little indeed that he can enlighten us upon as regards any development taking place. Practically it is nil. He spoke about the railway from Haidar-Pasha and Eskishehr to Angora, and its extension eastward across country to Sivas—I think that is the place he mentioned—but he did not say whether there was any new development taking place out there. I believe certain nationalities have got concessions in that part, and there is some talk of building a railway from Sivas towards Nisibin and the Baghdad railway. Could the lecturer give us any light upon that subject? I should think that the question of the friendship of Turkey is a very serious one really for this country, and, with him, I am a little surprised that apparently—present company always excepted—the leading lights of different Governments have not seen fit or been wideawake enough to put up some effort towards making a slight advance towards the Turkish people or Government, who, as he said, would be only too anxious to have the friendship of the British Empire. With other nations walking through the back door, as you might say—the last speaker has mentioned some of them—I think it is about time that the British Government woke up to what is taking place, and even if they have to put their pride in their pocket, I think in twenty-five years' time it would pay us; we certainly cannot afford to go on as we are doing now. With respect to India, it is no good talking about danger unless we do something, and then the question of Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Persia, and Turkey in Asia is a serious one for this country; and I hope those who are responsible will take the steps necessary to see that our possessions in India and further east are protected in the way they ought to be.

Mr. BORLEY: Lord Peel, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like to point out that this friendship with Turkey is a rather two-edged weapon. I am speaking from some experience, during the last two years, of the French Islamic possessions in Africa. Anyone who has

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travelled there will have noticed that the disposition of a very large proportion of the Islamic subjects of the French Government is to regard with a sneer the rather solicitous efforts of that Government to be friendly with Kemal Pasha. Particularly has this been the case since the conclusion of the Franklin-Bouillon agreement. It is the fashion with a great many educated Moors, Tunisians, and Algerians to say, "Yes, Kemal Pasha is the leader of Islam. Our rulers would like to be friendly with Kemal; but he will use their friendship just as long as he likes and no longer." You hear so much of that in North Africa that perhaps the British Empire should be careful.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—On your behalf I offer a word of thanks to the lecturer. He made one observation when he started that he was afraid Turkey was some distance from Central Asia, and therefore his lecture might not fall within the purview of the Central Asian Society. But he need not be under any anxiety from that point of view. In the past, from Central Asia have gone out nearly all the conquering races that have gone west and established kingdoms and empires: I may compare the Central Asian Society to those conquerors.

I heard with regret from Colonel Stokes that he thinks, during the last twenty-five years, our diplomacy has been consistently outwitted by the Turks—if this is so, it is unfortunate.

Colonel STOKES: Not quite that, sir. I said for twenty-five years our policy has been anti-Islamic, and recently the Turks have defeated the British diplomats.

The CHAIRMAN: I thought the expression was confined to the last twenty-five years; but as it is rather more pointed than that, I suppose he refers to the recent Government. There were two points of great interest in the lecture besides the slides: one was the relative populations of the two countries, Greece and Turkey. It has been pointed out by writers of note before now, that in considering the great changes in the different positions of countries, politically, socially, and economically, not sufficient attention has been given to the extraordinary alteration in the relative numbers in the populations of the various countries of Europe, if we compare what they were in the past with what they are to-day. I need not point out the obvious differences in relation to France and Germany. It is remarkable that the great Ottoman Empire should have only six or seven million people, and be actually comparable in point of numbers to the much smaller Greek country, which has now a population of from six to seven millions, and is on this basis almost equal to Turkey. I, like the lecturer, have a good deal of affection for the Turks. I have spent much time with them, know many of them well, and have friends among them; but many think Turkey is making a very dangerous and

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hazardous experiment in her decisions during the last few years. I do not know whether sufficient attention is paid to the feeling in other Moslem countries, and what has been the reaction on Turkey and the Turks of doing away with the Sultanate and the Khalifate. It has had a great effect in India, and has damped enthusiasm for Turkey. When I was travelling recently in Morocco, I found that, whereas two or three years ago the name of Kemal Pasha was held up as that of a great national hero among Moslems, from the moment that stunning change took place—and the double abolition of the Sultanate and Khalifate is one of the greatest social changes that has ever taken place in Turkey—from that time forward the name of Kemal Pasha was hardly ever mentioned. Anyone speaking of the relations of the British Empire to Moslem populations should not forget that the situation has been greatly altered by the determination of Turkey to separate itself entirely, so far as it can, from old habits and customs, to substitute another law, and to break, as far as it can politically, with its Moslem past. Turkey has followed a very bold course, because not only has it affected the East by breaking with the habits and customs of the Moslem faith in this way, but it has thrown out something of the same challenge to the West. As the lecturer has told us, it has driven out of those countries all those populations (Greeks and others) who were carrying on the economic life of the country. This is a bold course, but to some observers it has elements of rashness. It resembles in many respects what has happened in the south of Ireland, where the determination of Sinn Fein to be "ourselves alone" has been carried to so extreme a point. I think it is not unnatural that the country, in setting itself up as a more modern country, should roughly and ruthlessly break away from the traditions of the past; but it is obvious that if Turkey is to count in the future, it must open its gates to the Westerner, for it cannot develop its great natural resources entirely by its own help. I myself believe that at some future time there will be a very considerable change in the attitude of Turkey towards external nations and external capital, because it will be found that the position of splendid isolation for practical purposes leaves something to be desired. Colonel Stokes referred to the mosque which is being built at Berlin; that is, in a sense, an old story. Did not the German Emperor, on a famous visit to the East, proclaim himself as a Moslem? I believe, during the war, part of his propaganda in Egypt was that he was a faithful adherent of the Moslem faith. When the Germans were shown the destroyed cathedrals and churches of France and accused of irreligion, he said that was quite possible, because, being a Moslem, he could not be supposed to have any great sympathy with the Christian faith. I noted with interest what the lecturer said about those transfers of populations: he said the population of Greece was going to be increased by something like a million,

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both of Ionian Greeks and of others, who, though they spoke the Greek language, could not be considered to be Greeks. I have no doubt in many ways Greece will largely gain from this great influx of population, but I think he will also agree that the economic digesting power of a country like Greece will be a good deal strained for some years to come by having to accommodate a new population, even though in time the country may be largely developed by them. These are all subjects which might carry one very far afield, and I do not think I need really do more than on your behalf give very hearty thanks to our lecturer, not only for the general sketch he has given of affairs in Turkey, but also for the very admirable photographs that he has taken. (Applause.)

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Friday, February 20, 1925, and a lecture was delivered by Brig.-General C. D. Bruce, entitled "Some Thoughts on the Chinese Problem." In the absence of the Right Hon. Viscount Peel, Colonel Sir Charles Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sorry to say that Lord Peel is not able to come to-day, owing to his multifarious duties as a Cabinet Minister, and it has fallen to me to introduce to you our lecturer. Brig.-General C. D. Bruce started in the 33rd, the West Riding regiment, and he joined the Chinese regiment at the time it was raised at Shanhai Kwan in 1899. He was severely wounded at Tientsin during the Boxer rebellion in 1900. He then was posted to the command of the Chinese regiment, and served on with it until it was disbanded. One great journey he made was that he tramped all the way from Simla to Pekin, a journey right across China, which was, as I think you will all acknowledge, a very great feat in itself. He gave the Central Asian Society a lecture in 1906. After the disbanding of the Chinese regiment he went out again as Chief Commissioner of the International Police at Shanghai, and he served with the police there until the year 1913. After that he went as adviser on police affairs to the Chinese Government, and served with them until the war broke out. After the war he went out again to China in 1919, and finally did not come back until the year following. So I think you will all acknowledge that we have here a man who is a real authority on China, and I look forward with great interest to the lecture he is going to give us. (Applause.)

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SOME THOUGHTS ON THE CHINESE PROBLEM

By Brig.-General C. D. Bruce, C.B.E.

"If the recent history of the Far East be thrown into the distilling machine the main products are two in number:

(1) The impressment of the West upon the East.

(2) The inter-relationship of China and Japan."

These two statements are the foundations upon which the writer from whom I quote bases his investigations into the problems of the Far East.

I think few who have seriously studied these problems are likely to disagree with him. But there are a number of people in this country who are not familiar with Far Eastern problems, yet who are interested in China, Japan, and the future of the Pacific. They would if they could, I believe, take an intelligent interest in the weighty questions concerning all three, questions impatiently biding their time for solution. How weighty few people in this country seem to have time to be aware.

My aim this afternoon is to present—so far as I am able—an intelligible picture of some of these matters. Also to try and indicate general lines of thought which can be followed in endeavouring to understand International developments in the Far East.

I do not propose to confuse your minds with a string of names which few persons can even pronounce correctly—let alone remember. Any day the evening telegrams may be full of China news, of the doings of Changs or Wangs or Tangs, and by dinner-time the ordinary man—or woman—has just begun to differentiate. Comes the next morning's paper in which, to his or her surprise, there is no mention of Chang or Wang or Tang. Instead, a string of fresh names beginning with Wu or Liu or Pu. How can the ordinary mind take any interest in such entirely mythical personalities?

Instead of wasting time, then, in any such fruitless effort let us endeavour to try and understand and to realize this afternoon what this impact of West upon East stands for—what it may mean in future for good or for bitter rivalry to both.

Here is China a vast area, populated by one of the most virile, hard-working and law-abiding races in the world.

What is to become of it?

Is China one of the "has-beens" like Egypt or Persia? Or is she to be—as some of us are inclined to believe—the pivot upon which the future of Asia will turn?

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This for the moment is the thought I wish to put into your minds.

It would be futile this afternoon to attempt to make a detailed statement of the numerous issues which unite and culminate in what is commonly known as "the Chinese Problem."

To most Englishmen China is a matter of complete indifference. No one who has not been in China can begin to realize the extraordinary fascination of the country and people. So many-sided is the Chinese character that it affords ample food for deep study to men of all kinds of diverse tastes and professions.

Some four thousand years before our own era began Chinese history was in the making. What food for study is there not in the political systems of a nation such as this, which still flourishes! In art there are European experts to whom early Chinese paintings appeal as much as does any Occidental art. The porcelain of China has never been equalled either in beauty of colouring or in the exquisite skill of its artistic conception. Its literature—though owing to almost insuperable linguistic difficulties it is practically unknown to the rest of the world—contains thoughts in no way inferior to Shakespeare's or Bacon's own (whichever it was who wrote the immortal plays!). Chinese poetry, if it could be adequately translated, has beauty of expression and charm such as we in Europe would delight in.

So much then for one side of Chinese character. There are very many others.

We know that the Chinese were in touch overland with early Roman civilization. Much later but as long ago as the thirteenth century, before Columbus had discovered America or the art of printing had been invented, the first authentic information about China—or Cathay as it was then known—reached Europe.

It was an astounding revelation which Marco Polo and his two nephews brought back to Venice from the Farthest East.

Yule in his fascinating account tells us how three men, dressed in outlandish garb, partly European and partly Asiatic, appeared in the streets of Venice. The three strangers had been absent in the "wild and barbarous countries" of the Far East for more than twenty-four years, and they had long been given up as lost.

In those days—and one might almost say in these—nobody in Europe knew much about the regions in which Marco Polo and his nephews had travelled. It was supposed that the farthest extreme or eastern edge of Cathay ran off into a region of continual darkness, a bog or marsh where all manner of strange beasts, hobgoblins, and monsters roamed and howled. And it is not surprising that when the three travellers came back from that desperately savage country to claim their own, they were laughed to scorn.

But soon the boot was on the other foot. Marco Polo and his

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nephews invited a number of their kindred to an entertainment of great splendour. When the hour arrived for sitting down to table, they came forth from their chamber all three clothed in crimson satin fashioned in long robes reaching to the ground. When water for the hands had been served and the guests were set they took off their robes and put on others of crimson damask, while, by their orders, the first suits were being cut up and divided among the servants.

Then after partaking of some of the dishes they went out again and came back in robes of crimson velvet. These too were divided up as before. Then the three hosts assumed dresses of the ordinary fashion worn by the rest of the company.

These proceedings naturally caused much wonder and amazement. But still greater astonishment was to come. After the cloth had been drawn and all the servants ordered to retire from the dining hall, Marco Polo rose from the table and, going into another chamber, brought forth the three shabby dresses of coarse stuff which the travellers had worn when they first arrived in Venice.

Straightway they took sharp knives and began to rip up some of the seams and welts and to take out of them jewels of the greatest value in vast quantities. Rubies, sapphires, carbuncles, diamonds, and emeralds, which had all been stitched up in these dresses in so artful a manner that nobody could have suspected the fact. Now this exhibition of such a huge treasure of jewels and precious stones tumbled out upon the table threw the guests into fresh amazement, quite bewildered and dumbfounded. Then all Venice recognized that in spite of former doubts, these three were in truth the honoured and worthy travellers that they claimed to be, and everyone paid them the greatest reverence.

This, ladies and gentlemen, was Europe's awakening to the possibilities of China. That trade should have fastened the interest of these bold merchants of thirteenth-century Venice upon far Cathay is not to be wondered at. Do we not know of the interest created in London to-day—in high financial circles that is—by any adventurer, no matter how "shabby and coarse" his clothes may be, provided he has in his pocket a concession for a gold or tin mine, or even of some easily accessible coal mines!

Portugal.

In 1517 the Portuguese received permission from the Viceroy to trade at Canton. Macao became the commercial centre in 1537. During the eighteenth century Macao was the chief port for Western trade with China. The cession of Hong Kong to Great Britain in 1842 and the commercial prosperity of that port led to the downfall of Macao.

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Spain.

Then came the Spaniards in 1575.

Holland.

Holland succeeded Spain and Portugal as an aspirant to Chinese favour in the matter of trade. Embassies to Peking were characterized by a complete acquiescence in all Chinese demands, even as to kow-towing before the Emperor. But these attempts met with no success.

Russia.

Russian agents are recorded to have visited Peking as far back as 1567.

Port Arthur, as you all know, was occupied by a Russian fleet in 1898, after the seizure of Kiaochow by Germany. In 1900, after the Boxer Rising, Manchuria was overrun by Russian troops, and demands were made for a Russian protectorate over Manchuria. Backed by Great Britain, Japan, and the United States, China was able to fend off these demands temporarily, but as Russia refused all Japan's suggestions for a compromise either in Manchuria or Korea, the Russo-Japanese War resulted. What Russia lost and Japan gained at the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905 is also well known to you all. Since the collapse of Imperial Russia that country has even forfeited her extra-territorial privileges in China. Soviet Russia is making a bold bid for re-establishing her former position, but of that I propose to speak later.

France.

Of French relations with China it is unnecessary to say much. Their Colonial Empire in Indo-China absorbs if it does not justify most of France's Far Eastern interests.

America.

The only other foreign country which we need take into consideration in this preliminary survey is the United States of America. The first American ships to reach China arrived at Canton in 1784, and from the outset American trade obtained a good footing. With the occupation of the Philippine Islands, after the Spanish-American War, American trade and interests began to revive. They have steadily increased since.

I am afraid, ladies and gentlemen, I may have wearied you with these preliminary references. But it is hardly possible to obtain a clear conception of modern China unless we follow that country's gradual contact with the West.

Be it for better or for worse, it is in how East and West react upon one another that we can best judge not only what the future of China is to be, but that of all Asia, possibly of the whole world.

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This violent reaction between East and West is a point many Europeans do not seem to have grasped.

Now let me offer you a few ideas upon the present position of that extraordinary country.

To attempt to prophesy in detail about China is merely to expose one's ignorance of anything connected with that land of paradox. China is a riddle hard to read. On the other hand, there are general lines of thought upon which it is safe to embark without falling into hopeless confusion.

As you are, of course, well aware, the state of China for the last thirteen years (since 1911) has been one of utter chaos. Ever since the substitution of a so-called modern Republic for the age-long, semi-divine monarchy, the state of the country has rapidly gone from bad to worse.

How could any well-balanced mind suppose a change was possible —in a night as it were—from a past stretching back almost to the dawn of history to the latest manifestations of twentieth-century democracy? During the last ten years one Government after another, all equally corrupt and powerless, has risen, fallen, and made way for an equally incompetent successor.

To a certain extent Western nations are responsible for thus forcing the pace. Missionaries, merchants, military adventurers in the shape of agents representing the great European armament-making firms, have vied with one another in expediting the inrush of new ideas. New ideas, entirely new conceptions of life, thrust upon the mentality and customs of a people still for the most part five hundred years behind Europe!

But China herself is equally to blame in that, as a nation and people, she has not only steadfastly declined to accept the honest help proffered her (honest at any rate from England and America), but has fought tooth and nail against the oncoming and irresistible wave of modern progress.

One of the best-known and most responsible leaders of "Young China" has lately written in these words for the benefit of his own countrymen:

"Those of us who have lived in cities, who have come into intimate contact with Western civilization, and who use foreign languages, and have been influenced in our lives and view-points by foreign ideas, sometimes entirely forget the condition of our own country, the fundamental character of the Chinese people, and the fact that the great and vast population of this country is living in a world altogether untouched by these things.

"We talk of progress, of smoke-stacks, of great industries, of higher education, of University degrees, but we forget altogether that, unless we find a golden mean between the ignorance and poverty of the

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masses of our people and those highly specialized, somewhat glorified personalities in the large cities, we shall have nothing in our country but misunderstanding and discord.

"The country man and the city man are moving so far apart that they have nothing in common. In the country the old traditional customs of China continue. In the country the morality and the social civilization of China are untouched by any attempt to imitate Western ways. In the city many of those who have even been educated abroad with foreign help are anti-foreign. In the country the laws of hospitality, basic in Chinese ethics, are unbroken except by bandits forced by economic conditions to commit every crime for a bowl of millet. The countryman is not at heart anti-foreign, nor does he desire to mimic the foreigner. He is a Chinese. He wants to remain a Chinese. He has no desire to be anything else.

"Back to the interior should be the slogan of young China. It really means, back to work for the country. It means an end to loose talk, and a renewal of labour. It means an end to false doctrines, to imitating ways we do not understand, to playing at habits and customs which are foreign to our character. It means that China will take her place among the nations of the world strengthened by the sense that the State rests upon the solid foundation of an intelligent and understanding farming class, the backbone of any living civilization."

Now if only a few such men as the writer of these words were in power to-day in China, there might be signs of a break in the clouds. But instead, an impenetrable fog of incapacity, corruption, jealousy, and self-seeking continues to hang over one of the most productive lands on the face of the earth.

Ever since the war between China and Japan there has been no ostensible reason why China has not succumbed to outside conquest. Her utter lack of national defence, her unwarlike population, her state of national bankruptcy are some of the causes why China would be an easy prey. But, actually, there is one main reason why she retains her individuality.

This is the vast size of the territory to be conquered, and when conquered, organized and governed. Then let us glance for a moment at the initiation by certain Powers of the policy known as the "open door." So long as the various Powers chiefly concerned (at first these were England, America, Japan, Russia, and Germany) stood upon an equal footing and maintained friendly relations there was some chance that the policy of the "open door" might serve its purpose.

But once this position was radically altered (as has happened), good-

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bye to any hope of success to the policy of the "open door." Friends may enter by the same door, enemies prefer another way round.

One of the legacies left by the Great War has been the loss of all extra-territorial rights and privileges in China by Russian, German, and Austrian subjects.

Soviet policy in the Far East to-day is working to close as tight as can be done every door into China to all other nations. In other words, M. Karakhan, the Soviet Ambassador, is out to let loose Bolshevism and to subvert Chinese civilization when and wherever his agents can.

I happen to have had the opportunity of meeting M. Karakhan personally after the war in Warsaw, where he was acting as Soviet Minister to Poland. That he is eminently qualified to fulfil his present mission I have no doubt whatever.

German interests in China have, as has been already remarked, entirely changed since the war owing to the loss of extra-territorial privileges by German nationals.

In any case, Germany with no extra-territorial privileges is unlikely now to see eye to eye in China with other European nations who still enjoy these privileges. Questions are now arising in China about which, hitherto, all foreign diplomatists in Peking have agreed unanimously to differ from China. But in future, and for the benefit of their own nationals, both Germany and Austria, and of course Russia, are in certain cases more than likely to side with China against other European nations. Under these conditions, with Russia, Germany, and Japan actual or possible opponents to the policy of the "open door," what chance has it of succeeding?

The question is sometimes asked, "What about 'hands off China'?" This in so many words is what numerous Chinese themselves ardently desire. But "hands off China" is a catchword capable of more than one interpretation.

To the minds of the extremists of "Young China" and its leaders this cry means that foreign nations should give up at once all extra-territorial rights and privileges, abrogate all foreign Treaties, wipe out all China's financial obligations. In fact, accept the China of to-day as a highly civilized nation upon an equal footing with the rest of the world.

This is of course childish; nor would such a policy in any way aid in China's regeneration. Even supposing China could completely isolate herself—as Japan did for nearly two centuries—China might, of course, continue to exist upon Confucian lines; but there could be no progress whatever.

Existence and progress, as we all know, are two very different matters. In this twentieth century, for any nation isolation is ruled out by the universal demand for new international markets. The Chinese, like

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the Persians, Koreans, and other Asiatic races, must submit to being modernized, if they will not modernize themselves. I do not believe that it is (necessarily) for their ultimate happiness. But if it is bound to occur, the question arises how can such a transformation take place without disintegrating the backward nations or disturbing the peace of the world? Can a nation which has slumbered remote from modern civilization for thirty centuries be suddenly awakened? Of course it cannot. Unfortunately this is exactly what has happened.

Within the lifetime of all of us here this afternoon China has had to face the inrush of Western civilization to a devastating extent. No nation could assimilate such a surfeit of new ideas unless the masses were eager and responsive to such changes. The Chinese have from time immemorial been exactly the reverse.

This is what really stands in the way of that country's regeneration. Until the masses of the people, those patient, tireless, teeming millions, can be educated little by little up to modern standards, to some national consciousness, the West must just wait as patiently as may be for China to take her place in the comity of nations.

China has for the past twenty years been the spoilt child of Diplomacy—allowed to say and do things which would not for a moment have been tolerated in other equally backward nations.

Had the real state of China been widely known in Europe during this last generation, not half her present difficulties would have arisen.

A well-known authority has voiced what I mean when he said:

"As the dream of world-revolution fades in the West, propaganda concentrates on Asia. From Peking to Canton Bolshevism is working powerfully to rouse Chinese feeling against European or American interference in every shape and form. The Chinese are urged to throw off capitulations like the Turks, and to assert their independent control of the Treaty ports and the Customs tariff."

That will come some day. Meanwhile, it is part of the whole Far Eastern question, and that is capable of becoming by far the greatest question in the world to-day. Japan, denied outlets in America and Australia, while burning to assert a status of absolute equality with the white nations, strengthens steadily and legitimately from year to year a local position of surpassing power. For Japan it is of life-and-death importance that her supplies of the fundamental raw materials from China shall in all circumstances be secured.

When the smouldering Civil War shot up in flame again more than four months ago, Wu-Pei-fu struck from Peking for the mastery of the region round Shanghai. He was no sooner victorious than his great rival, Chang Tso-lin, marched down upon him from Manchuria and turned the tables. Wu-Pei-fu was deserted by the so-called Christian General Fêng, accused by his opponents of being heavily bribed. Wu-Pei-fu may be "down and out" or may be biding his

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time. Chang Tso-lin is nominally dominant. But the Christian General might at any time make a bid for supreme power. Chang Tso-lin more or less overawes Peking from a distance while he keeps in touch with his impregnable Manchurian bases. In close correspondence with him is Sun-yat-sen,* who in the Canton sphere is an apostle of liberty in theory, and a blood-letting pro-Bolshevist tyrant in practice. The political-military combination now in the ascendant is undoubtedly favoured by Japan and by Soviet Russia, whose envoy, Karakhan, is the "star" diplomatist at Peking. Endeavours are being made to reconcile the interests of Japan and Russia, which in some ways are not conflicting. It is well to remember that the lately signed Japanese-Soviet Treaty may entirely revolutionize international conditions in the Far East. This treaty suggests that in future vast forces are likely to escape the control of Europe and the United States.

Before I conclude you may ask: "How, then, can China be helped?" As a child I was often told that "Heaven helps those who help themselves!" I am not at all sure that it is possible to help China if she will not meet Heaven half-way. I am fully aware that to invent a suitable policy is one thing: to carry it out quite another. If there was not this perennial difficulty there would be little need for our Diplomatic Service: incidentally it may be said probably the best Diplomatic Service in the world!

For some years past any hope of unity of action by other nations to put China on her feet has failed. The "XXI. demands" are not forgotten in China. The Washington Conference remains a paper transaction.

But there is no reason why the British Empire should not have—and pursue—a recognized, consistent, sincere policy of its own—a policy which other nations, and particularly China, could understand and—if they so desire—fall in with.

It would be a mistake to change our policy—such as it has been—suddenly. Under present conditions any marked change would at once be misinterpreted by many Chinese minds.

But if, while strictly upholding British Treaty rights in China wherever and whenever these are infringed, we make it plain that this country is still as it has always been China's most disinterested friend. That no matter what aspirations other nations may have in the way of territorial acquisitions or special rights we have none. But solely the desire to trade according to treaty rights, and above all the wish to help the present generation of "Young Chinese." If we can help them to acquire and make use of the best that British civilization has to offer I believe such a policy would not only be understood and welcomed but would be strongly backed by powerful Chinese influences in China.

* Sun-yat-sen has recently died in Peking of cancer.

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I am no believer in the Unification-of-present-day-China-by-force idea. The so-called strong man who will reunite and govern all China has yet to be born. Both Chang Tso-lin and Wu-Pei-fu, not to mention others, have made the attempt and failed after unspeakable horrors. Each may wish to unite the eighteen provinces for China, but it is primarily in order that he himself may rule them, and keep the loaves and fishes for his own family and the clique to which he belongs.

My faith is that the future of China lies in the hands of the younger generation.

Immature and unfledged as the rank and file of those who are carrying on the movement may in some ways be, it is the leaders of this movement alone in China who realize the vital necessity for creating a "National, political consciousness" among the millions of their ignorant fellow-countrymen. They are, in a sense, constructive, not, like the militarists, simply destructive. They are carrying on an educational Renaissance such as Europe went through in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. By their endeavours an ever-growing, ever-widening stream of public opinion is being created, a "political consciousness" without which China cannot survive as a modern nation.

By their efforts what they call "People's Organizations" are being created wherever they can. These are composed of different interests. For example, a "People's Organization" for business men would be one. For those interested in education another. A third would be an industrial "People's Organization," and so forth. From local "People's Organizations" the next step will be to individual Provincial Organizations, then to groups of Provincial Organizations, finally to some kind of United States of China.

The future of that wonderful land of paradox is a riddle. And there are those who do not want a strong and united China. It is unwise to attempt the rôle of prophet. I left Peking in 1921. But I have a firm faith in the theory that progress can only be achieved by permitting Chinese mentality to develop on its own lines and by virtue of its own psychology.

Mr. Rose: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My only excuse for speaking to-night is that I have just returned from China. I have spent the past year travelling about the country, and have been in touch with many of the leading personalities there, and with the struggles for power among the Tuchuns which have attracted so much attention. It has been a very great pleasure to hear General Bruce speak about China in the terms which he has chosen. He has not been there, I believe, for some little time. But his message seems to me up to date, and he has given a clear and accurate idea of conditions in China as they present themselves to the mind of the Englishman there to day. It is as General Bruce has said, extraordinarily difficult to judge the whole position as it affects the national and international

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interests of China and her neighbours. The problem seems, perhaps, a little simpler when one is on the spot than when one is in London. But, even here, the big issues stand out fairly clearly. You have a very big country under consideration—a vast area and hundreds of millions of people—and they have been shaken by a revolution which is still working its slow process through the country. That has necessitated a fresh start in regard to at least one thing—the machinery of government. Government-making is naturally a difficult task for any people, and particularly for a people like the Chinese, who have been accustomed to live in their village communities without any close contact with national affairs. They are now struggling, against great difficulties but under the impulse of a new necessity, to build up some sort of national Government for themselves. I doubt whether the Tuchuns, the military leaders of the various conflicting factions, are quite such blunderers and plunderers as they appear from the simple record of their adventures. There is, of course, in China the inevitable muddle and corruption in public affairs which is inseparable from loose administration and experimental policies. But I have known most of the present leaders personally, and my own impression of them is that they are struggling against frightful odds. They have at the moment so little national machinery to work with. That is their main trouble. They are trying to build up a Government, and there is nothing to help them on their way. There seems little prospect of a settled Government in China, in our sense of the word, for many years to come. I think we must face that probability frankly and squarely, and realize that opportunism in government is inevitable until the Chinese themselves, through their own rather leisurely processes, have found their own solution: until they have built up a new machinery of government suitable for their new needs in the world. And so we, in our turn, must learn to live and work with China as we find it. I do not feel pessimistic about the situation, simply because I believe that the present unrest is the first indication of returning life after a period of stagnation, that there is a real movement towards progress, that the Chinese are ultimately a sound people with a very sound outlook on life; and that, although they are inexperienced in politics as we understand them, they are strangely experienced in the art of living. There is one factor in the China of to-day which is, to my mind, of deeper significance than the chaos on the surface. There is a movement on foot to which the Chinese refer as a "renaissance"—and such movements have been not uncommon and of no little importance in their long and evolutionary history. People are a little inclined to laugh at the word, and sometimes, when one has had a good dose of newspaper reading, one feels a little sceptical oneself. But, when one is out there, when one is in daily touch with the Chinese, living with them and working with them on practical problems, one cannot

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escape the conviction that something good and something constructive is slowly working its way out of this chaos, and that a new impulse of life is evident in China. A spirit of enthusiasm is in the air. During my early years in China it seemed to me that the Chinese, even the young, were strangely lacking in enthusiasm. They did not seem to care very much about anything. I used to wonder why it was: whether perhaps the country was growing old and the blood of the people running thin. But I know now that that was wrong. The Chinese are still a very vital people. I believe the lack of interest in affairs was largely due to the prevalence of opium-smoking among all classes and all ages of the people, and throughout the country. Things have improved greatly in that respect in recent years, thanks largely to the tireless efforts of Sir John Jordan. Opium is still grown and smoked in considerable quantities, but it has ceased to be fashionable in China. The fact that it has dropped out of the lives of the young men is going to make a vast difference to the next generation of Chinese. These young men are determined, I believe, to make something better of their country. The struggles of the Tuchuns are, in the nature of things, local struggles. Communications are so bad that it is difficult for any individual leader to keep in touch with the whole country. But the renaissance movement is nation-wide, appealing to the young men and the thinking men all over the country, regardless of communications or provincial boundaries, regardless of everything but their determination to see China a Nation, strong, healthy, and independent, and the Chinese a united people. I have been travelling recently in many parts of China, and no matter where I have gone, even in the far interior, I have found the same thoughts at work, the same movement in progress. They are all talking of China as a nation, believing in the future of China as a nation, working for China as a nation. And I have become infected with some of their enthusiasm. It is difficult to know whether we should, whether we can, take any active steps in regard to China just now. General Bruce has put the difficulties before us very clearly. It is doubtful whether we can help them by any action. But the Chinese do look to us for sympathy. They are strangely—what shall I call it?—prone to sympathy, in their political as in their personal relationships. At the moment Russia is playing a very strong card as the friend of China. She has taken the trouble to find out exactly where and how China feels herself aggrieved with her foreign neighbours. The Russian Ambassador is exploiting her grievances, urging China to repudiate her treaties and her foreign obligations, and indicating communist blessings and Russian friendship as the gateway to a new world. I do not think we want to play up to China in that sort of way. But I do think that China is looking to her older friends just now, wishing that they would not feel the need to be so constantly censorious; hoping that, out of their greater experience

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in world affairs, they will find some constructive suggestions for her comfort. I agree with General Bruce that to withdraw from China now would be a hopeless policy, a policy of cowardice. What China needs from the West is a policy of courage—tempered with courtesy. I do not believe myself that she wants to get rid of her old treaties, though she asks with some reason that they should be brought more into line with the changed conditions of to-day. The treaties have been, and still are, a great help to her in many ways, something stable in these days of unrest and transition. They set a standard in many things towards which she is striving—towards centralization, efficiency, and good administration. And so great caution must be used in regard to them, in China's interest as well as in our own. I do not under-estimate the present troubles in China—I have been too intimately concerned with them. They are a disaster to Chinese and British interests alike. But they do not represent the whole story in China. And we must keep the whole story in mind if we are to act with sanity and wisdom in our Chinese relationships. New forces are being created, and being loosed, in China. It is not possible for any outside force to oppose them effectively. I think that has been proved by recent history. The sound line seems to be to recognize them, to direct our policy in harmony with all that is best in them, to convince the Chinese that we are at her side, with no desire to interfere or intrude or paralyze progress, but with a sincere desire to play the part of friend.

Mr. Moon: Mr. Chairman,—I should be sorry if I were to take the subject off the high plane on which it was started by General Bruce, and on which it was maintained by the last speaker. I think I should like to echo the words of the last speaker as to the stimulating effect which the words of General Bruce have had on myself, and I am sure on those who have listened to them. The few words I desire to say come from one who has been a sympathizer with China for a good many years. It will be thirty years next August when, in my first long vacation after being elected to the House of Commons, I went to China; and in that capacity, of course, I had the opportunity to meet a good many people. I had the opportunity of an interview with Li Hung Chang in his temple at Pekin—he was in effect the Prime Minister—and saw a good many other people who were at work in China at that time. My remarks seem rather scrappy and I shall not be long. In the first place, as to one of the introductory observations of General Bruce, I do wish the Chinese would learn to dispense with the three monosyllables which they seem to think, as a rule, indispensable for their names. Why should not they have surnames, and call themselves like Marshal Feng by one name? We know some of their ancient wise men by single names, like Confucius and Mencius, for example; if they all did that one would have a chance of knowing

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where one was. May I refer to a speech I heard by a very brilliant young Chinaman in London lately, Mr. Koo. Mr. Koo represents, I believe, the Chinese Government at the Opium Conference at Geneva, and he has been doing a good deal of speaking in England in his beautiful blue gown. I think he was brought up at St. John's College, Shanghai. He went into the railway service. After that he became head of the Chinese Y.M.C.A., and after that head of the Chinese section of the Student Christian Movement. In that speech—the Archbishop of Canterbury was in the chair, and pronounced it to be a "memorable speech by a remarkable man"—he drew a distinction between the view entertained by the Chinese a hundred and fifty years ago and that of more recent times. He referred to the embassy which George III. sent under the management of Lord Macartney about 1780 to try and arrange a commercial treaty with China, and he read in full the reply, in translation, of the Chinese Emperor. The Chinese Emperor said he thought it very polite and decent that the King of England should show his respect to the Chinese by sending an embassy; but China produced everything that any reasonable person wanted, and that they did not want any of our wares. I remember the last words of this polite letter were "Tremble and obey." Mr. Koo contrasted that with the line taken by the governing body of China—I cannot say what its name was—in 1916; in which they wished to base their new constitution and their policy of the future on Western methods. Perhaps they remembered the words of their old sage Confucius, who, I suppose two thousand years ago, said "The West also has its sages." I might mention that Mr. Koo after criticizing some things that were done by foreigners in China, expressed a great debt of gratitude to this country for the way in which education and so on had been started and carried on by missionaries. I want to say a word or two about opium: I see Sir John Jordan from time to time. I think it is not wrong to say that he is always very guarded on the subject, and I perhaps have read more about opium in India than opium in China. Apparently the Royal Commission that went to India and reported in 1893 said that in India opium was not taken to excess. I do not think they said it was a very good thing, but some people think that in India it is. I have never heard anyone say that in China. Whether they have a worse quality of opium there, or whether smoking opium is a worse way of taking it than taking it as the Indians do, in the form of a pill, or sucking it, I am not sure; but I think the way in which the Chinese persuaded us to stop our export of opium from India to them, stopping 10 per cent. every year until it came to an end a few years ago (1917), and year by year increasing their production of opium—I think that is scandalous. One knows *The Times* leaders are written on very reliable information, and *The Times* leader within a fortnight said that the Tuchuns pay their forces by collecting opium

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and sending it down river to be sold. With all sympathy to the Chinese, I think until they develop some spirit for politics and government, really we cannot leave them alone. We do great things for them —the West does great things for them in the matter of Imperial Maritime Customs, and also in the matter of Salt, and I am sure the missionaries continue to help them most effectively. Therefore, I think, with every wish to help them, they cannot be allowed to drift along alone. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think we are fortunate indeed to-day in having amongst us our well-known Minister to China, Sir John Jordan. I hope he will kindly give us a few words.

Sir JOHN JORDAN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I really did not intend to come to this meeting. I did not intend to come to speak; but, as I have been called upon, I shall make a few remarks. In the first place, I should like to say with what interest I have listened to General Bruce's paper. He is a very old friend, and, on the whole, I am in agreement with what he has said. I am not always in agreement with some of his proposals, but to-night I am entirely so. During the last fortnight I have listened to two or three lectures on China: each lecturer has had a remedy of his own for the country, The first lecture was given at King's College, and the lecturer's idea was that China should be supplied with a new religion—that Confucianism and Taoism were worn out. That would take some time. The next suggestion was that foreign Governments should create a Government for China. That, too, was a task requiring time. I am glad that General Bruce made no definite suggestion for the solution of the China problem. He told us what the situation in China is. I do not think it is very hard to understand. China adopted fourteen or fifteen years ago a republic. This was altogether premature, and far in advance of her political development. It was quite impracticable. and ever since she has been in difficulties. The situation at present, and for some time past, is that we have had Presidents of the Republic who have been elected generally by bribery and have represented nothing at all, and the Parliament has been equally unrepresentative. China has made no successful attempt to assimilate representative institutions; and it will be a long time, I am afraid, before she does. The present President of the Republic calls himself Provisional Executive, and he has the good sense not to consider himself elected at all. The first thing he did was to imprison his predecessor and put him on trial for receiving bribes. (Laughter.) He is a very nice, pleasant old man, who is highly respected and liked. He is a dictator, but with no power to dictate. He has not sufficient prestige in the country, and has no military support at all behind him. How long the régime will last no one can say, but the probability is that it will go the way of its predecessors. All Governments in Peking during the last thirteen years

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have been houses built on sand, and have all, in turn, disappeared. The wind and rain of militarism have beaten them down. They last just as long as the military dictator, whoever it may be, who has put them in power can keep his stand against his rivals. The present President is a cautious man, and I think on the whole has been more successful than most of his predecessors. As you all know, about a year ago a very unnecessary war was started round Shanghai. The two richest provinces in China had made a pact between them to maintain amicable relations. They had put that pact before the Consulate Body in Shanghai, and, in my opinion, the foreign powers ought to have insisted on its being observed. It was not observed, and this war was started—quite unnecessarily—as part of the policy of Peking to overawe the provinces. Starting in Shanghai, it went up north, and an attempt was made to get into Manchuria, which, of course, was impossible, because Japanese interests are there supreme. After devastating the whole country, Wu-Pei-fu had to retire, and now the situation is exactly where it was at the beginning. The most marked result has been the destruction of property and the disorganization of the railways. It has had, however, one other result, that apparently the people, and even the militarists, are coming to see that these wars are not much good, and that they had better stop fighting. The indication of that is, I think, what has happened at Shanghai. The first thing the Provisional Government have done is to hand over the arsenal, which has always been a bone of contention to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce—a purely commercial body. I do not know what use they will make of it; the last I heard was that opium was being stored there, labelled "ammunition." (Laughter.) That is a step in the right direction: opium is at least an improvement on senseless warfare. They have decided to demilitarize, I believe, the whole region of Shanghai. These sordid squabbles among military leaders have gone on too long, and this is the first sign of peace there has been for a long time, and it is hopeful to that extent. No one, however, will predict about China; I hope General Bruce did not refer to me when he asked what was to become of China. I am not one of those angels from whom he expected an answer to the question. General Bruce referred to what is, in my opinion, the most interesting development at the present moment—the Soviet influence; it is an immense problem. I agree with what he said about Karahan; he is a mischievous person, who is doing an immense deal of harm. How to correct that is very difficult. The Chinese are quite naturally using him, as General Bruce has pointed out to us. We made the great mistake, when we made the Peace Treaty in Paris, of depriving Germany of her extra-territorial rights. That was a great blunder. Then Russia had to give up these rights. So that the whole situation now is that there is a distinct cleavage among the foreign

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Powers. Up to now, for the last eighty years, since 1842, the guardian of the rights of foreigners in China, with all treaties and privileges, has been the Diplomatic Body in Peking. The solidarity of that body remained intact all those years. That has now gone, and the Russians are urging the Chinese to deprive other nationalities of their extra-territorial rights. That is the problem which confronts us at the present moment. I do not quite agree with what General Bruce has said as regards Japan and the Soviet. I have no great apprehensions on that point. I think it was natural that Japan should enter into that agreement with the Soviet. After all, Japan had a great many outstanding questions which she had to settle. It was almost impossible for her to go on with the close relationships she had with Russia in Manchuria and Saghalien and all those places without having the position regularized in some form or other. I take it that is all Japan meant; she wanted to regularize the position. She succeeded to a very large extent; she got an agreement which gives recognition to her position under the Portsmouth Treaty in Manchuria. That is the essence of the bargain. She could not go on with the Russian railway in the north and the Japanese railway in the south without some arrangement. As far as Soviet propaganda is concerned, I think Japan has more to fear than we have from that. Japan has a very big problem in her own country, a very large Socialist element to guard against, and we may rest assured that she will take very great care that Soviet propaganda does not enter there. Besides that, and more important still, she has Korea, a second Ireland, as a thorn in her side. She cannot for one moment allow Soviet propaganda to enter Korea. I know Korea and the restless nature of the people. It is absolutely essential for Japan to guard against Korea becoming a hotbed of Soviet intrigue. These rumours about an alliance between Russia and Japan and China appear to me to be all moonshine; there is too much divergence of interests to admit of that. I do not think I can add anything of use to the very interesting discussion we have had. I do not agree with all Mr. Rose has said. I think he is inclined to be rather optimistic about China. Perhaps I am too pessimistic. I doubt if the renaissance movement will prove the blessing many people think, and I am afraid these young educated Chinese are really going far too fast. There is the question of extra-territoriality, which General Bruce treated very properly I think. It is a most important issue, and one that one of the Governments in this country will have to deal with some day. Some six months ago it looked as if the Chinese were hoping to get rid of extra-territoriality with the Government then in power in this country. The same thing will doubtless happen again. What is the position? It would be absolutely impossible for trade to go on in China if extra-territoriality were abandoned. I am strongly against any idea of giving it up, or even of making any overtures to

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the Chinese, until the Chinese come forward and tell us what they are prepared to substitute for it. That is what we want to know—what are they going to put in place of it? It is not for us to initiate negotiations of this kind. The agreement concluded at Washington four years ago was little more than a repetition of one of twenty years before, and no progress has been made which would justify a fresh departure. We all perfectly well know that in China at the present moment it is absolutely impossible to effect any change of the kind with military leaders all over the country subject to no law but that of force. Only a few days ago I read a statement by the American Minister at Peking, Dr. Schurman, in which he suggested that the change must be gradual, a matter of evolution not revolution. All the foreign courts in China must, he suggested, adopt Chinese law; the Chinese Code should be administered by them all alike. But all these discussions are premature until China has put her house in order and is herself in a position to establish some form of law and order. The Chinese have codes enough, piles of them; but they are not in force. They have an excellent constitution, every word of it; but it is a dead letter. We have millions of property invested there. General Bruce knows better than I do the magnitude of British interests in Shanghai alone, which has a great British community and a Government of its own—one which collects several millions a year in taxation, administers one of the very largest commercial centres in the Far East, and administers it remarkably well; so well that the Chinese, when they get into trouble outside, come flocking in. The difficulty is to keep them out. Some Chinese don't want the abolition of extra-territoriality; some are sensible enough not to want that. I heard a story a year or two ago. A Chinese came to a foreigner and spoke very critically of the Washington agreement as unfair. The foreigner did not understand what he was driving at. In the end the Chinese said, "We shall have no place to escape to if we cannot go to your foreign settlements." That is the situation. (Laughter.) In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, as a person interested in China, I would like to express my pleasure at seeing the Central Asian Society extending its scope to other countries. Central Asia is perhaps not so important as it once was, and you are now including China in your deliberations. We all welcome that. One thing I should like to stress is that the two great countries in Asia which really require attention at the present moment are India and China. Their problems are closely related, and it is a great pity we have probably only one or two men in this country who have had practical administrative experience in both countries. In my view this Society might very well call itself an "All Asia" Society, and embrace those countries as well. (Applause.)

General Sir Edmund Barrow: Ladies and Gentlemen,—now that the angels have spoken it is rather venturous of me to get up, because

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my acquaintance with China is very out of date. Therefore, I am not going to speak at all about my views of China generally, but only make a few remarks regarding things that have been said to-night. We have heard a good deal about Bolshevism, and the effect it may now and in future have on the Chinese people. I rather agree with what has just fallen from Sir John Jordan, that Bolshevism will not have the great influence in China that some of us imagine and perhaps fear. I have long thought that Russian influence in China has been greatly exaggerated by us. The Chinese are quite intelligent enough to know who are their real friends. They certainly don't regard Russia as a real friend. They have suffered a good deal from Russia; I believe that *au fond* they thoroughly dislike the Russians, whereas, on the other hand, they have great confidence in us, and they have good reason for confidence. We have had a succession of great Ministers in Peking, men who knew more about the country before they entered Peking as Ministers than any foreign Ministers of other countries. Then our Consular Service has a great influence in China. The Chinese are well acquainted with the views of the Consular Service. They have a great acquaintance, too, with Europeans, especially Englishmen in the Customs Service, and, above all, they have an immense knowledge of Europeans (I mean western Europeans) as missionaries. They know the good work that has been done. They also know the good work we have done in places like Hong Kong and Shanghai. Recently a university has been started in Hong Kong—I do not know how it is going on—that will, I am sure, have great influence in China; and, altogether, I believe that Western European influence, more especially British influence, is very great in China. I might mention another thing that has a great influence, the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank which finances China. I am sure the popularity of Britain and its influence is greater than that which the Bolshevists might exert either to-day or to-morrow. (Applause.)

Sir Michael O'Dwyer: Mr. Chairman,—It would be presumptuous for me to say anything about China, a country I do not know anything about; but I would like to tell you a story of Confucius, the greatest thinker that China has produced. He was once asked by one of his disciples what were the essentials of a great nation. His reply was that there were three—first, that they should have bread to live on; next, they should have an army to protect them; and third, they should have a Government in which they had confidence. His disciple said, "If you cannot have the three, which can you best dispense with?" Confucius replied, "First the army; in the last resort the people can protect themselves." Then he was asked, "If only two were left, which should go?" He said, "Food. That is not indispensable, because every man has to die sometime. But," he said, "what is really essential is that the people should have confidence in their Government; for unless the

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people have confidence in their Government all is lost." That is the position in China to-day. China apparently has ample food. Mercantile credit is good, the country agriculturally is prosperous. Trade is in many ways booming. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank are to-day paying the biggest dividends they have ever paid. As regards an army, China has the biggest armed forces in the world to-day. Every Province has its separate army. All the worse for China! But although she has food and an army, she has not a Government in which the people have confidence. As Sir John Jordan has said, that is the root of her troubles. That is also at the root of our own troubles in India, which if left to drift will relapse into the political anarchy now spreading over China. Until China can succeed in establishing such a Government she will have a sorry time of it.

Sir JAMES LOCKHART said that he, like the previous speakers, had listened with very great pleasure to General Bruce, whom he had known well at Wei-Hei-Wei, when he was commanding that excellent regiment which was afterwards disbanded. He hoped that a similar fate was in store for the troops now so numerous in China, and that, when once they had been disbanded, the excellent theory of Confucius would be carried out and that there would be a Government in which the people would have confidence—such confidence that there would be "plenty to eat and an army big enough for defence only."

Mr. D. MELLOR also thanked General Bruce for his lecture, and said he had heard lately that the Shanghai-Nankin Railway was not working. The Chinese were a sensible people and no doubt would in time get a settled Government again.

Lieut.-General Sir AYLMER HUNTER-WESTON: One point would be very valuable; will Sir John kindly point out a little more fully why the taking away of extra-territoriality would adversely affect foreign trade?

Sir JOHN JORDAN: I understand insurance companies and other business concerns have left Turkey, and I am sure the same thing will happen in China. There will be no security for life or property at all. Take Shanghai for example. What would have happened to Shanghai during the last three or four months had there been no protection in the International Settlement? It is a settlement containing 850,000 Chinese, and perhaps 30,000 foreigners. That settlement is entirely under foreign control. General Bruce was Chief Commissioner of Police. Those police are mostly Sikhs from India, and are under foreign officers. It has got some of the largest public utilities in the world, electrical plant and so on. It is entirely under the protection of foreign Governments. The security under Chinese administration would disappear. I am only taking Shanghai as one example. There are twenty or thirty other places in China of the same kind but of lesser importance. I think something like ten thousand Chinese troops

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were interned there the other day. They would have played havoc in the place if they had not been under proper control. They had been fighting intermittently around Shanghai for the last six months. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank has premises there which cost about a million pounds. That is only one instance. Shanghai is an immensely big place with some of the finest buildings to be found anywhere and a trade that extends to all parts of the world. I will give you one similar example of what would happen under Chinese control. The Washington Conference returned, and very properly I think, the Shantung leased territory to China. Japan had retained it under the Peace Treaty, which I think was unfair, and the Washington Treaty returned it to China. Tsing-tao was the port. By all accounts both the port and the railway have since deteriorated immensely. They have had five or six different Governments. I can say definitely that foreigners could not carry on business in China—not at the present time—under Chinese customs and laws. It may come some day. Quite recently there was a case of a Russian who was imprisoned for six months without a trial. He had been arrested and kept in prison all that time, and in the end was released without a trial of any kind. You cannot subject British people to that sort of treatment.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir Charles Yate): Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think you will all agree that not only has our lecturer given us a most interesting account of China, but the discussion that has followed on has really been extremely interesting, and brought out a great many points that many of us knew nothing whatever about. The lecturer told us how hopeless the situation would be if China were to take over, for instance, the Customs and Salt duties. We have been shown how impossible it would be for trade to go on if the extra-territorial rights were abolished or curtailed in any way whatsoever; and how necessary it is that our Government should be supported in every way in opposing any infringement of the treaties that we now have with China. One question that has been agitating the world a good deal of late has been the opium question with China. I think I agree with Mr. Moon in the views he expressed, when he told us how India had suffered in helping China to abolish opium, and how futile the sacrifices made by the Government of India had been in that respect. We have seen that lately, during the Opium Conference at Geneva. He said he was not sure why opium was so harmful in China and not so harmful in India. In India—and I have lived amongst the people there for many years—opium is eaten regularly as a febrifuge and for other reasons. Many of the people in various parts of the country could not get on without it. It does no harm. The harm done by opium is in smoking, and by the drugs made from it. There is no smoking amongst the people of India. Sir John Jordan has drawn a parallel between India and China. He told us that China had made an attempt to assimilate Western democratic

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methods. I do not know why it is, but our country seems to take a pleasure in inflicting Parliaments and democratic methods upon every country it can think of, and generally with hopeless results. We have seen that the Parliament in China does not seem to be a great success. We have seen the results of the Parliaments we have established in India. We have seen how they have shown nothing but absolute want of responsibility and non-co-operation. In every way that they can make themselves unpleasant they have done so, and I quite agree that to inflict Parliaments on Eastern nations is one of the greatest mistakes we can possibly make. (Applause.) However, ladies and gentlemen, time is getting short; I can say no more, except to ask you to join with me in thanking our lecturer most heartily for the very instructive address he has given us, and also to thank Sir John Jordan and all the other speakers for the treat they have given us to-night. (Applause.)

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ARABIA IN PERSPECTIVE

POLITICAL problems have importance of two kinds: that which is intrinsic, and that which is fictitious. At times a problem of real importance does not receive the attention it deserves; at times the importance of a very small issue is much exaggerated. In the East of to-day there are certain problems, deeply affecting British interests, to which too much consideration and too much weight can hardly be attached; there are others of unimportance which for various reasons have acquired a purely fictitious value. Concentration, not diffusion, is the key-note of policy as well as strategy, but we can hardly effect this concentration if we do not preserve our sense of proportion and discriminate between these two classes of problems. From this point of view, therefore, it is worth while considering briefly the outstanding example of the latter class—Arabia. This desolate peninsula has been allowed to figure as a first-class issue in our Eastern policy; not a little British money has been poured into its deserts; not a little attention has it received from the Press, the public, and the Government. Further, there is the danger that in this atmosphere we may at any moment find ourselves embarked on some costly and ill-advised Arabian adventure. If the mirage which seems to hang over Arabia, and lends its features such a false glamour, can only be swept away by the consideration of a few outstanding facts, the exaggerated importance attached to that country will be dissipated, the attention it now receives can be focussed on the remaining really important issues in the Middle East, and the danger of an "Arabian Nights" adventure will be definitely removed.

Let us first be perfectly clear what we mean by Arabia. Draw a straight line from the head of the Red Sea (to be exact, from the Gulf of Akaba) to the head of the Persian Gulf at Busra. For all practical purposes the vast peninsula that lies south of this line is Arabia, and its inhabitants are Arabs or Arabians. It is a pity that, since there is some loose and misleading phraseology on the subject, the latter archaic term cannot be brought into general use to differentiate between the two. All Arabians are Arabs, but all Arabs are not Arabians.

Having touched on this point, it is not proposed to deal in detail with the internal affairs of the peninsula. It is, in fact, the too meticulous attention paid to these kaleidoscopic and ephemeral changes

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that has resulted in a neglect of the basic facts and factors which should guide our Arabian policy, and in an unfortunate inability to "see the wood for the trees." Only by taking as wide a view as possible can a corrective be applied to this myopia.

Let us regain a sense of proportion by applying to Arabia the test of certain "first principles," however platitudinous these principles may appear. What are the main causes which induce a Western Power either to assume the entire government, or protectorate, of an Oriental State, or to consider that in such a State it has any special political or other interests?

These main causes are four in number:

A. *Commercial.*—Where an Oriental State has great commercial possibilities, Western traders have been inevitably attracted to it. Oriental States being generally in a condition of more or less insecurity, the Western Power has had to defend its traders and their interests by armed force. (The flag follows trade at least as often as trade follows the flag.) This intervention little by little leads to an actual assumption of government by the Western Power. India is the classic instance of this.

B. *Political and Strategical.*—Even in the case of an Oriental State without great commercial possibilities, if such a State is situated near the frontiers of a Western Power, and is a possible line of approach to another Power whose intent is believed to be hostile, the first Power is compelled to interest itself to a greater or lesser degree in the affairs of this State. Persia and Afghanistan are good examples of this category with reference to our Indian Empire.

C. *Self-Protective.*—It sometimes happens that a Western Power is compelled to interfere in an Oriental territory (already perhaps politically and strategically important) much more than it has any desire to do by the aggressiveness of the inhabitants of that territory. On the north-west frontier of India, for example, owing to the necessity of continually having to check and punish the attacks of the Pathan tribesmen, we are compelled to undertake very heavy military and political responsibilities which otherwise we could avoid.

D. The fourth is an exceptional cause. In the course of a great struggle, such as the war, a Western Power may, purely with a view to influencing the course of that struggle, actually invade, or politically interest itself in, an Oriental State in whose affairs normally it would have no concern. How long such an occupation or political interest lasts depends entirely on subsequent events. Iraq may be said to come under this heading.

Such are the first principles of Western policy in the East. Let us apply them to Arabia one by one:

A. What commercial value is Arabia to us? Arabia is about one million square miles in area, with a population of between five and six

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millions. Persia, by all ordinary standards a sparsely populated country, with an area of 635,000 square miles, has a population of over nine millions, and Afghanistan, with an area of only 240,000 square miles, possesses six millions. A single State in India, and that not the largest—Mysore—has a population equal to the whole of the Arabian peninsula. These figures are given as a standard of comparison. There is not a single river in the peninsula, and the general rainfall is infinitesimal. It is inhabited by a primitive and pastoral people eternally at feud with each other, and has no manufactures or prospect of any. Its trade is insignificant, and shared at least as much by foreign merchants as by British. No accurate statistics are available, but the total exports from the whole of Arabia, excluding goods exported from one port merely to be reimported at another, do not exceed £3,000,000. Such trade as exists, however, is represented by the exports and imports from and to Arabian ports, and can be taken full advantage of by our mercantile marine without our in any way interfering in internal affairs. With these data at his disposal the reader can be left to supply his own answer to the question with which this paragraph began.

B. What political and strategical value is Arabia to us? The Arabian peoples, being entirely without maritime power, can exercise no influence outside their coast-line on the west, south, or east, and a glance at an atlas, and a little reflection, will show that Arabia, for all the fictitious importance that has been assigned to it, is a cul-de-sac (a vast cul-de-sac if you will, but still a cul-de-sac), leading nowhere, and of little importance to us from either a political or strategical point of view. The one first-class strategical point in the whole of the peninsula—Aden—is already in our hands, and its real importance lies, not in anything to do with Arabian affairs, but as a coaling depôt and naval base on an Imperial route. With the disappearance of the Turk from Arabia no other foreign Power has the slightest intention of wasting money or effort in penetrating any part of the country.

C. Does Arabia possess any aggressive military power which can be employed against us? On the west, south, and east is the sea, where, as already stated, the Arabian is powerless. In Arabia itself Aden is the only British possession, and the Yemen tribes are no more capable of being a menace to Aden than they are of being one to Gibraltar! Nor have these tribes any hostile intentions, since many of their supplies come to them through this port. If, of course, at any time, in the Yemen or elsewhere, we pursue an Arabian adventure in the shape of a "forward policy," either by actual occupation of points in the interior, or even by sending there permanent British representatives, the case will be different. We shall have given "hostages to fortune," and will inevitably be dragged into the welter of Arabian politics.

To turn to the north. Here, indeed, Arabia touches two British

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mandatory States—Palestine and Iraq—but little of a serious nature is to be feared from the aggressiveness of the Arabian tribes. To begin with, the people of the peninsula lack any kind of cohesion. Many thousands of years ago an unknown writer summed up in graphic language the chief characteristic of the Arabian: "his hand shall be against every man's, and every man's hand against him." And as then, so now. The Bedouin will join his fellows from time to time in a raid, but that is his limit in the way of combined action. Any *sustained* effort for a political object, without foreign assistance in the way of leadership and funds (such as was afforded the Hedjaz forces by us during the war), is beyond him, especially against regular troops such as presumably we shall have to keep in both Palestine and Iraq for some time to come. Last September, for instance, before their invasion of the Hedjaz the Wahabis made a raid on Transjordania. To the assistance of the Emir Abdullah's forces were sent British armoured cars and aeroplanes, which had no difficulty, suffering little or no casualties themselves, in driving back the raiders with heavy losses. Presumably this has been a sharp and salutary lesson to Ibn Saud and his followers that, however invincible they may be when faced with other Arabians, against regular troops they can accomplish nothing.

To put the matter in a nutshell. We do not want Arabia; no foreign Power threatens us or our interests, such as they are, in that country; the Arabians themselves are in no way a menace to us. How, then, did we ever come to be interested in the peninsula?

To find the answer we must turn to the fourth and exceptional cause (D) noted above. The matter may be put summarily as follows: During the war, in order to strike a blow at the Turks we allied ourselves with the Sharif Hussein of Mecca, to whom we gave the title of King of the Hedjaz. Another of our useful allies was the Emir Ibn Saud of Riad. We were duly grateful for the assistance rendered us by both these princes, and showed our gratitude in a very practical way by paying them and their people extremely well.

This explains the circumstances under which we first became seriously interested in Arabian affairs. It is now, however, six years since the conclusion of the war. How is it that we have still any political interest in that country? Briefly speaking, it may be said that the *fons et origo* of all our Arabian, and most of our Arab, complications lies in what may well be called the "Arabian mirage" of a Pan-Arab kingdom, which was to include the whole of Arabia proper as well as Palestine, Syria, and Iraq. King Hussein himself was to be the ruler of this empire, with his sons as local viceroys. Anything more unpractical could hardly be imagined. In Arabia alone there are three other states just as strong as that of Hedjaz, and one—that of Riad—which, as has been shown, is far stronger, and which has dealt the Pan-Arab scheme its death-blow.

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With the definite disappearance of this grandiose idea we have the opportunity of forming a fresh Arabian policy, based on realities and not on dreams. The invasion of the Hedjaz by the Wahabis has, in certain sections of the Press, been pronounced to be an event of international importance, claiming the immediate intervention of Great Britain. Keeping our sense of proportion, we know of course that it is nothing of the sort. It is merely a Bedouin raid on a much larger scale than usual, in no way affecting the "first principles" already considered above, and in no way calling for British interference. Whether Ibn Saud takes a few hundred (or thousand) square miles of desert from Hedjaz, or whether the latter take the same area of sand and scrub from Ibn Saud, in no way affects British interests. "The Wahabis advance to the Red Sea." Well—what of it? Can they threaten our shipping? Ridiculous! Local trade will be temporarily dislocated, but the value of British merchandise involved is far too small to warrant expensive interference, the inhabitants of the interior must have their supplies sooner or later, and matters will adjust themselves. The last Government wisely refused to meddle in Wahabi-Hedjaz affairs. Presumably their successors are pursuing the same masterly inactivity.

"But," will ask the reader, "what of the safety of the Jeddah-Mecca pilgrim route, and what of Mecca itself as the centre of the Mohammedan faith?"

These two important questions are interdependent, and must be dealt with as such. It should be clearly and widely understood that the British Government, more particularly the Indian Government, since it is Indian pilgrims who visit Mecca in large numbers, can assume no responsibility for the pilgrim route. The Indian Government already makes adequate arrangements for the passage of its pilgrims by sea as far as Jeddah. There its responsibility must cease. While our protégé Hussein was King of Hedjaz to some extent we were held responsible by Moslem opinion for his administration, and since he was unable to prevent pilgrims from being plundered by his Bedouin tribes, we shared the resulting odium with him. Hussein has gone and with him the last of our responsibility. The Hedjaz is an entirely independent territory, and must be left to manage or mismanage its affairs in its own way. It is not even a case of Christians ill-treating Mohammedans, where as a great Christian as well as Mohammedan Power we might be compelled to interfere. It is a case purely and simply of Mohammedans ill-treating Mohammedans, and the remedy lies in the hands of whoever may be the *de facto* ruler of the Hedjaz and the great body of Moslem public opinion all over the world. We should be ready at all times to use the resources of diplomacy to ameliorate the lot of the pilgrims; to lend our mediation, for instance,

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in any negotiations between outside Moslem influences and the Hedjaz authorities, but not an inch more.

The British Government has very wisely and emphatically stated more than once that in the question of the Khalifa it has no concern; that this is a matter entirely for the Moslems to settle amongst themselves. The same applies to the holy places. We have tried the experiment of maintaining a nominee of ours in possession of Mecca and Medina, and this experiment has disastrously failed. Henceforth the lordship of the sacred towns must be left to whatever Arabian confederation—influenced, we may hope, by enlightened Moslem opinion from outside—can get possession of them.

Nor by this policy of friendly neutrality shall we estrange Mohammedan feeling. On the contrary we shall be doing something to winning it over to our side. The outstanding feature of Moslem public opinion at present, as can be vouched for by those who are in touch with it, is a deep and hostile suspicion of all British intervention, however disinterested this intervention may be, or however excellent its motives. On the occasion of the Wahabi invasion of the Hedjaz, when British assistance on behalf of the latter was thought likely, the Indian Mohammedans issued a strong public protest against any interference from Great Britain, *and this though the great body of Mohammedans in India are on theological grounds strongly opposed to the Wahabi sect.*

We are now in a position to summarize the chief factors on which our New Arabian policy should be based. Arabia, from a cool, dispassionate, and wide point of view, is of little importance to us either commercially, politically, or strategically. The two points in which we are chiefly interested—the Jeddah-Mecca pilgrim route and the possession of the holy places—must be left for Mohammedans to settle in their own way. Any intervention will cause more harm than good. Our Arabian commitments have been brought about by the cherishing of an unpractical dream, a Pan-Arab empire. This scheme has now received its death-blow, and we are free of our self-imposed responsibilities. Our interests in Arabia, such as they are, would be adequately met by our pre-war arrangements. This is to say, a few Consuls in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea ports, with instructions not to interfere in internal political affairs, and a few gunboats for patrolling purposes. No so-called "treaties" are necessary or advisable with any of the Arabian Emirs, none of whom have the stability which is the first essential for treaty-making. The proposed treaty with King Hussein, for instance, was on the point apparently of being ratified just before the Wahabi invasion. Most fortunately it was not signed, otherwise, whatever its actual terms, it might have caused us considerable embarrassment. Round Arabia, whether by land or sea, we have a "steel frame," and any Arabian confederation impinging

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on that frame will receive severe and well-merited punishment, as did the Wahabi raiders in Transjordania. But the intrigues, squabbles, and tribal warfare of these confederations amongst themselves are none of our business. With Arabia thus off our hands we can concentrate on the really important problems which face us elsewhere in the Middle East.

It is obvious what our new policy in Arabia must be: complete non-interference in Arabian internal affairs. *Rien faire c'est agir.*

DŪRBĪN.

NOTE.—Since the above was written the Wahabis, as reported in the Press, during the first week of the New Year have made further raids, this time on Iraq in the neighbourhood of Sanawa on the lower Euphrates. As in their previous raid on Transjordania, however, by the action of British aeroplanes they have been driven back with heavy casualties and compelled to abandon the loot taken from Iraqi tribes. This incident would seem to confirm fully the views expressed in this article on the strength of our "steel frame," and on the bogey of a "Wahabi menace."

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REVIEWS

In the High Himalayas. By Hugh Whistler, F.Z.S. 9 × 5½. Pp. 223, with 155 illustrations and maps. London: Witherby and Co. 1925.

This is a very pleasantly written account of travels in Lahul and parts of Spiti and Kulu, forming the Kulu subdivision of the Kangra District in the Panjab. Mr. Whistler is a naturalist, and his account of the birds and butterflies of the region is valuable as well as interesting. He also shot ibex, bharal, and red and black bears; and gives a good account of the types of Buddhism existing, and of the so-called Hindu gods and goddesses and beliefs which are such a special feature of Kulu. He even deals with the fruit trade, and with the recent introduction of brown trout from Kashmir, and with existing and proposed routes to the Valley, so his volume is one which all travellers to the country should take with them.

Kulu is an example of the sophism that a part is larger than the whole, as with its 6,000 square miles of area it is about three times as large as the rest of the Kangra District. It comprises the upper valleys of the Beas Chinab and Spiti, the main Sutlej affluent. The elevation ranges from 2,500 on the Sutlej and 3,400 on the Beas to over 21,000 feet on the mid-Himalaya range. The average height of habitation is over 9,000 feet in Lahul, and about 11,000 feet in Spiti, and the tract includes fertile valleys, splendid rivers, magnificent forests, glorious mountains, fine sport, any variety of climate that you may prefer, and in fact everything that the heart of an outdoor man or woman can desire. Between the Bara Lacha and Kunzum Passes the ground is often carpeted with edelweiss.

A high official, gazing from the veranda of the old Naggar Castle at the view up the Beas Valley to the Gyephang Lha cone in Lahul, once declared to the Assistant Commissioner in charge of the subdivision that for a view so glorious an officer's salary should be reduced. The Assistant Commissioner, drawing Rs. 500 a month, humbly represented that no doubt the view was superb, but that a man and his wife could not live on view alone, and thought reductions might perhaps begin with the larger salaries of inspecting officers. The present fortunate subdivisional officers draw extra allowances to compensate them for hardship and solitude, so all is well.

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As to the fruit trade, Captain Lee of Bandrole was the first to cultivate pears on a considerable scale. The growers in the early eighties of the last century hoped to make money by drying the fruit and exporting it in that form. The Assistant Commissioner in 1882 suggested that he might take a basket-load of apples and of pears to Simla and see what he could do there. The fruit was shown in Mr. Williams's shop below the telegraph office, and the first baskets were at once purchased for Viceregal Lodge at Rs. 40 a maund or about 1s. a lb. For two years baskets were sent in by the coolies kept up for travellers at the stages, and then the Post Office took up the service. The route to Simla, which was impassable for laden mules, was gradually improved and realigned. Road-making became difficult when statute labour was abolished and funds were not available, but by 1913 the main route was in excellent order. The great level road through the Beas gorges from Larji to Mandi and so to Kangra, and eventually by Suket to Ambala, was taken up in 1909, and though work was blocked by the war it is now practically finished to Mandi, as Mr. Whistler points out. This should greatly increase the rush of visitors, and care will have to be taken that the amenities of Kulu are not ruined.

Trout in the Himalayas was a dream of some enthusiasts, who pursued their aim in spite of gibes and failures, and at long last succeeded. The credit is mainly due to Mr. F. J. Mitchell, the Duke of Bedford, and, as far as Kulu goes, Mr. Howell, the Assistant Commissioner, who afterwards became a fisheries expert at the gentle suasion of the then Lieut.-Governor, who had been concerned in the trout experiments.

On only two occasions, so far as is known, has the British Army been called upon to operate in Kulu. The first occasion was when Mr. Knox with some Indian levies intercepted in Spiti some of the mutineers who, after the battle at Trimmu Ghat in Gurdaspur, were trying to find their way to Nepal. Spiti lies in the almost rainless tract beyond the main Himalaya and is really an integral part of Tibet. It was under Kashmir, but when Kashmir was sold for 75 lakhs of rupees to Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1846, Spiti was specially excluded from the sale in order to give India direct access to the wool of Tibet. The question arose what laws should apply there. The Commissioner in charge of Kangra, Mr. Philip Egerton, went up to Simla and showed the Council photographs of the country and people, which satisfied them that it would be preposterous to apply the complex codes of British India to such a tract, and a special regulation was passed enacting that no laws should apply to Spiti unless specially extended. The Nono was to administer the government with an appeal to the Assistant Commissioner. The whole arrangement was delightfully fluid and anomalous, and on the whole worked well. It was in this strange

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remote tract that these mutineers came to their end. Travel there is not easy. Lives are constantly lost in fording the rivers or by the fragile birch twig jhulas breaking. To obviate this, in 1883 timber was cut on the Hamta Pass, which is safer in the winter than the Rhotang, on which on one occasion 112 men were caught in a blizzard and frozen to death. The beams were hauled across the pass on the snow and up the Chandra to the Kunzum Pass and Losar, whence it was floated down to Rangrig, and a good cantilever bridge put up. This lasted for many years; until the Kangra District Board cut the pay, some few rupees a month in the winter, of the man whose duty it was to sweep the snow off. An unusually heavy fall of snow coinciding with the passage of a large flock of sheep wrecked the bridge. With no statutory labour no new wooden bridge could be built, and Spiti had to wait until 1913, when a wire suspension bridge was at last erected at Rangrig.

Travellers may be interested to know that a lady rode over the Bara Lacha to Spiti on July 11, 1882, and that her pony carried her to the very summit of the Ki Gonpa while she was wondering how she could get up the steps. The lamas were less suspicious in those days.

The next occasion when troops went to Kulu was in 1882, when the British Mountain Battery from Jutogh near Simla marched through the tract via Mani Karan and Malana to Naggar, and thence back by the Dulchi Pass to Mandi and Jutogh. It is not quite the case that they were sent to Malana specially—this would have been using a steam hammer to crush a nut. The story, like all connected with Malana, is curious. This village lies at an elevation of nearly 9,000 feet in a side valley cut off by passes of 11,750 feet. The people speak a language of their own containing many archaic Tibetan words. They cannot understand or be understood by the Kulu men. They worship a god named Jamlu, whose connections are mentioned by Mr. Whistler. The whole body of the villagers, some 800 people, are the incarnation of the god, who lives in a large tower-like pinnacle on the main Himalayan range at the head of the valley. The Emperor Akbar even had to placate the god by offerings. Up to 1882, cattle could not walk into Malana, as the only route used was that down the valley to the Parbutti, which for about a mile passed across sheer cliffs on wooden pegs carried on stones and brushwood in places. Calves were carried in on men's backs, and so the people lived. In the winter some headmen of Jamlu descended to Kulu and levied tithes on the subordinate deotas. In the East *omne ignotum pro terrifico*, and consequently Malana was feared by all around. One officer tried to visit it, but on arriving at the bottom of the valley was put into a watermill and had to leave the next morning. Then Malana refused to build its abutment of a bridge on the Parbutti. A bailiff was sent, but was not allowed to enter. Another was sent back with a message that if anyone else

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came he would be thrown down the precipice. This was the position in 1882. The available force in the subdivision consisted of some ten police constables at Sultanpur and four in Plach. It is extraordinary how British rule and order is maintained in such tracts as these. They are not always peaceful; just across the border in the states of Mandi and Seoráj there are periodical risings of the people which cause much trouble. One such is in process at this time in Suket. At this juncture the Assistant Commissioner was asked by the C.O. of the Julogh Battery if he could recommend some difficult high hill country for battery exercises. This was an easy job in Kulu, and the case of Malana leaped to the eye. The result was that villages in other parts who had fines to pay furnished gangs of labourers, and a riding track was made from Naggar through Malana to the Parbutti, a distance of about thirty-five miles over two high passes, in about ten days. The battery arrived in Malana on December 8, 1882, with the loss of two old mules only. Snow threatened, and if a fall had occurred it would have been blocked there until May. The troops marched at 11 a.m. on the 11th and got safely in to Naggar, where all were put up in the old Castle. The Battery-Sergeant-Major no doubt had views on exercises in the high hills, but as usual the mountain gunners were in every respect admirable. Jammu was reduced to reverential submission and explained his collapse by giving out that the Assistant Commissioner was his beloved cousin, and he had committed a most unfortunate mistake in not carrying out instructions at once. Malana is still accessible by road and is part of the tourists' usual round.

But enough of ancient history. If any place deserves the Persian inscription in the Diwan-i-Khas at Delhi of "If there is a Paradise on the face of the earth, it is this, it is this, it is this," Kulu is that place, and Mr. Whistler's book is an excellent guide to many of the beauties of that Paradise.

L. W. D.

THE BOMBAY CITY POLICE: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH—1672-1916. By G. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O., sometime Commissioner of Police, Bombay. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

An interesting record of 240 years of police administration in Bombay city from the pen of the only Indian civilian who held office during that period. The facts that the author is a member of the Indian Civil Service, and that the narrative ends with the termination in 1916 of his own period of office, are features to be borne in mind by the impartial student of history. The whole story of the evolution and gradual development of that fine force from its earliest formation as militia and watchmen to its present-day constitution culminates in an apotheosis of the talented author himself. No less than at least one-third of the 215 pages of print is devoted to this particular period

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—the climax being successfully achieved in the pathetic swan-song in the final paragraph, wherein is to be found a moving description of his ultimate breakdown, and the erection to his memory of a bust in the chief Police Office in Bombay.

That his selection by the Government of Bombay to fill this particular post was strongly resented by the regular officers of the Bombay Police is evident from the official protests made at the time, though without success, by a number of such officers, who very naturally objected to be mulcted of one of their very few prize appointments. It was in fact precisely one of those episodes in connection with service in the Indian Police which is so galling to officers of that distinguished and very loyal force, who thus find themselves robbed of their legitimate service prizes by members of the senior service. The practice is one which, except under the most exceptional circumstances, cannot be too emphatically condemned.

Commissioners of the Bombay Police whose names will never be forgotten are men like *Charles Fergett* (1853-1863), the man who saved Bombay during the Mutiny of 1857, and passed into retirement unrewarded and unhonoured; *Sir Frank Souter* (1864-1888), one of the greatest and most famous of the Bombay Presidency police officers, whose son stood up manfully for the rights of his men in 1906, and in consequence did not follow in the footsteps of his distinguished father as a Commissioner of Police in Bombay; *Hartley Kennedy* (1899-1901), or "*Langra Kandi*"—Lame Kennedy, as he was known by his men—and *H. G. Gell* (1902-1909), whose numerous legitimate difficulties and troubles were apparently by no means diminished by comprehensive reform schemes, "initiated by the author himself," who somewhat naïvely pleads that "these would have suffered" in the event of his reversion to his own grade in the Civil Service. As a result Mr. Gell was shoved off the plank to make way for the distinguished author, who then proceeds to devote the rest of the sketch to the work done during his own régime.

Apart from these personal aspects of the case, the narrative is, on the whole, a most interesting one, and worthy of study by police and Civil Service students, and of considerable local value as a connected record of the Bombay City Police Force from 1672 to 1916.

P. B. B.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA FROM 600 B.C. TO THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST. By Vincent A. Smith. Fourth Edition. Revised by S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O., late of the Indian Civil Service. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 16s. net.

Mr. Edwardes tells us in his preface that the task of revising this standard book for a fourth edition was entrusted to him in accordance with the late Dr. Vincent Smith's own wish. He was furnished with

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notes recorded by the author before his death, and has been assisted by reports, papers, and essays on Indian history and antiquities which have appeared in various publications since 1919. This edition, however, bears ample testimony to Mr. Edwardes' own scholarly taste and indefatigable ability. It includes additional notes of interest and value, and contains chronological and other amendments in the texts and appendices of certain chapters. Of the appendices, those relating to Kautilya's "Arthasastra," to the Christians of St. Thomas, to the Sena dynasty, are of particular interest and value.

The book contains some excellent maps and illustrations. It is indispensable to every student of Indian history. Mr. Edwardes and the Clarendon Press are to be congratulated on the service which they have rendered both to those who wish to understand India and to the memory of a great scholar. H. V. L.

THE EASTERN QUESTION: AN HISTORICAL STUDY IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY. By J. A. R. Marriott. Clarendon Press, Oxford. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$; x + 564 pp. Map. 8s. 6d.

This is a third and revised edition of a work which deserves to be republished. No English writer has produced a more careful and instructive survey of the Eastern Question from the emergence of the Ottoman Turk down to the outbreak of the Great War. One must, however, regret that Mr. Marriott should have been content to bring it very inadequately up to date by means of two short epilogues written at different stages of the momentous crisis through which the Eastern Question has been passing for the last ten years.

There is only one criticism that Mr. Marriott's treatment of his subject invites. He himself calls it "A Study of European Diplomacy," and one ought not perhaps to expect him to handle the Eastern Question from any other point of view. But it leads him to ignore a very important aspect of the question—indeed, a vital one during the last half-century, ever since the Sultan Abdul Hamid infused into it a new religious element by seeking to identify the cause of Turkey with the cause of Islam. Whatever his faults and even crimes may have been, it was no mean mind that conceived the idea of seeking compensation for the temporal disasters which the Ottoman Sultanate had once more suffered as a consequence of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 immediately after his accession by reviving, or rather by asserting as none of his predecessors had asserted it, the quasi-spiritual authority of the Ottoman Caliphate over the Sunni World of Islam, far beyond the boundaries of his diminished empire. Indirectly at least the Pan-Islamic policy, to which he devoted his resourceful brain and indefatigable energy for a quarter of a century, affected constantly and in many different ways the whole international

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situation and the relations of all the Great Powers with Turkey and amongst themselves. As Caliph he hoped to play off the religious allegiance which he claimed over all orthodox Mohamedans against the Powers who had large Mohamedan communities amongst their subjects in their overseas dependencies, and whose policy he resented or feared as Sultan. Mr. Marriott quotes William II.'s famous speech at Damascus in 1898, but what was at the back of the German Emperor's mind when he paid that resounding homage to his friend and ally the Sultan as Caliph of 300,000,000 Mohamedans? Prince Bülow has told us in almost as many words that Germany, having few Mohamedans to reckon with in her colonies, could afford to look on benevolently at a Pan-Islamic agitation, which was bound to make trouble for England and France. It was the same idea that induced William II. to land at Tangier in 1905, and talk with one eye on Paris and the other on Fez about the rights of a great Mohamedan people. Germany preferred to let Turkey down during the crisis in 1906, which Mr. Marriott does not mention, when the British Government peremptorily warned Turkey to desist from her encroachments on Egyptian territory in the Sinai Peninsula. But William continued to give encouragement and help to Abdul Hamid in the construction of the Hedjaz Railway, which served not only as a splendid advertisement for Pan-Islamism throughout the Mohamedan world, but was intended also to provide a Turkish land route to the Holy Places free from the pressure of British sea-power in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Does Mr. Marriott fully realize that Pan-Islamism sowed the seeds of the Caliphate agitation in India which played a large part in the final surrender of many of the most legitimate of British war aims at Lausanne?

Mr. Marriott clearly finds some difficulty in reconciling Abdul Hamid's and the Young Turks' systematic policies of massacre with the general attitude of religious tolerance with which he credits the Turk on the strength of the indulgence originally extended by him to the Christian subject races of the Ottoman Empire. But was the conqueror's policy really due to tolerance, and not to an intelligent apprehension of the ruling race's interests? Under Mohamedan law, Mohamedan subjects of the Sultan enjoyed a wholly privileged position, and not least in matters of taxation. Had all the conquered Christians been compelled to embrace Islam, they would have been entitled, too, to claim those privileges, and where would Turkey then have found the hard-working communities *corvéables et taillables à merci* to fill her bottomless exchequer? Just as our author still thinks it worth while to speculate as to whether different methods of diplomacy, even after the outbreak of the Great War, might not have prevented Turkey from throwing in her lot with the Germanic Empires, though the Germans now admit that an offensive alliance between

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Germany and Turkey was signed at Constantinople the moment hostilities broke out in Western Europe, so he is inclined to form a rather optimistic estimate of the future of the lay but very militarist Republic now established at Angora, far from "the miasma and corruptions of Constantinople." But he, nevertheless, has his doubts. One's only surprise is that a writer who knows the Turk's history so well, can be content merely to have doubts. Can the leopard be expected to change his spots? VALENTINE CHIROL.

MESOPOTAMIA CAMPAIGN, 1914-1918. Vol. II. Compiled by Brig.-General F. J. Moberly, C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., P.S.C. H.M. Stationery Office. 1924. 8⅞". Pp. xiv + 581. Maps. 21s.

General Moberly has undertaken an almost stupendous task in compiling an official history of the campaign in Mesopotamia, and one which he is carrying out in a clear, masterly way, broad of outlook. The sifting of masses of official documents from which to produce his deeply interesting narrative must, in itself alone, be a work of the greatest labour and patience. His first volume, already out some time, brings the reader from the first landing of the 6th Poona Division and events occurring in that country up to General Townshend's successful battle of Kut el Amara, and the complete occupation of the Basra "Vilayat," following out the original intention of the Government of India. This second volume deals with all the pros and cons relative to the subject of an advance to Baghdad, with General Townshend's difficulties in his move, with the successful battle at Ctesiphon, the tragedy of Kut, and the early actions of the relieving force advancing to extricate the 6th Division. Having had access to all manner of official papers, he has been able to produce a remarkably clear and succinct account of situations and difficulties confronting both the Home Government and that of India, such as most of those on the spot were not aware of, or only imperfectly so. In many interesting details of actions his accounts are both vivid and realistic.

His explanations of all matters leading to the advance on Baghdad, in which many passages in the correspondence between the two Governments and General Nixon are extensively quoted, are clearly set forth, and give a hitherto hardly realized aspect of the reasons for the discussions and the final decision on which the step was taken. Without this clearing up of the subject it is not too much to say that the common belief of those on the spot in those early days rather tended towards the driving force of personal ambition, regardless of the insufficient means to carry it through. Nor was the attitude of Persia and the chances of her drifting into war on the side of the Germans, with consequent danger in Afghanistan, sufficiently appreciated at the

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time, and this is ably put forward in the opening chapter of this volume. All, however, did understand the effort needed to achieve a success here as a set-off to the Gallipoli expedition, which was proving itself a failure.

The narrative of General Townshend's advance from Kut and the battle of Ctesiphon on November 22, 1915, is full of interest, the more so in that the author is able to quote from the Turkish war historians showing their view and account of the happenings on that memorable day, the end of which proved General Townshend's misgivings as to the wisdom of the attempt on Baghdad at that time to have been not without foundation, though he and his nobly strove to carry out orders (page 46); and his discussions with General Nixon's Chief of the Staff (General Kemball), in which he points to the paucity of troops, and that these were worn out with over a year of hard campaigning under conditions mostly of great heat.

The lamentable inadequacy of all hospital and ambulance arrangements, as well as of transport both by land and river, is gone into in detail and with explanations, though it seems impossible to define where the fault lay—General Nixon's Staff complaining of the lack of helpfulness of the Indian Marine, while the latter declare the Staff were too sparing in information as to the type of river craft required. That many more light-draught river steamers and tugs had not been provided in the early days of the expedition, though frequently asked for by General Barrett, will never be understood; for the Tigris, with its changes and vicissitudes up to Baghdad, had been known to us for many years. The regrettable scandals which arose on these points during the winter of 1915-16 the author shows to have in no way touched the medical or the transport officers on the spot, who worked heroically throughout at the impossible task of brick-making without straw. General Moberly shows that the anticipated number of casualties to be provided for in the big action to be expected on the way up would be some 2,400, and that hospital and transport arrangements then were hardly sufficient to cope adequately with even that number. When the total casualties at Ctesiphon attained to over 4,500, naturally the chaos, confusion, and delay in passing these back to Amara and Basra became monumental.

Chapter XVII., full of the various messages and instructions passing between Generals Nixon and Townshend, shows in great clarity the need in late November for holding out at Kut—how the troops were utterly exhausted, how a stand there would delay Von der Goltz's advance down the Tigris and possibly also the Shatt el Hai, how the stand was made in the full belief that large reinforcements would arrive in a month's time to relieve him, and how the stand was desirable, as it was impossible to clear back the large reserves of stores and supplies laboriously collected at Kut, which could not be allowed to

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fall into the enemy's hands or be destroyed by us, as such could never have been replaced at the same time as the reinforcements were being pushed up.

It seems that General Rimington, in command at Kut while General Townshend was fighting at Ctesiphon, had inveighed against a stand at Kut as being most difficult in which to form a defensive position, declaring it could be too easily turned and contained by a comparatively small force, while a larger one could be detached to hold positions lower down stream and deny approach to a relieving force (page 133). He advocated holding the Es Sinn position instead.

Possibly few know how near General Nixon was to being captured on his way down from Kut just before the investment in early December, when it was found a force of Turks had already cut into the river line of communication near Sheikh Saad and opened fire on his boat and on the barges with wounded, necessitating his Staff officers collecting the only combatants available (120), with which they landed and managed to drive the enemy off. On December 6 General Nixon disbelieved in a likely investment, though three days previously General Townshend reported the place as on the point of being so, and by the 7th he reported his position at Kut had been turned by a hostile division which, crossing the Hai, had occupied the Es Sinn position some five to six miles below, and by another force moving to the north of his entrenchments, which meant the investment was complete. It is shown that after optimistic views as to the holding of Kut and the passing up of large relieving forces which were beginning to reach Basra, on December 6 the General Staff in India began to think the risk of a stand at Kut against strong forces outweighed any advantages, and considered it should be evacuated if possible. It was then too late. Urgent representations had been made to expedite reinforcements for Mesopotamia from France and Egypt, as the outlook not only here but in India was none of the best, and might well become worse if things went against us in this campaign. Anxiety was further accentuated by the news on December 7 that Gallipoli was to be evacuated, which would release large Turkish forces to bring greater pressure against General Nixon, who, it is shown, could not well have been in a position to attempt relieving Kut before the end of January, 1916.

General Aylmer, V.C., now in command of the troops on the Tigris front, was assembling the first arrivals of his coming army corps at Ali Gharbi, and reported anxiously of General Townshend's position in mid-December, where "out of 9,000 men he had over 900 sick and had had over 500 casualties in four days. By December 18 the casualty list had reached 1,100, and at this rate of attrition very early relief is necessary." Four Turkish divisions now surrounded the 6th Poona Division. On the 7th the Turkish G.O.C., Nureddin Pasha, demanded surrender of Kut, and followed this up with two violent attacks, which

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being repulsed, he settled down to a regular siege of the place. There is a first-rate account in detail of the Turkish assaults on Townshend's northern defences on December 24 by their recent reinforcements from Anatolia, followed by one of the first move of such troops which had been assembled at Ali Gharbi under General Younghusband, and the battle of Sheikh Saad, January 6 to 9, 1916, which showed what the relieving force was now up against, when General Aylmer reported that "it seemed as if he had the whole Turkish strength opposed to him, except possibly 5,000 to 6,000 before Townshend." It was estimated the enemy fronting us at Sheikh Saad numbered 13,600 with 30 guns, though the Turkish historian puts their strength at 9,000 with large Arab levies, while their 45th Division was besieging Kut.

Space is also given to events on the Euphrates at and near Nasiriyeh at the lower end of the Shatt el Hai, where General Gorringe with a weak brigade was opposed by masses of Arabs in January, and fears were entertained of a Turkish advance down this river.

The 9th January shows the enemy vacating his Sheikh Saad positions, and General Aylmer's force, which had sustained near 4,000 casualties, moves forward. About this time a plan took shape for Townshend to cut his way out, but which General Nixon was averse to allowing, except in desperate extremity. This fighting is followed again by accounts of the enormous difficulty in evacuating casualties with the inadequate means at disposal. The next opposition is at Wadi, a strongly contested battle, both sides losing heavily, after which the British forces find themselves in front of the hostile position of Um el Hanna, which the Turks had elaborately entrenched. Hitherto the fighting had been of an open, above-ground nature, but from now on it develops into trench warfare, rendered doubly difficult by the floods of rain, which turned the country into a vast quagmire.

Meanwhile, the siege of Kut appears to have been turned into a blockade investment, with but little actual fighting and intermittent bombardments, the rising inundations having obliged the enemy to draw further off. During the recent fighting General Aylmer's force had had some 6,000 or more casualties, which reduced his effective strength to 9,000 only, and it was known more hostile reinforcements were on their way down. Clear and detailed accounts are given of the fighting about Um el Hanna, where the British troops were brought to a standstill for a considerable time owing to the strength of the Turkish defence, the bad weather, and the impossibility of making any turning movements by land without transport, and which tied them down to movement by river.

Chapter XXII. is devoted to operations up to March, now under General Sir Percy Lake, who had succeeded General Nixon, and deals with the reorganization of brigades, the improvising of staffs, labour

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units, requisitions for more river craft, improvement in communications, the advisability of railway construction, and extension of the port of Basra. He was in hopes of effecting the relief of Kut early, where General Townshend reported he had supplies for twenty two days, but was about to utilize horses and mules for food. Later, however, he reports the finding of concealed supplies of flour, which would carry him on longer. Russian moves in West Persia and Asia Minor are also described, the hope being that their success might relieve Turkish pressure on the Tigris. More reinforcements were now coming up the river, the whole of the 13th Division reaching the front in the beginning of March, and plans were formed for the next advance up both banks against the El Hanna and Es Sinn positions.

And so the narrative reaches the second big effort to relieve Kut and the attack on the Dujaila redoubt at the south end of the Es Sinn entrenchments, about which much controversy raged at the time as to its failure, which was then generally imputed to too rigid an enforcement of the operation orders and the hours at which various moves were to be made. In this operation it was hoped the Kut garrison might be able to co-operate, but this was not possible for the reasons set forth. On March 8 Generals Keary and Kemball attacked the redoubt after a long night march of some fifteen miles, General Younghusband the while containing the enemy in the El Hanna position. The difficulties under which General Kemball's force laboured with a hastily improvised Staff, the members of which only joined late on the 6th and had scant time to get to know each other, the troops, or the coming task, is carefully explained, as also certain disagreements between the commanders. The attack on the redoubt was to have been a surprise, and but for unfortunate delays and a mistake made in locating the depression from which the deployment was to be made, the surprise would have been complete. It was 7 a.m., and both the Dujaila and Sinn Abtar redoubts were clearly visible when the artillery opened, and the confusion observed in the enemy's camp, where all had been quiet, showed that but for the delays mentioned General Kemball's troops would have been in position for the assault before dawn, and might well have captured the entire position. As it was, still further delay occurred in sorting gun waggons, transport, and ambulances which were mixed up with the troops in the limited space in the depression, and it was 8.40 a.m. before the attack could be launched. This gave time for the Turks to strongly reinforce the position from the left bank of the river. Again the Turkish historian is quoted from as to their view of the operation, which adds to the interest of the narrative.

Why at 9.50 a.m., when the 37th Brigade was within easy distance of the east face of the redoubt and reported that it even then appeared but lightly held, which was confirmed by further reconnaissance, the

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attack of that and two other brigades not far off was not allowed to be made, is not easy to understand. These waited hour after hour for General Kemball's attack to succeed before they could move, and the golden opportunity had vanished; and at 2.45 p.m. they had to ward off a vigorous counter-attack on their left flank. With General Kemball's troops held up by hostile trenches far in advance of the redoubt, at 4.30 p.m. the 37th and 8th Brigades were sent to the attack. Two lines of trenches were captured after stiff fighting, when a most determined Turkish counter-attack covered by accurate artillery fire, was made, and the troops, whose bombs had given out and who had suffered heavy casualties, had to retire. The whole attack had failed.

Thereafter follows an excellent account of the third attempt to get through to Kut with the successful assaults on the Um el Hanna and Falahiyah positions, which again brought General Aylmer's troops to a standstill in front of the seemingly impregnable entrenchments at Sannayat for nearly a year. More reinforcements reaching the front, the force was now organized into two Army Corps (1st and 3rd), comprising the 3rd, 7th, 13th, 14th, and 15th Divisions, of which the 7th and 13th were disposed on the Tigris left bank, the 3rd and 14th on the right bank, while the 15th Division newly forming was at Nasiriyeh on the Euphrates guarding that flank of the Tigris main force. Four gunboats were now on the river at the front, and the need for more river craft was being attended to, to the extent of being able to pass 300 tons of supplies daily up river, but the real need was for 480 tons. The flood season was now at its height, adding, by inundations, to the many other difficulties.

By April the Kut garrison was in the greatest straits for supplies, and it was believed they could not hold out much longer, Townshend reporting that after April 23, except for meat, he would be entirely dependent on food supplies dropped by aeroplanes. Efforts to break through were redoubled, which led in mid-April to the last attempt in the battle at Beit Issa on the right bank, while Sannayat was again assaulted in vain, success being only attained in the first case when the enemy was driven back to his Es Sinn defences.

The author has some pertinent remarks in Chapter XIX. on the condition of units of the reinforcements from Europe, which he states certainly affected the cohesion of General Aylmer's command. These units, having lost heavily in France, were mostly filled with men of less experience and efficiency, and the older ones among them were by now accustomed in France to the more deliberate methods of attack which were not suited to Mesopotamia. They had also learnt to place more reliance on the co-operation of the guns, which arm was not sufficiently numerous on the Tigris to admit of the same methods as obtained in France. He refers also to the disappointment of both officers and men in being transferred to a "side show," and which seemed to lead to a

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feeling of contempt and lack of real interest in what both British and Indian soldiers looked on as a "lower class of fighting." Had there been more experienced Staff and other officers on the Tigris front, such feelings and views could have been nipped in the bud.

The assault on the Sannayat entrenchments on April 23, though well supported by guns on the right bank, failed mainly through the flooded state of the country, and marked the last offensive attempt to relieve Kut, all of which operations are graphically described.

We are now brought to the final effort regarded in the nature of a forlorn hope, to revictual the besieged garrison by running the *Julnar* river steamer through to Kut with 270 tons of supplies. All on board had volunteered for the gallant attempt, which took place at night on April 24 while a heavy bombardment was kept up to distract hostile attention. She got safely past various points where heavy fire was opened on her, and reached a point only four miles from Kut, where she struck a cable which swung her round, grounding her near Magasis fort, where she was captured, half the crew being wounded and one officer killed. It was a most gallant venture, and its failure heralded the end.

The last chapter deals with affairs in Kut: the hopes of relief; the bitter disappointment at the failure at the Dujaila redoubt; the cheering news of the successes at El Hanna and Falahijah, raising hopes afresh only to be dashed out again by the failures at Sannayat and of the *Julnar* episode. Most of the time General Townshend's troops had been subjected to long-range bombardments and rifle fire in varying degrees of intensity, which daily increased the casualty list, and with sickness and short rations the half-starved troops could not be otherwise than despondent. Negotiations with the Turkish commander failing, April 29 saw the surrender of Kut after guns and munitions had been destroyed. With it the gallant 6th (Poona) Division went into captivity with a glory nothing can dim, its units having been the first to land in Mesopotamia in early November, 1914, and who had borne the heat and burden of the campaign and every action (save that at Nasiriyeh in August, 1915) for nearly eighteen months.

The author has compiled numerous appendices, all of which show great labour, and which, together with many excellent maps, help still further in the deep interest evoked by this volume. L. W. S.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN MOSLEM ASIA. By E. Alexander Powell. Pp. 320. Maps. London: John Long, Ltd. 15s. net.

This book is designed to show that since the war there has been a determined effort by Great Britain and France to wrest from the Turks some, if not all, of the spiritual and temporal power which has for

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centuries been wielded by successive Sultans of Turkey. The author begins by disclaiming any bias for the Turks or any antagonism towards England. Yet, except for a brief censure of various atrocities by the Turks and a curt recognition of the good effect of Britain's control of nations committed to her charge, no reader of this book could believe the author to be anything but pro-Turk and anti-British. This attitude may be explained by the fact that the author is an American, writing primarily to convince his countrymen that the Turks have been scurvily treated. To show Britain as the villain of the piece would naturally be the surest way to prove to his audience that American sympathies should be on the side of the Turks rather than with the Allies, whose perfidious behaviour since the war ought to alienate every fair-minded citizen of God's own country. Mr. Powell certainly knows the Turks and their country, and his criticisms are generally well informed. No one who knows the East, and especially the Moslems there, would deny that the Treaty of Sèvres and the Greek invasion of Anatolia were both morally wrong and also inexcusable blunders. For these, as the author rightly points out, Mr. Lloyd George was primarily responsible, though he tactfully omits all mention of any American diplomatic connection with anything done to Turkey since the war. But his pity for the defeated Turk carries Mr. Powell a little too far when he asserts that the lust of conquest and thirst for gain in the form of oil-wells led England to seize and hold Palestine and Mesopotamia. England had at least the warrant of victory in battle to authorize her staying where she had conquered. This is more than can be said for America, who, according to Mr. Powell, insisted on a share of the actual and potential profits in oil provided by Mesopotamia through England's victories. And this attitude of America is accepted by the author as perfectly fair and natural, as his country won the war by a lavish expenditure of men and money, though again Mr. Powell shows his tact by making no mention of the price that help cost, and is still costing, England. It would almost seem that England had not after all the monopoly of greed for actual gain in money, but that America occasionally suffers from the same complaint.

Mr. Powell deals far more tenderly with France's action in Syria and with the Turks generally than he does with England in Palestine and Mesopotamia and Persia. Possibly because the area was more restricted and the opportunity for evil correspondingly less.

The author justly finds much to condemn in England and Russia's dealings with Persia. His account of these affairs would be more valuable and instructive had he not consistently denied to the European Powers the virtues he so generously attributes to the Persians. In Eastern Persia, at least, the mercantile class viewed with alarm the prospect of having to depend on their own Government for the communications provided as war measures by the selfish English, while

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the people at large were no less exercised by the withdrawal of protection from brigandage afforded by British troops and British-led levies.

With respect to the spiritual power of the Sultan of Turkey Mr. Powell does not seem to be accurate when he imputes to France and England a plan to set up a puppet Khalifa whom all the Moslem world should acknowledge. In support of this insinuation and of his assertion of unfair dealings by the western Allies with Turkey, the leading Moslem Power, Mr. Powell declares that the people of India were so resentful of England's actions and so solicitous for Turkey that the Moslem agitators, the Ali brothers, formed an alliance with the Hindu Gandhi, presumably to get justice for the Turks. It is clear from this that either Mr. Powell was not in India at the time or he is utterly ignorant of the methods and influence of the Indian political agitation. The Ali brothers carried no weight with considered Moslem opinions in India, while Gandhi, a Hindu, had nothing whatever to do with the Moslem hierarchy or with England's dealings with Turkey, whether from a material or a spiritual point of view. Except, of course when such actions afforded a convenient political slogan.

Mr. Powell's book must command attention from the author's obvious knowledge of his subject and his experience of the countries he deals with. But he would have been far more convincing had he not been so anxious to attract the approval of his American readers by exaggerating the Turkish virtues at the expense of their alleged oppressors.

C. A. SMITH.

THE WORD OF LALLA THE PROPHETESS. Being the sayings of Lal Ded or Lal Diddi of Kashmir (Granny Lal), known also as Laleshwari, Lalla Yogishwari and Lalishri, between A.D. 1300 and 1400. Done into English verse from the *Lalla-Vakyani* or *Lal-Wakhi*, and annotated by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bt., Principal Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1924. 16s. net.

The Lalla-Vakyani, edited with translation, notes, and a vocabulary by Sir George Grierson and Dr. L. D. Barnett, appeared in 1920, as Vol. XVII. of the Asiatic Society Monographs. We have not had to wait long for an adaptation addressed to a public less special and more likely, it may be, to appreciate simply as poetry and mysticism the verses of the prophetess of Kashmir. Since the utterance is usually symbolic and replete with open or veiled allusion to the technicalities of a philosophy and a discipline, Sir Richard Temple has provided a full account of both, with a glossary and index which leave nothing to be desired. It was different in the case of Omar Khayyam, where the literary appreciation had the field for a long period all to itself.

Sir Richard Temple, the eminent authority in all departments of

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Indian and Burmese popular religion and lore, the editor-proprietor during so many years of the *Indian Antiquary*, the generous benefactor of many institutions of learning and science, is not so well known as an accomplished writer of verse. But folk-lore and poetry have a common root, and it is not at all surprising that Sir Richard has contributed a sentiment and artistry of his own to the interpretation of Lalla's message. His object has been to render her meaning and manner, in general with some amplification; of his fidelity, which is attested by the original editors, the reader has himself in the prose translation, and in Sir Richard's own comments, the apparatus for judging.

Lalla's mysticism was of a Hindu type—that is to say, it was as far as possible from being individual, and consisted in the realization of metaphysical and psychological discriminations worked out previously by a dogmatic school. How far she comprehended the system intellectually would be hard to say. She is not a thinker or an ascetic, but an enthusiastic devotee. Her attitude towards the ultimate principle of things is one of adoration; her goal is absorption in the "void beyond the void," while her practice is orgiastic; she adopts nudity as her uniform and dances ecstatically in public. She had been unhappy in her husband's home, and she also complains occasionally of persecution. The Freudian psychologists would make as short work of her as she, no doubt, would have made of them. Not all Indian Siva-Yoginis are of this type; and a few years ago a traveller was impressed by a short interview with one, devoted to good works, who was quiet and fully dressed and allowed her name to be communicated as *Hārdam Satya* (Heart Truth). But probably it is Lalla's emotional and poetic quality that has made her sayings into household words in Kashmir. Her verses are full of those images and allusions to familiar incidents, occupations, and scenes which awaken idea and sentiment in the minds of the common people. It is an old manner in India (and elsewhere), and characterizes also the moralizings of Kabir and Nanak; but Lalla was a poetess.

The task of reproducing in English verse the effect of these brief obscure poems, their emotion, their technicalities, and their everyday allusions to Oriental traits, is no ordinary one. Sir Richard Temple's rough accentual metre seems to reflect admirably the movement of the original and to be a good carrier of the emotional appeal. In tracking the sense the reader will not be able to dispense with the commentary: even in his own language a mystic's verse demands a willing co-operation. But for those who are prepared to extend with a little labour their range of appreciation Sir Richard's book brings something quite novel, genuine, and of rich savour. We may allow ourselves the pleasure of quoting his version of two of the simpler and more consecutive pieces:

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First, I, Lallâ, as a cotton bloom,
Blithely set forth on the path of life.
Next came the knocks of the cleanser's room,
And the hard blows of the carder's wife.

Gossamer from me a woman spun,
Twisting me about upon her wheel.
Then on a loom was I left undone,
While the kicks of the weaver did I feel.

Cloth now become, on the washing stone
Washermen dashed me to their content.
Whitened me with earths, and skin and bone
Cleaned they with soaps to my wonderment.

Tailors then their scissors worked on me,
Cut me and finished me, piece by piece.
Garment at last, as a Soul set free
Found I the Self and obtained Release.

Hard is the way of the Soul on Earth,
Ere it may reach to the journey's end.
Hard is the path of life in each Birth,
Ere thou canst take the hand of the Friend

And again:

Lo! a Vision is before mine eyes,
Framed in a halo of thoughts that burn;
Up into the Heights, lo! I arise
Far above the cries of them that spurn.

Lo! upon the wings of Thought, my steed,
Into the mists of the evening gold,
High, and higher, and higher I speed
Unto the Man, the Self I behold.

Truth hath covered the nude that is I:
Girt me about with a flaming sword;
Clad me in the ethereal sky,
Garment of the glory of the Lord.

The long introduction reviews with a masterly completeness, from Indo-Iranian times and even earlier, the development of the ideas at the back of Lalla's religion, and continues the story with an account of the famous Hindu teachers of later times—such as Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak, Caitanya, Nāmdev, Tukaram, and so on. The Indo-European is credited with a theistic tendency in contrast with the atheism of the Far Eastern peoples, whose leading idea is that of a law or process. We would rather credit the Indo-European with a metaphysical tendency in contrast with the extraordinary unintellectuality, personalism, and passion of the ancient Near East. Indian religion in particular is all about "the self" (or non-self) and the absolute *ens* (or *non-ens*), and the absorption or non-absorption of the former in the latter. It deals in categories and emanations, emulous in subtlety of distinctions; and it is only at later stages that it succeeds in fixing upon a

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supreme being with character as definite as those of Krishna or Siva. No reader can fail to learn much from Sir Richard's full and compact account of the whole development and his observations interspersed, or from his detailed exposition of the Saiva doctrine of Kashmir.

There is one further particular in regard to which we would venture to demur. The story of Lalla's acquaintance with a Muhammadan saint (Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani), who visited Kashmir, has encouraged or induced both Sir Richard Temple and the original editors to look for traces of Sufiism in her verses. But neither there nor in the very elaborate glossary do we seem to find any serious justification of this; and in perusing, for instance, such a work as the *Kashf al Mahjub* of Al Hujwir (translated by Dr. Nicholson in the *Gibb Memorial Series*) we find ourselves in a quite different world. Here we cannot follow Sir Richard Temple; but it is for our learned colleagues, the editors, that we reserve our disapproval of their terrible suggestion that, in the collocation,

"Shiv or Kêshav, Lotus-Lord or Jin,"

Lalla was capable of a reminiscence, however faint, of a mere "Jinn."

F. W. THOMAS.

THE VANISHED CITIES OF ARABIA. By Mrs. Steuart Erskine. Illustrated by Major Benton Fletcher. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 324. Hutchinson and Co. 25s.

Those who may be under the impression that they are now going to be told all about the departed glories—if there ever were any except shifting sands—of Arabia and its buried cities will be disappointed on reading this book, for it has nothing at all to do with Arabia proper, but deals exclusively with the none the less entrancing story of the vanished cities of Moab, Arabia-Petrea, and the Dead Sea.

The vast amount of history and commercial, military, and political energy and enterprise which has been compressed throughout long ages by Allah into this comparatively small area ever since Moses led his mutinous tribes on to the eastern borders of Palestine, may be fully appreciated from the strenuous efforts made by the talented authoress still further to boil down all this vast and complicated mass of material, both historical and architectural, into a single volume of under 350 pages for modern popular consumption.

The history of these regions is now as complex and as much jumbled up as are the ruins of their once famous cities, fortresses, and emporiums. The story of Moab, of Nabatia, of the Jordan rift and the Asphalt Sea, of the Decapolis, of Arabia-Petrea, of Outre-Jourdain, or the land now known by the more comprehensive title of "Trans-Jordania," is therefore not one which can very easily be presented in any potted form, and hence the difficulties Mrs. Erskine has so

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obviously experienced in endeavouring to present each cameo of her story in a concise, intelligible form. The rapid changes in political situations along this dead highway of commerce—like the complex character of its buildings—has resulted at times in a certain amount of confusion in attempts to sort out and explain not only the sequence of historical events but the styles of architecture as well; and we thus find ourselves suddenly switched off from an intriguing description of the ruins of Petra to some others of not half such interest in Jerusalem and elsewhere, and from what at first promises to be an interesting chapter on the "Desert" and the Bedawin to Sasanid state functions in the Court of Nowsherwan somewhere in Persia—with the result that in the end very little indeed remains to be said about the subject we started on.

Nevertheless, Mrs. Steuart Erskine is to be heartily congratulated on the mass of most interesting information which she has so laboriously collected and presented, on the whole, in a most pleasing and readable form. The book, moreover, appears at a very appropriate time, and should not only be a valuable addition to all libraries, but of special interest to future pilgrims to this most fascinating part of the world, where British control now removes difficulties experienced by previous travellers. There can be no question that Jerash, Amman, Madeba, Kerah, Petra, and the Dead Sea region afford the enterprising traveller an endless variety of pleasure, and even thrills; Mrs. Erskine's book should prove a strong incentive for further exploration therein.

The illustrations deserve a special word of praise. Throughout—except perhaps in the case of the portrait of King Hussein—they show Major Benton Fletcher at his very best, and bring back forcibly to all who have ever seen these wonderful remains a recollection of their surpassing grace and beauty. In most cases he has caught the exact spirit of the scene depicted, and as a collection they are of great value. In particular the two coloured sketches of "Sunrise" and "Sunset" are worthy of special mention. In each he has caught the true, delicate, fleeting gossamer tint which used to hold one entranced as one watched the soft process of transition from one shade to another from that same spot on the Mount of Olives. One can almost see this process in the delicate sketch depicting the "sunset" scene. To those of us who have known this it would be no matter of surprise if the sketch silently and swiftly passed into its next stage of cold steel-grey, and deeper and deeper into the shadows of the walls of Moab, till the rising moon once again lit up that wild, indescribable scene of desolation with its soft tints of grey, and brought the Dead Sea back into life again in all its silvery glory. P. B. B.

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THE RELIGION OF THE MANICHEES. Donnellan Lectures for 1924. By F. C. Burkitt, Hon. D.D. (Dubl.) Cambridge: at the University Press. 1925.

In publishing the Donnellan Lectures, delivered by him at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1924, Dr. Burkitt has rendered an important service both to scholars and to those who, while disclaiming that title, are yet interested in the history of human thought.

His account of Mani's fantastic attempt to grapple with the problem of the existence of evil, sheds much new light on an interesting development of religious thought from two sources which have but recently been disclosed even to scholars—the original documents discovered by Sir Aurel Stein and other explorers in Chinese Turkistan, containing the only existing presentation of the doctrines of Mani by his followers, and the late C. W. Mitchell's decipherment of St. Ephraim's refutation of Mani. Before the discovery and publication of these documents, the sole source of our knowledge of a religion which commanded an allegiance so wide as to menace, at different periods, Catholic Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Islam, and survived a millennium of proscription and persecution only to disappear before the devastating hordes of Chingiz Khan and Timur, was the polemical writings of its enemies; and the question was complicated by the indiscriminate use of the word Manichee as a term of abuse for heretics whose imperfectly understood doctrines, even if they owed anything to Mani's system, were certainly not identical with it.

Thus arose the general conception of Manichæism as an attempt to fuse various elements of the Zoroastrian and Christian systems, and as a caricature of both religions. St. Ephraim, though a polemical writer, laboured to understand the faith which he condemned, and was at pains to analyze it and trace it to its source, and his view, adopted by Dr. Burkitt, was that Mani was indebted, even for his dualism, to heretical Christianity rather than to Zoroastrianism. Dr. Burkitt has made out his case, for he has shown us that the dualism of Mani is far more closely allied to the views of Marcion and Bardaisan (Bardesanes) than to the Zoroastrian system, which is specifically condemned in the formulæ of the Manichees. This condemnation alone, of course, proves nothing, for similarity between creeds breeds neither sympathy nor understanding, but St. Ephraim's account of the origins of Mani's system can hardly be rejected.

The sinfulness and unworthiness of man are familiar themes in most theologies, and their causes, effects, and remedies are discussed in various moods and from various angles, but there is probably no theology so pessimistic as that of Mani. It is difficult to understand the appeal of a system which regarded one of the two elements of which man was believed to be compounded as so hopelessly evil and corrupt that the only remedy for his state was the liberation of the good

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element by the extinction of the race. The inevitable consequence of this view was the belief that marriage, or any attempt to propagate a race containing an element of evil of which it could not possibly rid itself, was sinful. The universal practice of a doctrine so opposed to natural instincts was manifestly impossible, and it was modified by the division of those who held it into two classes—the Elect, who professed to live up to the ideal, and the Hearers, weaker brethren who were permitted to live as other men—but even with this relaxation the faith was sufficiently inhuman. Yet it appealed to many, and its appeal was strong enough to enable them to withstand centuries of the bitterest persecution, for nearly all persecuted the Manichees; and if persecution is to attain its end—extermination—it must be severe and unremitting. That end was eventually attained in the West, and the remnant of the Manichees found a home and a measure of toleration in Chinese Turkistan.

It is not difficult to understand the hostility of other faiths to that of Mani. Zoroastrians perhaps regarded it as a gross travesty of their own creed. To both Catholic Christianity and Islam the limitations placed by Mani on the power and majesty of the Supreme Being would appear hideous blasphemy; but it may be doubted whether the persecution which the Manichees encountered everywhere was due exclusively to the *odium theologicum*. Their tenets were sufficiently anti-social to awaken the hostility of the civil power, and when both Church and State are agreed on the necessity for persecution the work is usually well done.

Not the least interesting part of Dr. Burkitt's book is his account of the survival of Manichæism in Chinese Turkistan after its extinction in the West. Our knowledge of this survival is due primarily to such explorers as Sir Aurel Stein, but the results of their discoveries have hitherto been the exclusive property of Oriental scholars. Dr. Burkitt has placed them at the disposal of all.

In only one respect does the printing of the book fall short of the high standard of excellence which the Cambridge University Press has taught us to expect. The initial and medial form of the letter *sigma* is used at the end of four Greek words, instead of the final form, which is not once used. This can hardly be accidental, and the practice, though it may be convenient to the printer, is not pleasing to the eye.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

SURVIVALS OF SASANIAN AND MANICHÆAN ART IN PERSIAN PAINTING. By Sir Thomas W. Arnold, C.I.E., Litt.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1924.

In purely Persian art there is no continuous tradition, for the history of the nation precludes it. Islam very effectually stifled pictorial art in all lands on which it imposed itself, and it is very doubtful whether

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this art would ever have revived in Persia but for the Persian's ineradicable propensity to heterodoxy, and his determination neither to submit himself in all things to an exotic religion nor to permit that religion to interfere with innocent pleasures.

Sasanian art is separated from that which arose and flourished in the uncongenial atmosphere of Islam by an interval of six centuries. To bridge such a gulf is a formidable task, and there can be few who could perform it so satisfactorily as Sir Thomas Arnold. The materials for his bridge he finds among the followers of a faith which, now extinct, was once a formidable rival to Catholic Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Islam. The founder and prophet of this faith is now, by a strange freak of fate, remembered in Persia merely as a painter, for Manichæism ever promoted and fostered the art on which Islam frowned, and the Persian tradition lived in the towns of Chinese Turkistan, the only land in which the Manichee was not persecuted.

The beautifully reproduced pictures in this most attractive book not only illustrate, but establish the soundness of Sir Thomas Arnold's view that the traditions of Sasanian art survive in the later pictorial art of Persia, and that their survival was due to the Manichees. Their faith died, regretted by none, but the art which they so carefully cherished lived, and returned to the land of its birth.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

IN THE LAND OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE. By Odette Keun; translated by H. Jessman. London: At the Bodley Head. Pp. 270; map.

Mademoiselle Odette Keun has given a very interesting account of her experiences in that part of the Caucasus which lies south of the main range of the mountains, and between Tiflis and Poti on the Black Sea. Having travelled in many parts of the Caucasus, I can fully appreciate the hardships which Mlle. Odette experienced in visiting these various mountain clans of Georgians. Without knowledge of the dialects of these tribesmen, she managed to collect many interesting details of the social customs which these people possess, and she gives them to us in plain, unvarnished, and dramatic language Her powers of description of the scenery, of the hardships of her daily journeyings, and especially of some of those long night ones, are decidedly good, and make very interesting reading. I myself experienced some of those long days on foot, over the roughest of tracks, days which were prolonged far into the night, so I can testify to the remarkable physical prowess and endurance of this good lady. Personally, I would much rather walk these marches than ride them seated on the agonizing saddles which the Caucasians use on their hardy, sure-footed ponies.

I well remember one march of twenty hours at a stretch, topping a pass, and down a long, unending rugged valley, with only an apology for a track. But what a glorious day it was, what magnificent

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scenery! We were benighted of course, and I found it difficult to find the track at times, and we did not reach a resting-place till midnight or so, and we just laid down in our blankets without much thought of food.

Another exciting day was crossing a virgin pass from a high bivouac under a rock on the edge of a glacier. An early start before dawn brought us to the summit somewhere about midday, fairly easy going up; but on looking over the other side of the pass, we found it almost sheer precipice and ice slopes before the Neve could be reached. There was nothing for it but to make the attempt. Dead slow progress it was, and down the worst rocks I have almost ever negotiated. For a period we had to cross a stretch which was bombarded by rocks and stones at intervals from above, and only foot by foot could we negotiate this section. One of our party was badly hit and another slightly. The Neve was reached at 700 feet from the summit of the pass, and it took seven hours! But what a relief to be on it and off that awful precipice. But our difficulties were not over by any means, as, when the glacier was reached, we found the fall was very steep and badly crevassed, and we found it was impossible to continue in the dark, so there was nothing for it but to remain till dawn; we were almost frozen to death, and all we had to eat—the five of us—was one small tin of condensed milk—hateful, mawkish stuff, but I never relished anything so much as I did my small share of it!

But I must return to Mlle. Odette's experiences and not my own.

I see she visited the Prince of the Dadishtrillain tribe, and so did I, and the greatest hospitality did we receive in his charming and primitive house, where we had wine and food of the best.

Syanetia, with its numerous villages and their defensible towers, just like those to be found in Waziristan, and overshadowed by the great Ushba—a double-headed peak—will live in my memory till my dying day, a most lovely, charming, and fertile valley.

I could go on writing about the Caucasus for hours, as Mlle. Odette has done. I was fascinated by the country, and she, seemingly, was equally fascinated—a country to visit again and yet again; but, alas! it is now practically closed to the traveller owing to the accursed Bolshevik régime, which has ruined and plunged into chaos every part of that once huge Russian Empire: from the Pacific Ocean to the Germano-Austrian frontier, from the Arctic seas to the border of Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan.

C. H. Powell,
Major-General.

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OBITUARY

LIEUT.-COLONEL PERCY BROOKE BRAMLEY, O.B.E.

LIEUT.-COLONEL PERCY BROOKE BRAMLEY, O.B.E., Indian Police, died suddenly on February 19, in his fifty-eighth year. He was a member of an old Yorkshire family, the son of Colonel Alexander Howe Bramley of the Bengal Staff Corps; he was born in India, where he was privately educated. He entered the police about thirty-seven years ago, and was engaged in the prevention of piracy, the organization of the police services, and the stamping out of brigandage on the borders of Nepal. He was the first police officer to receive the old Kaiser-i-Hind Medal and the King's Police Medal. After the outbreak of war he took up military service, first in India and later in Mesopotamia; he was present at the recapture of Kut from the Turks, and was mentioned in despatches; he was then appointed to be Commandant at Basra and on the lines of communication, and received the Order of the British Empire for his services.

Colonel Bramley was then sent to Jerusalem as Director of Public Security in Palestine. There he spent four years and built up the Palestine Police Force from its very foundations. Not the least of his services was the elimination of highwaymen and bandits, those pests of Palestine. He also captured the notorious Abu Ghoneim. During Colonel Bramley's term of office the Palestine Gendarmerie Force was raised, and later, under Major-General Tudor, the British gendarmerie was reformed for Palestine. It was in connection with this that he came to England, and was received in audience by the King. We may look on him as a typical police officer, whose official life had been spent for the greater part in the more backward countries of the world.

Since his retirement he had interested himself keenly and ably in several branches of public work, and he was a valued and prominent member of various Societies devoted to the study of the East. He married in 1915 Miss Sybil Vaughan Morgan, who with two little daughters survives him.

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THE MARQUESS CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K.G.

ALL members of the Central Asian Society will share in the deep regret that will be generally felt at the news of Lord Curzon's death. Since the initiation of the Society he has taken a great interest in its affairs, and for the last seven years has been its Honorary President. He has on several occasions made the Presidential Address at the annual dinner. As all members of the Society are aware, he was possibly the greatest living authority on the various subjects in which the Society is interested, and we were fortunate in securing his help and inspiration. This notice is necessarily short as the *Journal* is already in the Press.

March 20, 1925.

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NOTICES

Library.—The Council wish to thank Major-General J. A. Douglas for "A Grammar of the Baluchi Language," by Major Walters, a notice of which will be in the next number of the *Journal.*

The following books have been received for review :

"The Early History of India," by Vincent Smith, C.I.E. (4th edition, revised by S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O.). 9″ × 5½″. Pp. viii + 535. (Oxford University Press. 1924. 16s.)

"The Struggle for Power in Moslem Asia," by Alexander Powell. 9″ × 5½″. Pp. xi + 320. (John Long, Ltd., London. 1924. 15s.)

"Survivals of Sasanian and Manichæan Art in Persian Painting," with seventeen illustrations, by Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., Litt.D. 9½″. Pp. 23. (Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1925. 10s. 6d.)

"The Mesopotamian Campaign," Vol. II., by Brig.-General F. J. Moberly, C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., P.S.C. Official History of the War Series. 8⅞″ × 5½″. Pp. xiv + 581. Maps and illustrations. (H.M. Stationery Office. 1924. 21s.)

"The Vanished Cities of Arabia," by Mrs. Steuart Erskine. Illustrated by Major Benton Fletcher. 9½″ × 6½″. Pp. 324. (Messrs. Hutchinson and Co., London. 1925. 25s.)

"The Early History of Bengal," by F. J. Monahan, I.C.S., with a preface by Sir John Woodroffe. 8¾″ × 5¾″ Pp. ix + 248. (Oxford University Press. 1925. 15s.)

"The Eastern Question : A Study in European Diplomacy," by J. A. R. Marriott (3rd edition, revised). 7⅞″ × 5″. Pp. 564. Maps. (Oxford : at the Clarendon Press. 1924. 8s. 6d.)

"The Challenge of Asia," by Stanley Rice. 7½″ × 5″. Pp. 256. (John Murray, London. 1925. 7s. 6d.)

"The Inconstancy of Madam Chuang, and other Stories," translated from the Chinese by E. B. Howell. (Messrs. T. Wernher Laurie, London. 1925.)

"To Lhasa in Disguise," by W. Montgomery McGovern, Ph.D. 9″ × 5¾″. Pp. 352. Illustrations. (Messrs. Thornton Butterworth and Co. 1924. 21s.)

"The Great Betrayal," by E. H. Bierstadt. Pp. xv + 345. 8½″. Illustrations. (London. 1925. 15s.)

"The Religion of the Manichees," Donnellan Lectures for 1924, by F. C. Burkitt, Hon. D.D. (Dublin). (Cambridge : at the University Press. 1925.)

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

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JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XII.

1925

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PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

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MY IMPRESSIONS OF A TOUR IN 'IRAQ

By the Right Hon. Lord Thomson, C.B.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, on November 21, 1924, when a lecture was given by Lord Thomson. The Viscount Peel presided.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—This evening we have the great pleasure before us of hearing Lord Thomson give his impressions of his tour in 'Iraq. I need not explain to this Society what 'Iraq means, because they all know the origin, no doubt, of that name. Lord Thomson, of course, is very well known to all of us as the Secretary of State for Air in the late Government; but, besides that, he has had a very wide experience indeed. He was an old member of the Royal Engineers who served in the South African War. He was a General Staff officer at the War Office, and, during the late war, he was, among other things, on a special mission to Roumania as military attaché. He served in Egypt, and was also through the advance in Palestine, so he had a very long military experience, besides his experience as Air Minister. Well, he went out on an official tour, and, like all Air Ministers nowadays, he went mainly by air. He flew something like 2,600 or 3,000 miles. In fact, you could hardly have an Air Minister now who could not fly: I shudder to think what would happen if one was unfortunately appointed to that post who did not enjoy pursuing his researches in an aeroplane. We are very fortunate in two ways with regard to Lord Thomson. He went out, of course, with all the full panoply of official experience. He went out also swathed in the close-fitting garments of official reticence. But he now fortunately enjoys that happy release from the burden of official duties which is so dear to the hearts of all politicians—(laughter)—and we draw from that this double advantage, that, while he has all the knowledge, he has now at the same time all the freedom. He knows everything, and he can say everything—or nearly everything, I suppose. He is not hampered by any official reticence, and therefore we expect great interest and great revelations to-night. We all give him a very hearty welcome, and thank him for coming to lecture to us, and look forward with great pleasure to his lecture. (Applause.)

The Lecturer: My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I confess that I speak with a certain amount of diffidence to an audience so

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largely composed of experts as this one is. It is perfectly true, as our Chairman has said, that I went out swathed in the panoply of official position, and all the information that could be given to me was given to me, I am sure. But, at the same time, I was singularly inexperienced about the country which I was visiting. I went with an open mind. Mr. Bernard Shaw has described an open mind as an empty one. (Laughter.) I felt rather like Paget, M.P., as I was hurried round place after place in Arabia, told everything there was to know about that place, and then hurried on to another one. Although I enjoy that feeling of irresponsibility to which Lord Peel has referred, I should like to be much more indiscreet than I am going to be—some restraint is needed—because the problem is really rather a delicate one in 'Iraq, and one does have a certain responsibility to one's successors in office. However, I have the honour to speak to you to-night with some of the valour of ignorance, and from a position, if not of greater ease, at any rate of less responsibility. I will just give you, to begin with, a general idea of what that tour consisted of. We went to Alexandria by rail and sea, and from Alexandria to Cairo by rail. It was at Heliopolis that we started to fly, and flew from there direct to Amman, where we spent the night, and where the Emir Abdullah gave us dinner. Next morning we flew straight to Baghdad, arriving from a height of 6,000 feet on the aerodrome within about twenty yards of a guard of honour. I remember coming down from the fresh air 6,000 feet up, through a belt of very hot air, then into dust, and then into something which really felt rather like an oven. I was a little dizzy as I got out of the aeroplane to inspect the guard of honour, and went off as soon as possible to the Residency for tea and a short rest before a large dinner party. I had never visited Baghdad before, and I was much struck by the remark of one person there: it was to the effect that Baghdad was a city of opinions, that there were as many opinions in Baghdad, in fact, as there were hairs in the Prophet's beard. Everybody had an opinion in Baghdad, except, so far as I could make out, the Minister of Finance. He said less than anybody else to me; but it is proverbial how that office cramps the most loquacious people's style. (Laughter.) Next morning I spent at Baghdad inspecting the garrison, and had tea with King Feisal in the afternoon. In the evening there was another dinner party, where I met the air people at a large function that was given by the Air Officer commanding. I there heard a number of views differing somewhat from those I had heard from the political people the night before, and next morning early we started by air for Mosul. There, after some inspections, we had lunch in a pink marble palace built by a tax collector, who had saved the money to build that palace out of a salary of ten pounds a month in the course of seven years. (Laughter.) After lunch I indulged in a short siesta, and later paid a visit to the notables of the city of

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Mosul. There they made one welcome to their city, and I made a speech in thanks, and after that I went down to the Arab headquarters, and was similarly greeted by the Arabs, and again made them a speech which not one of them understood. Next day to Zakho on the Turkish frontier in the early morning—a very wonderful flight over a range of mountains. Zakho is a charming little town situated on an island in a river. The Turks were, of course, quite close to us there. The valley running east of Zakho is the one that goes up past Amadia to Rowanduz, and the intention had been to fly back by Amadia and Rowanduz; but the only mishap of the tour occurred just as we left Zakho. A flying wire on the machine I was in snapped, and we had to go back for repairs. These were soon effected, and we then flew to Erbil, the ancient Arbela, where we had lunch with the political officer, went around the city, and flew on that evening to Kirkuk. At Kirkuk we spent the night, inspected the garrison, and next morning flew to Suleimani on the Persian frontier. Suleimani I will refer to later in my remarks. From Suleimani we flew back to Baghdad. From Baghdad, the next day after dinner with King Feisal, we flew back to Amman, once more from Amman back to Ramleh, and we spent the night on the top of the Mount of Olives. Next morning, very early, we flew to Heliopolis, had lunch, flew back from Heliopolis to Aboukir Bay, got into a motor-car, saw some of the members of Zaghloul's Government, and got with a sigh of relief into a ship to get back to England. (Laughter.) Such was the itinerary. My endeavour to-night will be to give you some idea of the impressions that I derived from that somewhat kaleidoscopic experience. There were, of course, three events of outstanding interest just before and during this visit. The first in chronological order was the Wahabi invasion of Trans-Jordan: that had taken place a little time before our arrival. It was an event of outstanding importance—in fact, in its small way, I think the action which took place in the early morning six miles from Amman may be described as one of the small decisive battles of the world; because it proved any amount of things, that small engagement. You have got to imagine something like this—a defenceless town, or practically a defenceless town, like Amman, and without warning of any sort or kind, there suddenly arrives within seven miles of this town a large host of hostile Arabs, who are indiscreet enough to give warning of their approach by burning villages and looting. If they had come on unobserved, it would have been impossible to stop these invaders, they would undoubtedly have captured Amman. They would have burned the place, and might conceivably have overthrown what one may call the dynasty that has been set up by the British Government in Trans-Jordania. In fact, something very serious would have happened, had not, at the shortest possible notice, the aeroplanes at Amman, reinforced by some from Palestine, sallied

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forth, followed by armoured motor-cars. I gather from the descriptions that were given me, and the accounts of the prisoners, that the effect of that attack from the air upon those densely-massed Arabs, with their long strings of camels and horses, was something too appalling; that the terror inspired was complete, that the panic which ensued was perfectly ghastly, that several hundred people were killed on the spot by these swift implacable aeroplanes swooping down to within 20 feet of them and strafing them with machine guns and that the aerial attack, followed by the pursuit with armoured motor-cars, caused losses which it is difficult to estimate. Seven hundred are supposed to have been killed, but these were not the only casualties; the Arabs, panic-stricken, fled into the desert, and hundreds more must have died of thirst. Now, all that is very dreadful. It is a most horrible thing. No one wishes to repeat such an experience. No one wishes to glory in it once it has been done; but I think you will agree with me, when I have got a little further with my remarks, that unless some such punishment—as swift, as effective, as implacable, and as terrible—had been applied (if humaner and slower methods had been resorted to), the process of restoring order and making people respect frontiers in Arabia would have been long drawn out, and in the end there would have ensued a great deal more suffering to the people, and a great deal more cost to the taxpayers of this country, and lasting results would not have been achieved. I am inclined to think that the men who took part in that invasion will never take part in another one. There were a great many prisoners taken. Contrary to custom they were not killed: they were given a month's hard labour in Amman and the neighbourhood, building houses, and they were then sent back, all with the same message to their people, telling them what would happen if those frontiers were violated once again. They vowed that when they had been urged to make this offensive, and come these hundreds of miles across the desert to do so, they had been told by their leaders that the aeroplanes might be there, and that the British might be there; but that that would be all right: they would not be used against them. It was high time that fallacies of that kind were uprooted, because it would be quite impossible to maintain, with the small force at our disposal in these parts of the world, law and order and respect for frontiers if such ideas were allowed to permeate the masses of the Arab people.

The second incident—it was in progress while I was out there—was the trouble with the Turks about the north-western frontier of the Mosul vilayet. It is a matter of great satisfaction to everybody that the dispute has been so happily terminated. As I understood the matter, and it was explained to me in homely language on the spot by a great many people, the Turks were out to punish the Assyrian Christians—the Nestorians—for having insulted one of their

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Valis or Governors. It was inconvenient for the Turks, as a military operation, to reach the particular locality they aimed at from the north—that is to say, from territory which was indisputably Turkish. The communications were bad, and military bases did not exist in that locality. They, therefore, came in from the west, from one of their military headquarters, Jezirah; and they knew perfectly well that the greater part of the route which they followed as their line of communications did traverse indisputably British territory, in the sense that it was part of the mandated area of 'Iraq. I used to put to myself the question sometimes out there, "When is bombing not an act of war?"—because, of course, things happen since the world war which, if they had happened before the world war, would have been undoubtedly acts of war. When I arrived there, for example, the Turks had had a very effective bombing applied to them: they accepted it as part of the day's work while they were in this indisputably British zone. I do not think any Turkish soldier on the spot had the least complaint to make about the bombing of his troops while they were in this particular bit of territory. But such is the point of honour and the finesse of definitions, that one may suppose them considering it an act of war if that same bombing had occurred one yard outside the undisputed zone either way. They knew they were guilty of trespass, and were quite prepared to take their gruel for trespassing if caught in the act. This point of view is, I think, perfectly logical and comprehensible. Having done what they wanted to do—namely, got their own back from the people who they assumed, and with some reason, had insulted their Governor, they remained passive even if they did not retire. I think there is every reason to believe that the matter will be settled amicably. It is, of course, a very difficult thing to fix a frontier in a region like that. Administrative officers are inclined to extend their functions: no one quite knows where the frontier is. But I do not suppose we could have got a better commission than that which has been appointed to arbitrate, and certainly one member of it, Count Teleki, should be an expert on frontiers by this time; because he himself lives inside a sort of jigsaw puzzle of a frontier, and should know something of the difficulties connected with the fixation of all frontiers. How long it will take to arrange this Turkish frontier it would be very difficult to say: some pessimists out there thought it would be years. What I am quite satisfied of is this, that provided we are watchful and vigilant, and provided the inhabitants—and this is more important than the attitude of the Turks—know we are acting in that manner, I do not think there will be any repetition of the trouble in that particular zone. But we have got to exercise unceasing vigilance; the least carelessness might have the most awful results.

The third incident occurred just after my tour terminated, though it was threatening at the time—I mean the invasion of the Hejaz. Both

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King Feisal and the Emir Abdullah talked to me a great deal about it. They were moved naturally by feelings of filial sentiment; they did not like to think their father was being put into such a humiliating position. They prophesied a general upheaval in Arabia, and needless to say they painted Ibn Sa'ud, the invader, in the blackest colours. I think they had some legitimate ground for anxiety as regards what might happen to them. Of course to the Emir Abdullah one could always point out how his frontiers had been guarded when invaded, and how the Wahabis had learned a stern lesson when they tried to violate a frontier which had been fixed and was guarded by the British. King Feisal was not quite so easy to convince as regards his responsibilities. But on the whole I think it may do him and his officers good: I think they will exercise greater zeal in their own preparations for defence than they might otherwise have done. The enemy being, so to speak, at their gates, will make them perhaps more eager in their attempts to make of 'Iraq a self-supporting country.

Before I go any further, I ought to try and give you my own ideas, however guarded, about these races; because really on that depends everything else that I have got to say. I saw a great many Arab troops and, speaking as a soldier, and from what I could gather of their general character, I am inclined to think that it would be an exceedingly difficult matter to make a really good army out of Arabs under Arab officers. There is something nomadic and unruly about these people. They are fine to look at, very picturesque; but without a stiffening of British officers, I personally should be very sorry to confide the destinies of any country to their safe-keeping. They have but one idea really, I imagine, and that is wandering about with occasional looting. It is much more dangerous than if it were their occupation or their means of livelihood. As I understand it, this sort of life to them is a kind of sport; and once a thing becomes a sport with people they will pursue it with far more passion than if it was a means of livelihood; and it is far more difficult to correct. I look forward with the very greatest apprehension to the Arabs being left at any time without a considerable stiffening of British officers—I am now talking of the purely Arab forces. I think it would be a danger, and it is a danger which, so far as I can gather, is apparent to the Arab rulers of 'Iraq. I spoke about the matter with King Feisal on both occasions when I talked with him, and he more or less agreed. Then there are the Kurds. The Kurds struck me as being a very peculiar people. I had always been in the habit, when inspecting, of seeing men who looked straight ahead, and one looked into their eyes to see what sort of men they were. Inspecting a battalion of Kurdish troops was really a most uncanny experience. Not one of them looked at me when I was in front of him, but I became aware, as I passed down the line, of eyes staring sidelong at me. If I lived long in Arabia

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I am sure I should have nightmares of those rows of sidelong glittering little eyes. They are people, I gathered from those who know something about them, who are much impressed by what is sometimes called prestige. They like to be on the stronger side; they like, in vulgar parlance, to spot the winner. There are Kurds inside our mandated territory and outside, and one of the anxieties of the future is this undoubtedly, that suppose anything happened to lower our prestige and raise that of the Turks—that was one of the features of this land dispute which people were anxious about—if anything of that kind happened, well, we should not only have a frontier question, we should have an internal question to deal with, which might become an exceedingly grave one. I am sure of this, that while we are holding the mandate in 'Iraq we have got to be ready to deal with some such situation as I have described at short notice; because without doubt there is a tendency to wobble on the part of these Kurds. I am told, and I am quite ready to believe it, that the Kurds prefer us and our rule, or Arab rule backed by us, to that of the Turks; but, at the same time, there must be no slackening so far as I can see, because if that were so, sentiment would go by the board. I was told, for example, that it was quite useless to have a plebiscite of those people. An ordinary Kurd, if you have a plebiscite in his country, will know perfectly well that if he votes against the British, the British will not make reprisals; but if he votes against the Turk, the Turk will. And so on balance he will prefer to vote for the Turk and trust to our good nature. Of course that state of mind complicates the situation very much. I am bound to say, from what I could gather on the spot, and heard from all manner of people—soldiers, political officers and others in a position of responsibility, and merchants and those who knew the country—that was the general view; and it is one of the things of which I made a mental note, and which has continually occurred to my mind since. I foresee it will be one of our problems in 'Iraq as long as we stay there, and after we have gone.

I now come to the Assyrians. I inspected several battalions of Assyrians. They are fierce, fine-looking men. I was told by a very experienced officer out there that the Assyrian battalions were at least as good as most native infantry battalions in India—in fact, one officer there told me he put them nearly as high as Gurkha battalions. They certainly looked splendid. They were smart on parade, and I was told were very good fighters. One company impressed me very much; I think it was at Mosul. I thought they looked even fiercer and more warlike than the others. So much so that I said: "Is not this a different lot?" and I was told that they were Devil worshippers—very devout people who believed that the Devil had got to be conciliated, and were most careful in their worship of their peculiar god. In dealing with this Assyrian question, we British may easily find

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ourselves landed in a rather difficult situation with regard to these exacting people. I mean this, that we may let sentiment, especially Christian sentiment, carry us a little too far. Of course we have got to keep our promises to these Assyrians—that is not the point. But they also owe us some obligations. At present they seem to be inclined to impose on our sense of obligation to them. I was told, for example, that they could have put up a better fight than they did on this last occasion, when the Turks came into the valley where they were resettled; but that they did not put up a fight for several reasons. The reason they advanced themselves was that they had to save their wives and families. A somewhat cynical observer up there told me that he thought the reason was that, as a matter of fact, they had not rebuilt their houses or their barns, and that they had very little to lose. In these circumstances they thought they could make considerable capital out of us by retiring promptly; and indeed they hoped possibly that we should not only resettle them on these lands, and give them perhaps a little compensation, but also a guarantee for their future security of a somewhat more pronounced type than they have got already. That is what I mean by people becoming exacting. Let me repeat that there is no one more ready than I am to admit our obligations and our duties with regard to these people, but I have a strong aversion to seeing the tail of the British lion twisted unduly, or the taxpayer made to pay for anything that is not absolutely necessary. (Hear, hear.) The Jews I will refer to briefly only; they are rather outside 'Iraq, though, of course, there are some in Palestine, and, as everybody knows, a great many in Arabia. The Jewish problem is almost insoluble, it seems to me. I was told, when I was staying the night on the Mount of Olives, that the Jews had been given land and had done nothing with it, and that when asked why not, they said: "Oh, we want implements and farmhouses, and cattle before we can start work." These were given, and again nothing happened, and when they were asked why, they said: "Oh, because those accursed Arabs won't do any work." (Laughter.) One gets involved in a sort of vicious circle. It is all part of the problem of this particular part of the world. Before I leave the races I would like to say that the levies that I saw struck me as being magnificent, especially the cavalry regiments. I have never seen a better crowd of men and horses than I saw at Kirkuk the night we arrived there—magnificently handled, well mounted, well drilled—I should say a regiment that could give a good account of itself almost anywhere, and against almost any sort of adversary.

I will now give a brief description of my visit to Suleimani, because, in a way, that illustrates a great deal of what I shall say in the concluding remarks I shall make to you to-night. I did not particularly want to go to Suleimani. I was getting tired, and I thought I would

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go straight back to Baghdad; but, thank goodness, I did go to Suleimani, because it is a thing I shall remember for the rest of my life. To those of you who don't know it, I may say that it is a very beautifully situated little town, which had some years ago, and, indeed, until quite recently, a population of over twenty thousand. It is close to the Persian frontier on the caravan route. Tobacco is grown in the neighbourhood, the fields are rich, and the town used to be prosperous. Some months before our visit the activities of a certain sheikh in the neighbourhood had been such that the majority of the inhabitants of this town had fled; in fact, the population was reduced to something like seven hundred of the original inhabitants, the remainder were refugees. When one thinks of the sum of human misery represented by twenty odd thousand men, women, and children living as refugees, either in the hills or the camps, one realizes what a terrible state of affairs did exist. Eventually action had to be taken against this sheikh. To put it bluntly, he was bombed; he cleared out, and he is still living as an outlaw in the mountains. I am not aware what the casualties were exactly—it is very difficult to ascertain—but I can say this with absolute certainty, that they were very slight, and a few houses were destroyed. Within two-and-a-half to three months of that action twelve thousand of these inhabitants had returned. (Applause.) That in itself is an extraordinary result, and when we arrived at Suleimani in the early morning, there were something like a thousand to fifteen hundred people, in addition to the Arab regiment, on the aerodrome to welcome us, and an enthusiastic welcome they gave. It was almost impossible to get along at all, so eagerly did they crowd around. Then, having seen the troops that were actually on the aerodrome, I got on a horse and proceeded to ride round the city bazaar, and to make a regular circuit, led by two policemen, whose particular function was to clear the people out of the way. I will not say that the reception they gave me was what we should call enthusiastic—but there was continuous clapping, much smiling, and occasionally a faint cheer. They were all out; the bazaar was thronged with people. There was evidently a lot of trade going on. Wares were exposed in abundance. So great was the crowd that, at certain places, one could only proceed at a very slow pace. The general attitude was extraordinarily friendly, and one felt absolutely safe without any protection whatsoever. The people were grateful. We eventually reached the offices of the mayor of the city, and there three deputations came to see me; I saw each of them separately and alone. With the exception of the interpreter there was no one in the room with those deputations and myself. One deputation consisted of the notables of the city. Their one cry was thanks, gratitude to the British Government for what it had done. They insisted on the interpreter saying repeatedly how grateful they were for what had happened. Another deputation consisted of Arab

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sheikhs from the neighbourhood. They were not so grateful, but they were decidedly respectful; and there is no doubt about it that, for the moment anyhow, whatever their real feelings may have been, those fellows felt no doubts whatsoever as to which was the winning side. They had taken great trouble to come. Some had come miles: one old chap told me he had come over thirty-six miles just for the sake of seeing me, and saying what he thought about things. Among other things, he told me that he had never known the situation so satisfactory in his country as it was at that particular moment. They were not like the notables of the city, grateful and dependent, but they were practical people, and accepted the state of affairs as the best arrangement that had yet been reached in regard to that part of Arabia. A third deputation consisted largely of merchants—Persians. They were the most interesting of the lot. I said to them what I had said to all the others—namely, that we British were not in Arabia for our health, or anything we could get out of it, and that we wanted to make Arabia self-supporting and self-contained, if possible. We wanted Arabia to be able to look after its own frontiers. We wanted to leave them to work out their own salvation. At that their jaws dropped perceptibly. I said to them in conclusion that the British Government and the British people desired their welfare and prosperity, and they replied: "If you go away from here we shall be very lucky if we get off with our lives, and we shall certainly be robbed." I do not know what volume of opinion is represented by those Persian merchants, but I should say that a very considerable portion of the taxes collected in Suleimani come from them. I left Suleimani, I must say, more impressed than I can tell you. It was an extraordinary illustration of what prompt and discriminating action will do. In its way it is just as striking as the manner in which the Wahabi invasion of Trans-Jordan was blotted out. Of course all this bombing is dreadful, and has got to be avoided as much as possible. But I submit that one has got to have a sense of proportion in these matters, and cannot let sentiment weigh too much in the balance. One has to remember the misery being inflicted on thousands of innocent people—women and children—while a state of disorder and confusion prevails in that part of Arabia. A very great service was rendered to humanity in what to many will appear a somewhat brutal way, but it was a service all the same.

Now I must not keep you much longer. I am sure there are various experts here who want to ask questions. I just will refer to two more points, and then wind up. Everybody talked oil in Mesopotamia: the impression left on a perfectly open mind was this—oil is the key of the Arabian riddle. If you find oil, and you get oil exploited under an international company—some such company as that which was foreseen when the Anglo-Turk agreement was reached

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before the war—all manner of blessings will flow. For example, everybody will be interested in maintaining law and order, everybody. You will get an international backing of the most formidable kind to prevent the destruction of valuable properties. Then, again, the 'Iraq Government will get royalties, and raise taxes sufficient to pay for a very fine Arab army, and that second blessing will enable the country to be properly policed and protected from external foes. Well, there is a great deal in all that, an immense amount. The trouble is that experience does not always point in that direction. I am inclined to think that the first thing that has got to be established in Arabia is security. The Anglo-Turk arrangement, or whatever it is, will admit Italians and French and Americans as well as ourselves. There are sometimes anxious moments in some oilfields a little further east—quite anxious moments there have been in the recent past—and there precisely the conditions I have mentioned exist already. I believe that you have got to have security first, and then—capital. Communications across the desert will require an immense amount of money that would have to be put down first; money for pipe lines and general development, to first find the oil, then extract it, and lastly get it away. I do not deny the possibilities of oil, and I dare say that sooner or later it will be exported; but my feeling is that first things should come first, and I do not believe that oil is the first consideration in this country. Then, again, there is the wheat. Speaking as an amateur in these matters I would certainly be disposed to think there was more money in wheat production in Mesopotamia than there is likely to be for many years to come in oil. But here, again, one has got to face the facts of the situation. To get this unruly Arab population to work, to get the Kurds, and the Assyrians and everybody to work together, to get the roads, and the railways, and the river transport working properly, a great deal of money has to be invested and a great deal of plant has to be put down; and, again, I do not believe that wheat is the first thing to attend to in this matter, but that here again, security is the first consideration. The question is how to achieve security. Well, I believe that a thing like that is only reached gradually. One begins with small things. Travelling about the Arabian desert, and knowing what an enterprising Scotsman has done out there, I am inclined to believe myself that the first thing to be done in 'Iraq, and Arabia generally, in this direction, is to open up the country as a link in Imperial, and, indeed, in world communications. Already a miracle is happening. Mr. Nairn is running a convoy of automobiles across the desert from Baghdad to Damascus, and on to the coast. A great many Arab sheikhs keep Ford cars—they steal our petrol whenever they get a chance. (Laughter.) It is an incredible thing, when one is flying over the desert one sees a thing about the size of a beetle running along: it is a motor-car. To those here

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present to-night who knew this country some years back, it must seem little short of a miracle that such things should be. But there they are. And the need for this sort of transportation is very urgent. Mr. Nairn's enterprising effort has been warmly supported by all the inhabitants of Baghdad. It saves people any amount of time getting back to England. I believe that if one begins slowly but surely in that country, one of the first things to do is to have an absolutely clear line of communications from Baghdad, a line of posts—a line of dakh bungalows if you will—right up to Damascus, and to put those communications on a proper basis. And then, from the air point of view, how important! There is an air route right across that desert, magnificently planned, with landing-places about every twenty to twenty-five miles. One morning when we were flying alone we came down from six thousand feet. I had been lolling in the chair, reading and dozing, and suddenly noticed the height register coming down 500 feet at a time, and realized that we were landing. When we reached the ground —the Air Force pilots can land on a handkerchief and as lightly as a feather!—I got out, and asked the two pilots what we were doing, and they pointed to a knob of concrete in the desert. The nose of the machine I was in was about a yard from it. It had a steel cap which they proceeded to unscrew with a key they had brought along, and there was petrol for a refill. A curious spring to bubble in the desert! But there is a route which these lads know perfectly well. You can follow it the whole way along a line of landing-places; it runs up to a place called the Rutbah Wells, where the road branches off to Damascus, and the British route turns practically due west to Amman and Egypt. I believe that route has got infinite possibilities. I would dearly like to develop it, because it seems to have so much importance for the whole of our position in India. When one comes to think of it, if that route was really a civilian route, if people would realize how safe it is to fly, how much more comfortable, how much cleaner and less worrying generally! Then they can save at least eight days in going to Northern India. You get out of the ship at Port Said before entering the Canal. You motor to an aerodrome—you have none of the delays of getting through the Canal and down the Red Sea—you get into a large cabin with doors and windows; a few minutes afterwards you are up in the air. You get up to 6,000 feet. It is neither hot nor cold; it is most exhilarating; and if you start at seven o'clock in the morning you can have your lunch on the edge of the Arabian desert, and take your afternoon tea in Baghdad. (Applause.) Sir Henry Dobbs, the other day, went from London to Baghdad in six days and two hours. He flew straight through from Heliopolis with a short halt at Amman, and he was in his Residency for tea. He was not particularly tired, and he did the long stretch in an open machine. Get that route established; get people using it;

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get the mails using it. Some protection will be necessary; provide it, and to that extent you will have done something in the direction of opening up Arabia, making it safe, and establishing the security which is necessary before anything else can happen. I must not go on any further, but what I want to say in conclusion is this: I began by remarking that I did not want to embarrass anybody, however irresponsible my present position, by remarks that I might make. I feel very, very strongly with regard to the question of our position in that country. We made promises to the Arabs and to the Assyrians in return for what they had done for us during the war. Whether those services were worth our promises or not I am not here to discuss. The promises were made, and prestige, I am sure most people here will agree, really is a case of keeping pledges, especially to Eastern races. There it is. We have promised these people protection, and that an independent Arab kingdom should be set up. Now, of course, we can wriggle out of it, there is no question; we could recommend the League of Nations to admit 'Iraq as a member of the League. On that we could clear out of 'Iraq with what some people might think good grace. We are more or less committed to leaving within a period of years. Well, I am not here to discuss that either; but what I do say is this: that if we leave 'Iraq before it is in a position to remain an independent Arab State—before it is in a position to look after itself—we shall not have kept our promises, and what will happen? Well, I do not think anything dramatic is going to happen. I think that, to begin with, there will be confusion and anarchy. It will get worse and worse until the whole situation will become completely chaotic, and then some over-ruling Power will have to come in to restore the situation. In our absence, of course, that Power would be the Turks. It would be for us a rather serious situation, because in an area, which is undoubtedly going to become more and more important with the development of land and air communications, there would be widespread confusion and loss of respect for us as a ruling race. There are many people who, I am sure, will agree with me when I say that it would be most undesirable to have that disorder and that frame of mind on one of the great land-routes to the East so far as our hold on India is concerned. (Hear, hear.) It is from that point of view that I consider this position. I know there are a great many competent and sincere people who are anxious to scuttle out of 'Iraq. Well, I would like them to study the situation even as superficially as I have studied it. They would then realize what it would mean to all these races if we do not keep the promises we have made, or if we evade them in however plausible a fashion. Personally, I feel that the time when 'Iraq will be self-supporting and self-protecting is difficult to calculate. It is indeterminable as far as I can see. I would say that the Air Force in 'Iraq at the present moment is like the cement in a building

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which keeps the bricks together. Remove that cement, and all those forces that we have got out there would really be like loose bricks. Whether the Arab will ever become a sufficiently good mechanic, and whether the Arabs will ever produce sufficiently good pilots, I do not know. I think that they might produce the pilots; I have grave doubts whether they have the patience and energy to produce the organization which is by far the most important part of aviation—I mean the organization on the ground. What I do hope will never happen is that we leave our task unfinished, because that would mean a loss of prestige which I think most people will agree is one of the most precious of Britain's assets. (Applause.)

Mr. F. H. Skrine: I should like to ask Lord Thomson a question with regard to the statement he made concerning the Turkish expedition, which he said was intended to chastise the Nestorians. I have always understood that it was a demonstration against Mosul itself, that the Angora Government claimed the whole vilayet of Mosul, and that if this expedition had not been repulsed with great loss, we should probably have had the whole of northern 'Iraq overrun by the Turks.

The Lecturer: I heard that too—I was told, in fact, that it was a try-on with the Turks; but I should say myself, that from what I could see of the size of the Turkish troops—and they were pretty closely watched—any idea that there was any intention on their part to invade the vilayet of Mosul at that particular time was most improbable. I do not think they were in a position to do so at the time. I am prepared to admit that if they had been allowed to act with impunity there might have been a movement among the Kurds on our side of the frontier, and events might have developed in the line you suggest; but I do not think the original idea was to invade Mosul. I think things will move much more slowly in that region than we some of us think. I do not believe in anything dramatic, or a march on Mosul or Baghdad. I believe it will begin with little actions of that kind, and then a pause, then Mosul, then a long pause and then Baghdad. I see your point. I did hear it of course, but I think the bulk of the evidence was in the direction I have suggested—namely, that it was a punitive expedition.

Colonel P. B. Bramley: May I ask Lord Thomson whether there is any alternative termination to the land-route to begin in the Mediterranean? At present it leads into French territory. It runs into Damascus, and that seems to be a weak point in our line of communication if you wish to maintain an Imperial route to India. Could his lordship mention any route south of that taking us into our own territory?

The Lecturer: I think that a very good point, and it is being worked at already, I understand. The air-route, which is purely

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British of course, goes from Baghdad west as far as Rutbah Wells. There, the motor-road, which follows the air-route, branches off to Damascus, and the air-route comes down to Amman. I asked that very question, whether the motor-road could be taken to Amman and then through Palestine; and I was told that, though there were some bad *wadis* to cross, it could be done. It was feasible for motor-cars; in fact, our own motor-cars go considerable distances in that direction. I do not know quite how far—I am not well documented—but the thing has been thought of, I am certain.*

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: There is one point I should like to make a remark on. We are all—whether soldiers, or politicians, or civilians—much enlightened by what Lord Thomson has told us of the conditions under which aeroplanes can be used for repressing internal trouble and repelling invasion. He gave us a clear definition, and he speaks with authority. The position had been obscured in the past, and that obscurity has not been fair to air-officers doing their very difficult duty. I may say it was once my unpleasant duty as a peaceful civilian Governor to ask for the use of aeroplanes to repress civil disturbances. I was in Lahore, and the outbreak was at Gujranwala, a city on the main line of railway to the North-West Frontier, and forty miles from Lahore. A rebellion broke out, organized as part of a general movement in the Central Punjab. The first thing at Gujranwala was that the lines of railway communication on both sides of the town were cut, bridges torn up, telegraphs and telephones simultaneously destroyed. All the Government buildings in the place and the railway station and goods were set on fire. A rebellious mob took possession of the place. There was only a very small force of Indian police there with two British police officers. There were a few British women and children in the station: they had been hurriedly collected into the Treasury—

* "*Baghdad, May* 29:

"Mr. Norman Nairn, accompanied by Wing-Commander Primrose, Chief of Staff, Palestine, has arrived here, having crossed the Syrian Desert with two Cadillac cars from Jerusalem via Amman in thirty-two hours, a distance approximately of 700 miles, compared with 600 miles from Beirut.

"The route is entirely through British mandated territory, and Mr. Nairn thinks it might become feasible for regular mail convoys if the authorities decided to incur some expenditure in repairing difficult stretches.

"From Jerusalem the route led through Jericho to Amman, whence the motorists followed the long-ploughed furrow made in 1921 to guide air mail pilots across the desert. Normally the Nairn convoys do not strike the furrow until reaching the Rutba wells, approximately midway between Baghdad and Beirut.

"Mr. Nairn reports that long stretches of the new track are good, but some sections are difficult, including thirty-five miles through great lava boulders. Very little animal life was seen, but between Kasr el Azrak and Al Jid they encountered eight ostriches, who made off at thirty miles an hour. The motorists gave chase and shot one of the ostriches.

"The route from Jerusalem is more undulating than the Beirut track, and at times it was necessary to negotiate considerable hills. The route traversed is one of several suggested in recent years for the much-talked-of railway from Baghdad to the Mediterranean."—*The Times*, May 31, 1925.

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all the other Government buildings had been gutted and fired. The rebels were attacking the gaol, their object being to get into the Treasury, murder the few Europeans there, and loot the Treasury. This situation was brought to my notice at Lahore not direct from Gujranwala, but by a message which the Deputy-Commissioner had sent through a station miles away. I at once informed the General Commanding at Lahore. I said: "This is an appalling situation; troops are urgently required. Can you send them?" He said: "I have none to send, and if I had I could not get them there in time." I said: "Have you any aeroplanes?" I knew two had arrived a few days before from Quetta. The General and I had, a day or two before, discussed with the officer commanding the Air Force the conditions under which these aeroplanes could be used, and my advice had been that in repressing outbreaks aeroplanes should not throw bombs on cities or great centres of population, where you could not discriminate, but should use their bombs and machine-guns to disperse rebel or riotous mobs in the same conditions as troops on foot would fire. It was not a matter where I, or even the General, could give orders to the Air Force. I asked the General to send out an aeroplane at once. I told him the situation was most critical, that I was most anxious for the small European population there, and that I did not want the chaos that had begun there to spread. In half an hour an aeroplane was despatched. Within a few hours I heard it coming back. I got a message that the aeroplane had arrived in Gujranwala, had found that the mob had burned the church and Government buildings and were attacking the Treasury, that the aeroplane had descended to a lower level, dropped bombs on the rebel crowds, dispersed them, and restored the situation.

We were not able to get troops in Gujranwala until 10 o'clock that night; the police were powerless, and if the aeroplanes had not arrived there would have been nothing left of the town. The few British officers as well as the women and children would have been massacred. This action of mine was denounced as an atrocity, the General and the Air Force officers were accused of Prussian frightfulness. I am therefore very glad to hear, from Lord Thomson, that aeroplanes can be used either in repressing civil disturbances or repelling rebels in circumstances such as I have described. The action which we, the military authorities and myself took, at Gujranwala was justified by results. (Applause.) And it was upheld by a British Court of Justice. One more matter with reference to Mesopotamia: I entirely agree with Lord Thomson's statement. For the first two years of the war when Mesopotamia was in the hands of the Turks, we were continously finding in India that a critical situation was growing more acute owing to the fact that Mesopotamia was in hostile hands. From Baghdad German and Turkish bands were continually passing into and stirring

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up intrigue in Afghanistan, Persia, and Baluchistan, causing us in the Punjab serious anxiety. The position we took in the Punjab, where we were most exposed to danger, was that Mesopotamia in the war was the outer line of defence for India. That will explain why we were able to raise hundreds of thousands of men in the Punjab—360,000 to be quite accurate and half of them Mohammedans—to go and fight the Turks in Mesopotamia. It was by pointing out that if Mesopotamia remained in hostile hands our safety and security in India were threatened. Our Mohammedans went readily and did splendid service in driving the Turks out of Mesopotamia. Their loyalty and sacrifice will have been in vain if we allow Mesopotamia again to fall into hostile or potentially hostile hands.

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE: Might I ask one or two questions of Lord Thomson: he told us that we had given assurances to the Assyrians. I should like to know: are the Assyrians outside the mandated territory of 'Iraq and in Turkish territory, or are they inside the mandated territory?

The LECTURER: That is really the whole crux of the problem. Some of these Assyrians are inside our territory: their main villages are inside our territory. Some of them are out, or some of them are in disputable zones; and I do not quite remember the total number of them—I do not think it runs to more than twenty thousand, or some-like that. I should say seventy-five per cent. of them are in our territory, and we have promised to settle them on their own land. They have been for centuries in this district: I think Amadia is their capital. I am not an expert on the matter, but you can take it for granted that the vast majority are definitely in territory which is part of the mandated area.

Sir CHARLES YATE: Then, unless there is some change in the frontier we should have to split up these people, which would be a very serious question indeed.

The LECTURER: We should have to settle them inside our own Empire.

Sir CHARLES YATE: I was glad to hear Lord Thomson speak highly of the Arab levies. I think the Arab levies are officered by British officers. That is the difference between the Arab levies and the Arab army. Has the Arab army any British officers?

The LECTURER: Not one.

Sir CHARLES YATE: Lord Thomson said that without a stiffening of British officers they would be practically useless. I was rather amused to hear that a company of the Yezidis was included among the Assyrians, the Christian Nestorians. Why should Devil worshippers be specially included amongst the Christians?

The LECTURER: I did include them at first, but I noticed a different expression on their faces. (Laughter.)

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Sir CHARLES YATE : As to the question of the route through British territory all the way from Baghdad to the Mediterranean. We heard about that at a lecture the other day, and I understood then that one of the great difficulties was that there was a lava bed of about forty miles wide between the Rutbah Wells and Amman, which made a motor-road across that part very difficult.

The LECTURER : You fly over large basalt rocks. I imagine there is a way of getting through it, but of that I am not sure.

Sir CHARLES YATE : It is possible, then, there may be a route to Haifa without touching French territory. I am very glad, indeed, to hear Lord Thomson say that he thinks there should be no scuttle out of 'Iraq. I think it is most important that we should remain there, and I am very glad to hear him give that opinion.

Colonel BRAMLEY : May I ask Lord Thomson what it costs at present for an ordinary passage, other than an air minister, to travel to Baghdad from Cairo by aeroplane?

The LECTURER : I do not think we have a tariff for ordinary passengers, and I think at the moment it would be very expensive. We have an air-mail, and officials can go by it.

Rai Sahib GANGA RAM WADHWA, M.A. : I am not a member of this Society, but I cannot refrain from expressing my gratitude and thankfulness to Lord Thomson on behalf of my service in India and the citizens of India. As he suggested, it is very essential for the safety and law of India that the British hold on India and on Mesopotamia may be kept on. I was going to say, particularly from the economic point of view, that, in addition to the Air Forces and the motor services, it will be necessary to have the route of railway from Constantinople down to Basra ; because, as pointed out very ably by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, India, and especially Western India, requires to be in constant touch with the British Empire by the easiest route. For political considerations there should be a direct route from India to Europe, and I would ask if there is any idea of opening up railway communication from Basra to Smyrna at the other end of Turkey.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not propose to comment at any length on the paper, because really Lord Thomson in his very interesting description of his experiences has not raised a large number of controversial questions ; in fact, I do not think he has entirely acceded to my invitation to be as indiscreet as possible. (Laughter.) But I was struck by one fact, that two gentlemen like the Lecturer and Sir Charles Yate, who do not exactly agree on all political questions, yet are apparently united in the desire that we should retain our hold in Mesopotamia. (Hear, hear.) It shows, I think, the remarkable unwillingness of the Briton ever to let go of anything on which he has once laid his hands. (Laughter.) I was very much interested to hear—because one has heard it from other members of

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the Air Force—of the great humanity of bombing. In fact, it was explained so clearly by Lord Thomson that I believe it would even carry conviction to those persons who are suffering themselves from a deluge of bombs. I was very much struck by the general conclusion of Lord Thomson that was applied to 'Iraq—safety first. It was a proposition I had seen illustrated on all the buses in this town for the last two or three years. It has received fresh illustration from his experiences. But I think I need do no more on this occasion than express on behalf of the Society our great gratitude to Lord Thomson not, I was going to say, for his journey out there, but for having placed his experiences, his impressions—the very interesting impressions that he has received from that journey both of the country and the races inhabiting it and of the work of the Air Force—entirely at the disposal of the Central Asian Society. (Applause.)

A vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

Mr. C. P. Skrine lectured at two consecutive meetings of the Central Asian Society, March 20 and April 24, on the highways of Kashgaria. At the first meeting the chair was taken by the Right Hon. Viscount Peel, and at the subsequent meeting by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

In introducing the Lecturer, Lord Peel said: Ladies and Gentlemen, —We are going to have the pleasure of hearing a lecture entitled "The Roads to Kashgar," by Mr. C. P. Skrine. I understand there are so many roads leading to Kashgar that it is impossible to deal with them all in the space of one afternoon; this afternoon the Lecturer will more or less confine himself to a description of the roads leading from India to Kashgar. Mr. Skrine himself is a member of the greatest civil service in the world—the Indian Civil Service. (Applause.) He was for a year Political Agent at Baluchistan, another year and a half Vice-Consul at Kerman; then Consul there for a year. He was Under-Secretary in the Department at Delhi for a time, another year and a half in Baluchistan, and, what concerns us most, for two years and a quarter he was Consul-General at Kashgar. He has, I understand, thoroughly travelled over and made his own observations on the roads on which he is going to talk to us. He therefore has very many qualifications, and among others he has got some very good slides, so we look forward to his lectures with great interest. (Applause.)

THE ROADS TO KASHGAR

The country of Kashgaria, with the approaches to which I am concerned this afternoon, comprises the southern portion of the Chinese frontier province of Sinkiang, or, as it is known to the rest of the world, Chinese Turkistan. The large majority of the inhabitants of this country are "Turkis" of mixed Nordic and Mongol stock, and are, by religion, Sunni Muhammadans, speaking an archaic form of the Turkish language known in Europe as "Eastern Turki." Kashgaria is known locally as "Alteshahr" or the Six Cities—*i.e.*, Kashgar, Yangi Hissar, Yarkand, Khotan, Aksu, and Kucha.

"Sinkiang" means "The New Dominion," but the word "new" is used in a relative sense—that is to say, it is new for China, having been conquered by the emperors of the Han Dynasty in the first century B.C. Since that period the Chinese have been many times turned out of the country, by Uighurs and Mongols, by Kalmuk Dzungars and Khokandi

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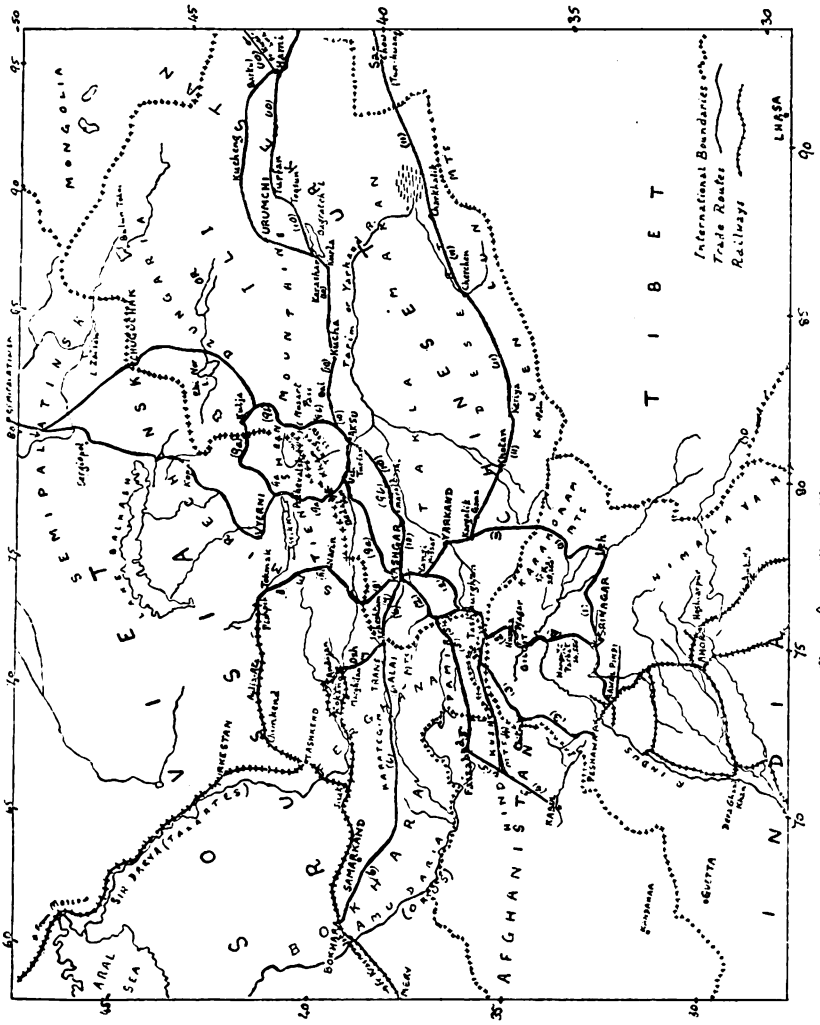
Mussalmans, but they have always reconquered it. Slow but sure, their armies have time after time pushed westward; the might of the Khans of Cathay has, as it were, leant up against the flimsy structures of one Central Asian power after another and has flattened them out as if they had never been. The last occasion on which this happened was



THE ROADS TO KASHGAR.

in 1877, when the eleven-year-old kingdom carved out for himself in Kashgaria by the Khokandi adventurer, Yakub Beg, was overthrown by a Chinese army which had taken four years in coming and had stamped out the great Tungan rebellion in Shensi and Kansu on the way.

This "Drang nach Westen" was fundamental in Chinese imperial

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policy, and its origin is not far to seek. The Chinese Empire was well provided with natural frontiers in the shape of some of the greatest mountain ranges of the world, namely (taking them in order from the Sea of Okhotsk to the China Sea), the Yablonoi, the Saian, the Altai, the Tien Shan, the Trans-Alai, the Pamirs, the Karakoram, the Himalaya, and the mountains of the Yunnan border. But nature abhors a vacuum, and it was necessary for China to occupy right up to these mountain barriers or lose their protection. This applied particularly to Sinkiang; for a foreign power, whether Asiatic or European, which occupied Sinkiang would command the vital Kansu-Shensi corridor leading to the heart of Inner China.

Southern Sinkiang, the Far West of China, was therefore of importance to the Celestial Empire chiefly on account of the tremendous natural barriers which surrounded it on three sides and made it a desirable frontier province. The map accompanying this paper shows on a larger scale these barriers and the chief routes by which they may be crossed. Kashgaria is protected from the Indian side by the Kuen Lun and the Karakoram; from Afghanistan by the Pamirs; from Bokhara by the Trans-Alai, and from Russian Turkistan and Semirechia by the Tien Shan. So wild and difficult are these mountain regions that the few tracks which traverse them, along some of which thin trickles of trade connect Kashgar and Yarkand with the rest of the world, are of considerable interest. From the following list of them and of the routes connecting Kashgar with the Chinese railway system it will be seen that these roads fall into certain well-defined groups:

From India:

1. Via Srinagar–Leh–Yarkand.
2. Via Srinagar–Gilgit–Tashkurghan.
3. Via Peshawar–Chitral–Tashkurghan.

From Afghanistan (Kabul):

4. Via Faizabad (Badakhshan)–Wakhjir (or Kokterek) Pass–Paik-Tashkurghan.
5. Via Faizabad–Shughnan–Great Pamir–Murghabi (Pamirski Post)–Tashkurghan.

From Russian territory:

6. From Bokhara by the Talldik Pass and Irkeshtam.
7. From Andijan (railhead of the Trans-Caspian Railway.)
   (*a*) Via Osh and the Terek Pass.
   (*b*) Via Uzgend and the Sungek (Suok) Pass.
8. From railhead at Pishpek in Semirechia via Narin and the Turgat (Turug Art) Pass.
9. From Kulja in Dzungaria (Ili).
   (*a*) Via Przhevalsk (Karakol) and the Bedal Pass.
   (*b*) Via the Muzart Pass and Aksu.

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From China Proper:

10. From railhead at Kwei-hwa across Mongolia to Hami and thence via Aksu.

11. From railhead at Hsi-ngan.

(*a*) Via Lanchow, Suchow, and Hami.

(*b*) Via Lanchow, Sa-chow (Tunhwang), Cherchen, Keriya, Khotan, and Yarkand.

Taking the roads in the above order:

1. Srinagar–Leh–Yarkand Route

This is the most important and longest-established of the routes from the point of view of British trade. Trade between India and Kashgaria was encouraged by Yakub Beg "Bedaulat" as a make-weight to the Russian influence, and in 1873-74 we hear of "several large caravans" of English muslins, chintzes, woollen webs, and long-cloths to the value of £100,000 reaching Yarkand. Dalgleish, who was murdered by an Afghan on the Karakoram Pass in 1891, was a Scottish trader who had been established at Kashgar for many years. But prior to the subjugation of Hunza and Nagar by Colonel Durand's column in 1891, the trade between India and Kashgaria was much harassed by raiders from those principalities, and it is only during the last thirty years that the Leh route has been safe, regularly used by traders, and to a certain extent organized by the Kashmir State. The pack-transport road from Srinagar over the Zoji La (11,300 feet) to Leh, the capital of Ladakh or Little Tibet, is kept in excellent repair; a British officer, known as the "British Joint Commissioner in Ladakh," looks after the interests of traders at Leh and Srinagar; stores of Government grain are kept at various points along the Yarkand road for sale to caravans at fixed rates; and trade is encouraged in many other ways.

The chief commodities imported into Kashgaria from India are British cotton goods, long-cloth and dyes, Indian brocades and spices and sugar from Java. The chief export to India is, I am sorry to say, *charas* or hemp drug, the *hashish* of Arabia, though considerable quantities of Khotan silks and Yarkand felts are also exported.

In spite of the official encouragement described above, the difficulties with which the Indo-Chinese Turkistan trade has to contend are so great that it is nothing less than marvellous that the route can be profitably used at all. Apart from the notorious Zoji La near Srinagar, between Leh and Karghalik five passes over 16,000 feet high have to be crossed, of which three are difficult and even dangerous, though the highest of all, the Karakoram (18,550 feet), is easy. For fourteen consecutive marches all food supplies for man and beast have to be carried by caravans. Innumerable mountain torrents and not a few large rivers swollen with melting snows have to be forded. The carriers, most of whom are Turki landowners of the Karghalik and

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Goma districts, lose scores of ponies every season owing to the rarefaction of the air on the high passes, to shortage of food, and to accidents by flood, blizzard, glacier and precipice.

Nevertheless, during the last six or seven years trade has boomed to an unprecedented extent, and good profits are being made by the many hundreds of Indian traders resident in Southern Sinkiang. During the years before the Russian revolution the Tsar's Government was energetically developing the trade between Ferghana and Southern Sinkiang, which bid fair to eliminate the Indian merchants altogether. With their railhead at Andijan, twelve days from Kashgar, and with but one high pass to cross, the Russian traders had an enormous advantage over their Indian rivals. This advantage was still further increased by the establishment at Kashgar of a branch of the (State-aided) Russo-Asiatic Bank, as well as by official facilities to merchants which amounted practically to State subsidizing of trade; there is no doubt than Russia was determined to capture the Sinkiang market regardless of expense. Now, on the other hand, all is changed. The frontier is officially closed, and will remain so pending the conclusion of a Trade Agreement between the Soviet and the Governor of Sinkiang; the Russo-Asiatic Bank is in the hands of a French group, with headquarters at Shanghai, and its Kashgar branch is closed; moreover, the pre-revolution organization of trade, industry, and agriculture in Transcaspia is no more, and so far from exporting chintz and other piece-goods to Kashgaria, Ferghana has, or had until recently, to import from neighbouring countries what little cotton it can afford to pay for. As the trade with China Proper, owing to the gigantic distances involved, is on a small scale and is chiefly confined to commodities used by the Chinese, Kashgaria is obliged to depend on India for many quasi-necessaries, such as cotton piece-goods, dyes, tea, sugar, etc., which formerly came from Russia. This is not all. During the seasons of 1923 and 1924, when the Russian frontier of Kashgaria was closed and any British goods found in Ferghana were liable to confiscation, it actually paid the Chinese Turki merchants of Kashgar to smuggle English muslins and dyes across the Tien Shan into Ferghana, where they competed successfully with the rail-borne products of Moscow factories!

2. Srinagar–Gilgit–Tashkurghan Route.

My wife and I travelled to Kashgar by this route in June–July, 1922, in forty-eight days, and returned by it in September–October, 1924, in fifty-four days, including several detours. It is not suitable for trade for two reasons. In the first place the gorge of the Hunza River between Baltit and Misgar (six marches) is in many places quite impossible for loaded ponies, and all baggage has to be carried in 50-pound loads from village to village by the few local porters available.

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In the second place, up to 1891 the men of Hunza and Nagar lived mainly by raiding the caravans on the Leh route; and though we make up to them in various ways the loss of this source of wealth, and though they have been as good as gold for the last thirty years, it would perhaps be trying them too highly to encourage the stream of trade to flow through their wild fastnesses.

For ordinary travellers with comparatively small baggage-trains, however, the Gilgit authorities can make arrangements for porterage and obtain the assistance of the chiefs of Hunza and Nagar. Given these facilities, the road will be found to be much easier and altogether more pleasant than the Leh one. Its average elevation is lower, the highest pass being the easy Yangi Dawan (16,000 feet), and supplies (albeit in very limited quantities) are much more evenly distributed along it. It is also appreciably shorter. Finally, from the traveller's point of view it is vastly more interesting, owing to the extraordinary variety of scenery it presents, and the number of different races, each with their own language, through whose territory it passes. The variety of the scenery will be illustrated by the slides I am going to show you. The following languages are spoken along this road:

In Srinagar: Urdu.

In Gurais and Astore: Kashmiri.

In Gilgit: Shina.

In Hunza–Nagar: Burushaski.

In Guhjal and again at Dabdar in the Chinese Pamirs: the Wakhi dialect of Persian.

In the Sarikol Valley: Tajik.

In Chinese territory generally: Eastern Turki.

After leaving Gilgit, the last British post in this direction, the road dives into the wild Hunza–Nagar country and passes close under one of the most beautiful mountains in the world, Rakaposhi, 25,000 feet high. The crofts and steeply-terraced plots of the inhabitants cling precariously to the precipitous sides of the Hunza River Valley and its narrow side-glens; even in the main valley the cultivation is only in three or four places more than a mile or two wide. To the inhabitants of such a country the world consists of "nullahs" or steep-sided valleys in which men live and the ice-bound desert mountains between them. This is amusingly illustrated by a conversation which took place between a British officer of my acquaintance, who was shortly going home on leave, and a petty chief of the Gilgit district.

"You are going to your father's home in England, aren't you, Sahib?" asked the chief.

"Yes; I am going to the capital of England, London."

"London is a very big place, isn't it?"

'Yes, it is very big."

"I suppose it is in a nice *wide* nullah, Sahib?"

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Nothing could have been more friendly or hospitable than the way in which the Mirs of Hunza and Nagar entertained us at their little capitals, and we thoroughly enjoyed our visits of two or three days at Baltit on both our journeys and our stay at Nagar (to which we made a special trip) on the way down last autumn. Since the brilliant little Hunza campaign of 1891 (described so well in Knight's "Where Three Empires Meet"), the magnanimity with which they have been treated have made the people of Hunza and Nagar and their present rulers genuine friends and adherents of the "Sarkar." They serve with the utmost keenness in the Kashmir State troops, two companies of which are recruited from Hunza and two from Nagar for purely local service. Only among the older men, perhaps, does a lingering regret for the good old days survive. My wife's Hunza orderly took his mistress to see his fine tall old white-moustachio'd father, who showed her with loving pride the sword and bow with which he used to fight the men of Nagar and raid the caravans on the Leh road.

"We were poorer in those days," the old man said. "We used to take the Nagaris prisoner, and sell them as slaves to the Kirghiz for the Yarkand market. We used to loot silks and pearls and coral from the Leh caravans." Then, heaving a sigh, "But now, *by the favour of the British Government*, we do not need to fight or raid any more."

The ruling families of Hunza and Nagar claim descent from Alexander. I am not qualified to speak on ethnological matters, but one cannot help noticing how European in appearance and point of view many of the better-class inhabitants are. The sandy-haired eldest son of the Mir of Hunza, for example, would be taken for a Scotsman anywhere if he dressed for the part. Their favourite sports at the present day—namely, a primitive form of polo, archery on horseback, and other equestrian exercises—would seem to indicate a connexion with Persia in the remote past.

On the twelve marches between Baltit and the Mintaka Pass the traveller passes through as difficult a tract of country as can be found anywhere in the world. In the gorges by which the Hunza River cuts its way through the mighty Karakoram the road, seldom more than 2 feet wide and often much less, is carried from ledge to ledge of the almost perpendicular cliffs on stakes let into the rock; glaciers, of which the greatest is the seventy-mile-long Batura, have to be crossed, and falling stones dodged on the numerous "stone-shoots" where no path can be kept up and the traveller must pick his way apprehensively across the unstable mountain-face. Misgar, where the telegraph line ends, is the northernmost and surely the loneliest station of all the far-flung telegraph system of the Indian Empire. Here, on a bleak terrace six marches beyond even Baltit and 10,000 feet above the sea, live two Indian clerks in a solid, matter-of-fact little Public Works Department cottage. Their whole duty is to receive and despatch

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messages for the British Consulate-General at Kashgar, which are sent by the weekly courier service across the Pamirs; and right staunchly and loyally do they carry it out. Two marches further the steep and rough, but not dangerous, Mintaka Pass (15,430 feet) is crossed, and the traveller finds himself on the "Roof of the World."

What strikes one about the Pamirs when one sees them for the first time is the *cleanness* of them—the soil, the water, the atmosphere, the contours of the mountains, the wide meadows all seem cleaner and purer than the crumbling soil, the muddy rivers, the mists and the black, jagged, sinister mountains of the terrible country to the south of the Mintaka.

From Lopgaz, the first Kirghiz camping-ground on the Chinese side of the Mintaka, the track traverses the Taghdumbash Pamir for four marches to Tashkurghan, the headquarters of the Chinese district of Pu-li or Sarikol. Here there is an imposing Russian fort, which has been empty since the dispersal of the last Tsarist Cossacks in this region and the occupation of the Russian Pamirs by the Red Army in 1921. In 1922 the Chinese kept about 140 infantry in Sarikol, and a platoon of these, with the usual array of banners, was paraded in our honour. Ethnically, Sarikol is interesting as being populated in about equal proportions by two contrasting races—the Tajiks, who are a branch of the Shighnis and of unmistakably Nordic stock, and the Kirghiz, who are, of course, Mongoloid. Most of the Tajiks are "Maulais" or followers of H.H. the Agha Khan; I had come across a community of this sect in the wild country south-east of Yezd in far-away Central Persia, and it was interesting to find more of them in another remote corner of Asia. Yet another colony of Maulais is to be found in the plains-district of Posgam, south of Yarkand.

From Tashkurghan two alternative routes, each about ten marches, can be taken to Kashgar. The one usually followed in summer is the eastern one, which, after crossing three high passes and traversing four different valleys sparsely inhabited by Kirghiz, debouches upon the great plain of Central Asia near the flourishing town of Yangi Hissar.

The winter route goes north from Tashkurghan over the easy Ulugh-rabat Pass to the Rangkul Pamir and down through the tremendous "peripheral gorge" of the Gez River, which cuts through the Kashgar Range between the great ice-clad massifs of Kungur (25,146 feet) and Chakragil (22,080 feet). It debouches on to the Kashgarian Plain at Tashmalik, whence the city is reached in two marches. In the summer the Gez River is unfordable below Gez Karaul, about halfway down the gorge, where the last bridge is found; it is therefore necessary to keep on one side or the other of the valley. It has hitherto been supposed that the only possible route lies over no less than nine passes on the right bank of the river, of which passes at least three are very trying. In the course of our subsequent explora-

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tions in this neighbourhood, however, we discovered two much easier tracks between Gez Karaul and Kashgar—an eastern one with only three passes to cross instead of nine, and a western one with but a single pass—albeit, a high and steep one. The people of the mountains keep the existence of these tracks dark from fear of the Chinese making the Gez route the official one to Tashkurghan in summer as well as in winter. For reasons which will be appreciated by anyone who has travelled much in Chinese Turkistan, the local people are very anxious to avoid this possibility.

3. Peshawar–Chitral–Tashkurghan Route

This route leaves railhead at Dargai, fifty miles north-west of Peshawar, and goes through Malakand and Dir over the Lahurai Pass into Chitral. Passing up the Chitral Valley, it crosses the Hindu Kush by the Baroghil Pass (12,460 feet). The traveller now finds himself in the long narrow strip of Afghan Wakhan which separates Indian from Russian territory; four more marches brings him to the Wakhjir Pass (16,150 feet), where the territories of Russia, China, Afghanistan, and India very nearly meet. The Gilgit road is joined at Mintaka Aghzi on the east side of the pass, which is easy, except from December to April when it is deep in snow. The drawbacks to this route are, firstly, that in its early stages it runs the gauntlet of the unruly tribes of Dir, Swat and Bajaur; in other words, this section of it belongs to the North-West Frontier, which is a very different matter from the peaceful regions with which we have hitherto been dealing. In the second place, special permission has to be obtained from the Kabul Government for the crossing of Afghan Wakhan. Very few Englishmen have ever travelled to or from Kashgar by this road; of recent years, the only one I know of is Brigadier-General R. Pigot, who went down from Kashgar to India by it in April-May, 1924. From his report I gather that, leaving aside political difficulties, this route is the easiest and cheapest of the three. Since the war it has been used a good deal by Chitrali and Badakhshi traders who smuggle Yarkand *charas* (hemp drug) into India and Afghanistan through Chitral, and Afghan opium into Kashgaria on their return journey.

Other interesting travellers by this route are the pilgrims from Chinese Turkistan to Mecca. Last year several hundreds of these, in spite of avalanches and deep snow on the passes, crossed the Pamirs in April and found their way through Chitral to Peshawar and Bombay and thence by the pilgrim ships to Jeddah. We met near Bulunkul last October a party of these Hajis returning across the Pamirs. They told us that forty or fifty of them had been held up in April by deep snow on the Wakhjir Pass, but had got over by sending droves of yaks ahead to make a track; even so, several of them had been lost in the snow, and the party had also suffered heavily at the hands of

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Kirghiz raiders from the Russian Pamirs. One receives a remarkable impression of the driving force of the Islamic faith from a study of the pilgrim routes to Mecca from the remotest corners of Central Asia; an old lady of Keriya district, for example, whom I photographed in 1922, was then about to start for Mecca by herself with her granddaughter via Khotan, the Karakoram Pass, and Leh. She fully expected to die on the way, but this did not deter her, as a pilgrim acquires as much merit if he dies on the road as he would if he reached Mecca itself. Before the Russian Revolution Kashgari pilgrims used to go by the Russian route to Constantinople and thence by sea; when that route was closed they at first fought shy of the unknown difficulties and dangers of the Indian road. But in 1920 and 1921 returning pioneers brought word of the assistance and protection given everywhere by the Indian authorities of the official "Protector of Pilgrims" at Bombay, and the special pilgrim ships chartered by Government every summer; and now the pilgrim traffic is quite diverted and many hundreds of the faithful go down every year both by the Leh and the Chitral roads.

4, 5. Roads from Kabul.

I have no information about these roads, nor do I know of any European who has been through by either of them. They are used by the few Badakhshi traders who have connections with Kashgar instead of with Yarkand, which is the market for the Afghan trade. The imports from Afghanistan include furs (particularly fox and marten), pistachio nuts and almonds, gum, dried mulberries and lapis lazuli; also Badakhshan opium, which is smuggled into Chinese territory in large quantities by little-known mountain paths. These are paid for partly in gold or silver and partly by export of the extraordinarily cheap and strong cotton fabrics woven in the Kashgar district. Chinese satin from Tientsin also reaches Afghanistan, and probably Persia, by the Yarkand route.

6. From Bokhara by the Talldik Pass and Irkeshtam.

This, the ancient "silk road" from China to Persia, is actually the easiest through route for caravans between Transcaspia and China. But it was entirely superseded long before the war by the construction of the Ferghana branch of the Trans-Caspian Railway. Since the Russian Revolution the route has been put still further out of commission by the disturbed state of Eastern Bokhara, and now there is practically no traffic on it at all.

7. From Andijan: (*a*) via Osh and the Terek Pass; (*b*) via Uzgend and the Suok Pass.

Up to 1917 the route via Andijan and the Terek Pass was by far the easiest of the roads from Europe to Kashgar in modern times.

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Andijan could be reached by rail and steamer either via Moscow-Orenburg-Tashkend or via Constantinople-Batoum-Baku-Krasnovodsk-Samarkand. From Andijan, a journey of twelve days, by diligence to Osh,* and then by pony caravan across the Terek Pass (12,700 feet), brought the traveller to Kashgar from London in twenty-two to twenty-four days, including ordinary halts. The journey is vividly described by Miss Sykes in "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia."

As stated above in connection with the Indian trade via Leh and Yarkand, the considerable Russian export trade in chintzes and other European goods which followed this route up to the revolution of 1917 is no more. Nevertheless, a certain amount of traffic goes on, more or less *sub rosa;* the Uzgend-Suok Pass route is used by preference to that over the Terek Pass, partly because it is easier and partly because the frontier Kirghiz are peaceable and even helpful (for a consideration), whereas the other road is infested by brigands. The chief importations from Ferghana are sugar, Baku oil, pig-iron, and Bokharan dyed silks; from Kashgar raw wool and cotton, local cotton fabrics, sheep and horses, as well as tea, muslin and dyes from India, are smuggled across the frontier.

8. From Railhead at Pishpek in Semirechia via Narin and the Turgat (Turug Art) Pass.

During the war a branch railway called the Vernoi Extension of the Tashkend-Orenburg Railway was begun by the Russian Government. It took off from the main line near Chimkend, and had been completed as far as Pishpek at the time of the revolution. The line was a strategic one, being obviously aimed at a possible future reoccupation of the Ili Valley, which the Imperial Government had overrun at the time of the Yakub Beg revolt, but had been obliged to return to the Chinese in 1881. Construction has recently been carried as far as Tokmak, and from here an easy track, rendered fit for wheeled transport not long before the war by the Russian Government, leads to Kashgar via Fort Narin in about seventeen marches. The Russians, further, altruistically made a fine bridge over the Tümen River just outside the northern (Yar Bagh) gate of Kashgar; this bridge would have been convenient for any Russian force which happened to approach Kashgar from the Narin direction. After the revolution of 1917 and the consequent disappearance of Russian influence in Kashgaria, the Chinese carelessly omitted to keep up either the road or the bridge, and in due course the latter was washed away by a flood, while the former is no longer passable by wheeled transport. Otherwise, this would be by far the easiest of all the roads to Kashgar. The Chinese can build

* The Turkistan Soviet have, I believe, recently extended this branch of the railway to Osh, and have started a motor service between Osh and Gulcha.

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quite good wooden bridges when they like, as, for example, that over the Kizil Su, six miles below Old Kashgar.

Even before the war the trade which went by this route was insignificant and mainly local. Its palmy days were during the latter half of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth century, when the Chinese Empire reached its widest extension in this direction, and its armies ranged over the length and breadth of Semirechia, collecting tribute annually from the Kirghiz Khans of the Middle and Lesser Hordes and from the Buriat section of the Kara-Kirghiz. Each year one detachment marched from Kashgar, two from Kulja (Ili), and one from Chuguchak (Tarbagatai), on what is now the frontier of Semipalatinsk. The Kashgar force used to meet one of the Kulja detachments in the Narin Valley, while the other Kulja detachment marched north, and effected a junction with the Chuguchak force in the Ayaguz Valley near Sergiopol. As in other cases, trade followed the flag, and the Chinese merchants who accompanied the troops reaped a rich harvest, bartering Chinese silks and tea and Kashgarian cotton fabrics for the cattle of the Kirghiz.

9. From Kulja: (*a*) via Karakol (Przhevalsk) and the Bedal Pass; (*b*) via the Muzart Pass and Aksu.

A considerable amount of trade was carried on before the Russian débâcle by these routes, (*a*) being used in the earlier part of the season, when the Muzart Pass was not open, and (*b*) from August to October. The Muzart is only 11,480 feet high, but is very long and has a difficult glacier near the top; it is also notorious for bad weather, due to the proximity of the loftiest massifs of the Central Tien Shan, culminating in the magnificent peak of Khan Tengri (23,600 feet). At present a certain amount of local trade goes by the Muzart Pass between the northern and southern halves of Chinese Turkistan, while by the Bedal Pass is carried on (or was when I was near there in autumn, 1923) a flourishing illicit trade in Semirechian opium, which is exchanged for Kashgarian cotton cloth and leather goods. The entrepôts are Karakol (Przhevalsk) on the Russian side and Uch Turfan on the Chinese. The summer route for pack transport between Aksu and Kashgar is by Uch Turfan and Karagor through the foothills of the South-Western Tien Shan; the main road, via Maralbashi, is exceedingly trying for man and beast owing to the gad-flies and mosquitoes which infest the Maralbashi jungles in the summer months.

My wife and I travelled by the summer route to Uch Turfan in September, 1923, and spent ten days there exploring the neighbourhood, including the main range of the Tien Shan, which we penetrated by the steep and difficult Yangi Art Jilgha.* At one time we were

* Merzbacher's "Janart" Jilgha.

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within two miles of the Semirechian frontier, which here follows the watershed at an average height of about 16,000 feet. We then crossed the lower slopes of the Central Tien Shan for another 120 miles, passing the foot of the Muzart Pass at Kizil Bulak, and after a short stay at the town of Bai returned to Kashgar by Aksu and Maralbashi. Before reaching the latter place we spent a week making a detour southward to the Tarim River jungles and the edge of the terrible Takla Makan desert.

Very few Europeans have crossed the Bedal Pass since Sonarguloff did so in 1877, but the Muzart Pass route is comparatively well known owing to the fact that the beautiful Tekkes and Yulduz Valleys to the north of the Central Tien Shan are the haunt of Asiatic wapiti, ibex and ovis Karelini, and have therefore been visited by several British sportsmen in search of record heads. General Pigot, whom I mentioned above in connection with the Chitral route, is the only Englishman who has shot north of the Tien Shan since the beginning of the war; he had a most successful trip in the autumn of 1923, crossing the Muzart Pass, spending two months or more in the Tekkes and Yulduz Valleys and returning by an eastern route across the Tien Shan which comes out at Kurla. He had no trouble from any of the Kalmuck or Kazak tribes, and, as I did in the south, found himself welcomed and assisted by the Chinese authorities everywhere.

10. From Railhead at Kwei-hwa across Mongolia.

Now that Mongolia is no longer under Chinese control, this route is very seldom used, but it was formerly the regular camel-caravan route to the New Dominion from China Proper. Captain (now Colonel Sir Francis) Younghusband was in 1887 the first European to cross the 1,255 miles of Gobi desert to Hami. The northern track by Urga and Uliassutai, though longer, was more popular owing to the good camel-grazing afforded by the grass lands of Northern Mongolia. The only first-hand information I have of the Mongolian road is from an old Pekingese carrier, who arrived at Kashgar in June last year with a consignment of petrol and oil for the Marconi station. This man had left Peking with his camels the previous September via Kalgan on the Mongolian border, intending to travel by the northern route, but had been stopped by the Mongolians three marches short of Urga and obliged to strike south-westward across the Gobi to Hami, the first town of Sinkiang, a thousand miles east of Kashgar. On one occasion, he said, he had marched for fifty days without seeing a single human being. But the old Chinaman turned up smiling at Kashgar in the most matter-of-fact way, and talked about his nine months' journey as if it had been a week-end trip!

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11. From Railhead at Hsi-ngan via Lanchow, Su-chow, and Hami.

This is the cart road used nowadays almost exclusively by officials and traders between Sinkiang and China Proper. Leaving railhead at the flourishing capital of Shensi, this route traverses Shensi and Kansu provinces, following more or less the line of the Great Wall, the western end of which is reached at Sa-chow. This town is also known as Tun-hwang (Turki version, Dukhan), and is for ever famous as the place where Sir A. Stein discovered the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas. An-hsi, the last town of Kansu, is six marches further on, and from this place a belt of desert 200 miles wide has to be crossed before Hami in Chinese Turkistan, about 2,150 miles from Peking, is reached. Kashgar is thus over 3,000 miles from Peking by the cart road; most of this consists merely of a couple of ruts, and has to be bumped and jolted in springless carts. The journey usually takes five months, and what with the poverty and dirtiness of the rest-houses and the flatness and monotony of most of the road it is certainly one to be avoided. This is the route followed now by the couriers of the Chinese postal service; letters reach Kashgar from Peking in two months, parcels (which go by cart) in six months. The service between Hsi-ngan and Keriya via Maralbashi and Yarkand is by far the longest courier-borne postal service in the world, and it functions with most admirable regularity, though consignments of parcels are occasionally looted by soldier-bandits in Shensi or Kansu.

An interesting but now very little used road to Kashgar from this direction is that which takes off from the road last described at Sa-chow (Tun-kwang) and skirts the southern edge of the dreaded Lop and Takla Makan deserts for 1,250 miles via Cherchen, Keriya, Khotan and Yarkand to Kashgar. For more than 400 miles between Sa-chow and Charkhlik trackless and almost waterless desert has to be crossed, the salt-encrusted surface of which is most trying to the feet of camels. This forbidding road is famous as having been used by two of the greatest travellers of the Middle Ages, Hiuen Tsiang and Marco Polo; the former, whose memory as "The Explorer of the West" is still green in China, returned from India to China by this route about A.D. 640, while the latter passed this way in 1274. I have only been as far as Keriya, having toured in the Khotan and Keriya districts in November, 1922, and again in April, 1924. On the latter occasion my wife and I marched for three days south of Keriya to an interesting village called Polu, 8,500 feet up among the Altyn Tagh, or "Mountains of Gold," and returned to Khotan along the foot of the Kuen Lun, passing many beautiful villages buried in peach, pear, and apple blossom and shaded by plane-trees of enormous size and great antiquity. The gold-fields of the Altyn Tagh appear to extend along

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the whole length of that range; we ourselves saw four small boys getting a quite respectable percentage of gold dust out of a shallow placer working at Polu, and I heard a great deal at Keryia about the mines at Surghak, fifty miles to the east, which employ on an average 2,000 men ; while only during the last two or three years two new mines, reputed enormously rich, have been found in the Charkhlik and Tun-hwang districts respectively. The Chinese name for Keriya is Yü-tien, which means "The Kingdom of Jade." Until quite recent years the valleys of the Yurungkash and Karakash rivers in Khotan and Keriya districts respectively were the only places in the world where jade was known to exist, and as far back as the Han Dynasty presents of this stone used to be sent yearly to the Emperors at Peking; lately, first-quality green jade has been discovered in Upper Burma and the Chinese province of Yunnan, and Khotan's monopoly no longer exists. The past and present of the ancient and famous Kingdom of Khotan are well known to you from the works of Sir A. Stein, and I will content myself with showing you a few photographs and remarking that the air, water, and scenery of the Khotan district are unsurpassed even in Chinese Turkistan, and that my wife and I were very happy in the delightful garden of a well-known British subject, Khan Sahib Badruddin Khan, on each of our four visits.

Seven marches west of Khotan the town of Goma is reached, where paper is made from the bark of the mulberry-tree exactly as it was in China 2,000 years ago. At Kargalik, two marches south-east of Yarkand, live large numbers of colonists from Chitral and Wakhan, a stout-hearted race who claim British nationality with remarkable obstinacy, though their right to it is somewhat questionable. The Leh route between India and Chinese Turkistan is joined at this point, and a week later the weary traveller reaches Kashgar, the goal of his vast journey from end to end of Cathay.

Sir Aurel Stein: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a great privilege for me to have listened to my friend Mr. Skrine's lecture and admired his slides. But when he asks me to say something about the ancient roads leading to Kashgar through Chinese Turkistan I feel a little embarrassed. I don't like to dive back here into the dead and buried past, though it has been my profession as it were to follow it up a good long way through Chinese Turkistan, Mongolia, and Western China. But after seeing such beautiful slides of ground where in the course of the last twenty-five years I have spent the pleasantest part of my time in Chinese Turkistan, I may be allowed to say a few words with regard to the present.

As regards the present, nothing stands out more clearly in my mind than the wonderful work that has been done there for British influence and British trade ever since my old friend Sir George Macartney first

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established himself in Kashgar. I am afraid, nature has not favoured the extension of British trade to the Tarim basin. The great mountain ranges, of which we have seen such magnificent slides, bar it both on the north and south. On the other hand nature has made it a great passage land between China and Western Asia and the Mediterranean regions. Yet geography may have at times to give way to history, and we have a very interesting instance of this when we see how Indian trade is now extending to the north, in spite of the great natural barriers which the Hindukush, the Karakoram, and the Kunlun have raised against it.

The natural route for trade has always lain there from the east to the west—*i.e.*, from China to Russian Turkistan and vice versa. It was for this reason that the Chinese were from an early period induced to move into this great basin which, I am afraid, does not look everywhere as enticing and pleasant as it does around Kashgar. It is one huge desert with a fringe of little oases. But those oases have made it possible for trade to move from the Far East to Western Asia. They have also created a great opening for Russian trade from the West. When Sir George Macartney first began to secure chances for the extension of Indian trade, Russian influence and Russian trade were paramount in the Tarim basin. That is a consequence of geography: the roads which lead up from Ferghana and the Oxus basin—of which Mr. Skrine has mentioned one or two—are naturally far easier than any which lead up straight from India.

Well, history, for the time being, has changed these aspects of the ground. Since the collapse of Russia, Chinese Turkistan is bound to take British goods, and thus we see caravans bringing English muslin into the Tarim basin, and even helping to get it smuggled across into Russian Turkistan. This shows how human action for a time can upset geography. What trade from the Indian side was possible before this great change was due largely to the influence which a succession of British representatives had created there for British prestige.

Wherever I moved during my three journeys in Turkistan and Kansu, the name of Sir George Macartney was a household word among Chinese officials. It is not for me to speak of all that he achieved during close on thirty years, most of them full of difficult struggles. The good work which he did is, I believe, an asset which will last as long as there is Chinese authority in that region; and we must all wish that Chinese authority may be maintained there in spite of the present disturbed conditions in China proper. Its maintenance is a proof of that inherited sense of statesmanship which we cannot deny to Chinese administration as a whole, in spite of all that on the surface seems to indicate a fissiparous disposition in the former Empire.

Chinese Turkistan at present, I understand from Mr. Skrine, is in the firm hands of a Governor-General who knows how to make bricks

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without straw. The military force at the back of the Chinese administration there is negligible; yet internal peace is assured, and the people in Chinese Turkistan probably know very little indeed about all the trouble which China itself is experiencing. I think that it is the sound foundation laid by Sir George Macartney during his long period of activity in Kashgar which makes it possible for British interests to be adequately safeguarded notwithstanding a frequent succession of new Consuls-General. But I believe that only the presence of British representatives of that experience which Mr. Skrine possesses—with that ability and skill which the Indian "Political" has acquired through experience which goes back in India itself for a century and a half—can make sure of that position being maintained.

I am exceedingly glad to have seen how wide an area Mr. Skrine has managed to cover by personal visits during his two years and a quarter spent in Chinese Turkistan. I believe, the effect will be lasting; because people there, as everywhere in the East, believe more in the man present before them than in what takes there the place of the daily newspaper—I mean bazaar gossip. I think that so long as India can send up beyond its mountain ramparts Politicals such as Mr. Skrine, British prestige and openings for Indian trade, and British trade, will be assured; and I can only wish that the great Service which has provided men of Mr. Skrine's type may be manned hereafter too by officers of his capacity and his energy. (Applause.)

Sir GEORGE MACARTNEY: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like to say how much I have enjoyed Mr. Skrine's lecture, and this all the more because he has been describing a country to which I was introduced as long ago as 1892 by my old friend and chief, Sir Francis Younghusband, and which had been my home for the greater part of my life. It can well be imagined, therefore, what my feelings were when I saw the slides which Mr. Skrine has just shown us, representing the Taghdumbash Pamir, Kirghiz encampments, the Kashgar bazaar, Chu Taoyin of Kashgar, a dear old friend of mine, and, above all, the British Consulate, where I had lived so long. Really when I saw all those pictures I felt quite homesick. But I confess to a feeling of quite another order when Mr. Skrine took us along the Hunza–Gilgit road. Somehow, possibly through stupidity on my part, I had never been able to travel on that road without some fearful mishap or hairbreadth escape. I remember when I went down the Hunza Valley—in 1893 I believe. Anyhow, it was soon after Colonel A. Durand, then Political Agent at Gilgit, took Hunza. The old Mir, Safdar Ali Khan, had bolted into Chinese Turkistan, and we were going to set up his brother, Mohamad Nazim, the present Mir, whose photograph you have just seen, in Safdar Ali's place. Some Chinese officials from Kashgar were to be present at the installation of Mohamad Nazim, and I was ordered to go with them to Gilgit. It

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was in the height of summer, and the large glacier at the head of the Hunza Valley was melting fast, resulting in a large volume of water in the Hunza River. In 1892 I fear the road was anything but as good as it is now, or when Mr. Shrine passed through. When the water is high, it is quite impossible to keep along the river edge, and the only way you can go down the Hunza Valley is by climbing the cliffs and walking along them much as a fly on a wall. I had a Hunza boy as guide, and he took me up to some awful cliffs. Eventually we came to a place rising perpendicularly from the water for several hundred feet. The question was how to crawl round it. I got halfway on a sort of shelf; then my head began to turn, and I could neither go back nor go forward. If I had been left a moment longer in that predicament I should certainly have toppled over and rolled into the river. The Hunza boy who was with me saw what was going to happen, so he came close to me and offered to "pickaback me" over the cliff side. I put my arms round his neck, closed my eyes, and gently lifted my feet off the ground, and I was carried round this place in safety. (Laughter.) This happened a long time ago. Strange to say, I came across this boy again quite recently. The war had just finished, and as I was on my way home from Kashgar I had to go down the Hunza Valley once more. But this time, thank goodness, my journey was not made in the height of summer. I was travelling in the late autumn. There was then very little water in the Hunza River. When the water is low there is no need to climb along the cliffs; you can keep to the river-bank. This time, instead of being followed by one solitary guide, I had a cavalcade of some thirty Hunza men. As we splashed through the water we came upon the identical cliff where I got into trouble twenty-seven years previously, and, pointing up to this cliff, I told the men around me that I remembered the place. Thereupon a man suddenly dashed forward through the water to me and said, "And, sahib, I carried you over." (Laughter.) It really was the same man. I recognized his features; but they were no longer the features of the youth I had known, but of a middle-aged man, whose beard and ringlets were already turning grey.

Now, what about the political condition of Kashgar? I have been away from that country for so many years that I am no longer *au fait* of what is going on there. But I strongly suspect that, what with the chaotic condition of China on the one hand, and the Bolshevism of Russia on the other, Mr. Skrine did not find the post I left him quite a bed of roses. Not that Kashgar should necessarily have been disturbed. Indeed, from what Mr. Skrine has told us, I should think that it was fairly quiet; and as Yang Teh-tsun, the capable and masterful Governor I knew, is still at the head of the provincial administration, I am sure he has kept the Bolshevists at arm's length, and at the same time has been able to keep in due subjection any over-ambitious subordinate

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among the Chinese. But for all that—and this is the point I wish to make—Kashgar now stands as a separate entity; separate from Peking, and no longer receiving orders from the Peking Government, if such an institution can still be said to exist. Now this separation gives rise to another—the separation from the Kashgar Consulate of the superintending protection of the British Legation in Peking. In my days, when I had any difficulty in getting a case settled, I always felt that I had the strong arm of the Legation behind me; all I had to do was to make a complaint by wire to Sir John Jordan in Peking, and such was the influence of Sir John with the Chinese Foreign Office that matters were very soon put right. But Mr. Skrine has, I fear, been in a less favourable position; indeed, I cannot imagine, whilst he was in Kashgar, how and through what channel the Legation could have made its influence felt in the outlying parts of China without the leverage of the Peking Government. None the less, Mr. Skrine has managed to carry on very well. I see that on the card for this meeting he is described as the "late" Consul-General, and I gather from this that he is not going back to Kashgar. That is a great pity; and I am sure British subjects in Kashgar will miss his able supervision. But, as Sir Aurel Stein has said, so long as the Indian Political Department send up to Kashgar men of Mr. Skrine's calibre—men of tact and of robust common sense, men able to carry on with the minimum of assistance from Government—everything will be well with us, and this in spite of the troublous time through which China is passing. (Applause.)

Sir JOHN JORDAN: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I really am afraid I can make no useful contribution to the discussion, but I cannot refuse to comply with the request that you have made to me. I would like to join in the tribute that has been paid to the Lecturer for the very interesting lecture he has given us, also for that beautiful panorama of pictures and photographs. My knowledge of Chinese Turkistan is entirely derived from my position in Peking 3,000 miles away. I have never been nearer Chinese Turkistan than Peking, but I have followed the course of things ever since the seventies of the last century. At that time, as the Lecturer has already pointed out, China had practically lost her hold over Chinese Turkistan, and Yakub Beg had made himself independent Governor of the country. Tro Tsung-t'ang, an old Chinese general, was sent to recover this part of the Chinese Empire in the early seventies of last century. He was a Hunan man, a province which produced the best troops in China at that time. He marched across the country, much of which was a barren desert. He settled down for years, cultivated the ground and grew his crops to provide his own commissariat, and in the end recovered the country for Chinese control. Later on the Russians seized Kuldja, but that also was restored to China. I mention these

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things to show the tenacity with which China holds its outlying parts. It may lose them for a time, but yet recover them later on. Even Hunza used to be a tributary of China in my time, and sent every year one ounce of gold to the Court in Peking. Tibet is supposed during recent troubles to have broken off from China; but now the second spiritual leader in the country is at Peking being received with open arms. It is wonderful what influence China has over outlying dependencies. Chinese Turkistan has been ruled during the last thirteen or fourteen years by Yang Tseng-hsin, a Yunnanese, a man of very great force of character; but it is very hard to explain how he has managed to keep that province under any government during all those years. You see he has been cut off almost entirely from the central Government, or whatever Government exists at Peking. He has had to depend entirely on himself, and in spite of great trouble in China and across the frontier in Russia, has kept his province in good order. It is an extraordinary thing how he has managed to finance it —I should like the Lecturer to tell us how the finances of the provinces were managed during those years. In former years other provinces paid a very large subsidy to Turkistan, which was not self-supporting at all. I speak subject to correction, but I think probably one cause is that the Chinese, after suppressing Yakub Beg's rebellion, acted with great leniency. That is a great asset. Like ourselves in India, the Manchus had to govern a subject race. They introduced dualism among Manchus and Chinese, and in Turkistan they ruled through native chieftains. That, I think, has helped to sustain Chinese control over the province. I would like to pay tribute to Sir George Macartney; he has given me credit for what I did, but I am afraid he has exaggerated what I could do at Peking. The situation has not been brought out quite clearly. It was an interesting one. It was this: that Russia from 1689 up till last year had these overland treaties with China, which gave a privileged position to Russian subjects. I think I am right in saying that they had free trade over all this immense area of Turkistan and Mongolia. We had no overland treaty with China except with Burma, which did not count at all. And when Sir George went there I do not think we had even that. We claimed the same rights the Russians had under the most-favoured-nation clause; but the Chinese, who were well posted on international law, said: "No, you may have favoured-nation rights for maritime ports, but not for overland trade. We have never granted it and shall not do so." That was the question that had to be fought, and when Sir George Macartney went there he had practically no standing at all. He was sent to do what he could by the Indian Government. For some considerable time there was great difficulty to get him recognized at all. At last, through his own wonderful tact and perseverance, he was recognized as Consul-General. It was a great feat accomplished

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very largely by himself. (Applause.) I admit we gave him what support we could in Peking, but he did his part—a far larger part than we did. That was the position then, and I am glad Sir George touched upon another point, an extremely interesting one to me; perhaps the Lecturer can explain it. Our position in Kashgar, as I understand, rested upon Russian treaties. We have no treaty of our own, we are there in virtue of favoured-nation treatment. But the Russians now have cancelled all their treaties: all treaties with the late Tsar's Government are absolutely cancelled, so that we seem to be in a very difficult position. I was extremely glad to hear from the Lecturer that trade was going on as usual. I think that a great thing, but the situation in Turkistan is one that will require very great attention. I hope the British Government is giving attention to it. There is a large trade there, and it appears to me to rest on a very slender basis. That is all that I can say really on the subject. I would again express my thanks to the Lecturer for his very interesting address. (Applause.)

After the second lecture Mr. FRANCIS SKRINE said: I went the whole length of the Russo-Central Asian Railway at the end of last century, and travelled by a route which the Lecturer has not mentioned—via Vienna, Cracow, and an awful place where our passports were examined on the Polish frontier—Podwoloczyska. I remember its name because it suggested a bottle of whisky. It was a very delightful journey; I described it in a book I wrote with Professor Sir E. Denison-Ross called the "Heart of Asia." One written by my son, the Lecturer, will appear next autumn, describing what has gone on on the east of the Pamirs. He mentioned some curious facts: one was the stratification that you find on the banks of Asiatic rivers. I once had an awful adventure while travelling by boat on the Ganges. It was in flood, with a rapid current. We came to a part of the bank which was high; on one side it is always high, 30 or 40 feet, and low on the opposite bank. I was standing in the bow of the boat with a long bamboo, and noticed an extensive stratification above my head, containing pottery and bones. Out of the pottery there appeared the belly of an antique Greek vase. I struck it violently with my bamboo, and a shower of gold came out. But not one of the coins did we recover; all went to the bottom! The boatmen dropped their oars and wept bitterly. It was cruel; we should have made our fortunes; there must have been thousands of gold coins lost. My son mentioned the bargaining in the bazaars. When Indian horse-dealers and others bargain they never say a word. They do not want it known at what price they are selling and buying. They squat opposite each other, with locked hands, and each looks into the other man's eyes. The different fingers represent different sums. The hands being clasped, one man presses a finger; the other says "yes" or "no" by a corre-

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sponding pressure. It is very curious and a very good idea. As to that goldfield I must say a few words, because I made some discoveries from the Tibetan side. That goldfield in the south of Kashgar, or Chinese Turkistan, beggars any previous deposits of gold that have ever been discovered; it is far richer than Klondyke, Australia, or California. When this fact becomes known there will be a rush absolutely unprecedented. Neither the Chinese nor the Tibetans will be able to keep European gold-seekers away. Think of the awful hardships endured on the road to Klondyke, where many thousands were frozen to death! To cross the Central Asian passes will be child's play—like going up Constitution Hill—compared with Klondyke. When I was in Darjiling and meditating a trip to Lhasa I made some enquiries privately from the Lamas—people who came to Darjiling from Tibet—and they told me that in the north-west of Tibet and on the south side of the range which my son described the deposits of gold are incredible. Tibet is governed with a rod of iron by the Lamas, who employ slaves for three weeks during the summer to mine this gold, which is found 16,000 feet up, and is inaccessible all the rest of the year. These wretched creatures are driven up there, and hurry back with sacks of very rich quartz. They are warned off pilfering by stories that the diggings are haunted by demons. Demonology is very prevalent in Tibet; it creates a perfect reign of terror there. A Tibetan showed me a block about the size of my two fists which had come from this region, I brought a small piece home, and was told in Jermyn Street that it represented something like four or five pounds of gold per ton. Think what a future there is for explorers, or money-grubbers rather, in that part of the world! I have taken great interest and pride in my son's discourse; I think he well deserves of the Society by giving us two lectures in succession. (Applause.)

Major BLACKER: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of the photographic slides which the Lecturer has shown us, especially having regard to the very difficult circumstances in which they were taken. Our admiration is mixed with envy and other unchristian feelings at not being able to take that sort of photograph ourselves, and envy at the country and surroundings in which he has revelled for the last few years. I must apologize for introducing a military tone into my few comments on the routes which he has described—perhaps it is the influence of these warlike pictures all round—but I think the routes cannot fail to be of considerable interest to us in the present political situation, especially from the military point of view. It has at times been almost a shibboleth to regard the Muztagh and Karakoram ranges and the northern frontier generally as impenetrable from a strategical point of view. This idea will not altogether bear inspection, because there are several instances of these immense mountains having been traversed

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by bodies of troops of appreciable size. Although the many conquests of Hindustan have usually been made from rather more to the west, yet this actual mountain wall, which I think can safely be described as the biggest mountain wall in the world—because Everest, although a higher peak, belongs to a smaller massif—although this is the biggest mountain wall in the world, it has been crossed at least twice. There was notably the invasion of Sultan Said Daulat Beg's army in the fifteenth century, which history gives us as 14,000 strong. He came down from the north, and conquered and consolidated Kashmir. The other to which I should like to refer is a very little-known campaign, and a very brilliant one in its way, that was carried out under the command of Major-General Zorawar Sing, an officer of Gulab Sing's, the Raja of Jammu and first Maharajah of Kashmir. General Zorawar Sing took an army in 1841 from Leh over the Chung La Pass (19,000 feet), and defeated a Tibetan army, not down in the valley, but on the top of the pass, and invaded the Rudok province of Tibet over that route through the Chang-Chen-Mo. If these feats have been done in the past they can be done again. Napoleon told us that where two men can place their feet there you can move an army. No one would uphold the view that you can take a division of infantry complete with modern equipment, such as divisional laundries, Church Army huts, and chewing-gum reserve depots; but you have to visualize mobile partisan troops, acting in bodies of 3,000 or 4,000 by each route, and their action would be preceded by another form of partisan action, of which we are reading everyday in the papers. In the last few days it has taken place in Sofia. Of course, such military activity could not have primary decisive results, but in a country like Kashmir it might have results similar to what I remember in Madras in August, 1917. I remember being at the Madras Club then, and hearing everyone talking about the war. Listening more closely, they were all talking about one phase of the war—the bombardment of Madras by the *Emden* in November, 1914. They were still talking about it. (Laughter and applause.)

The LECTURER: One or two points were raised by speakers. Being a civilian, I am not qualified to speak from a military point of view, but I should like to emphasize the fact that the Chinese in Sinkiang are by no means so weak as we supposed. They have quite a good idea of delaying tactics and mountain warfare. With the help of local Kirghiz they could give a good deal of trouble to Russian or other forces which tried to force the mountains. Last June, in connection with the operations against the late Taotai, some 4,000 troops were sent westwards to Kashgar. Afterwards they were drafted to various frontier posts, but a fair proportion remained at the capital. When I arrived there, I imagined that the Chinese power was negligible, but I afterwards came to the conclusion that this was by no means the case. As

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regards the gold, the great trouble in this immense goldfield is the lack of water. Wherever there is water there is gold showing; it is universal. The washings are from riverine deposits coming from the mountains at low levels. If the Chinese gave a fair market price for the gold a great deal more would be brought out. It is found in alluvial deposits, which must come from a matrix far back in Northern Tibet, and it is quite possible the Lamas know where this is.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is very late; but before we separate may I ask you to join with me in a very hearty vote of thanks to our Lecturer. (Applause.) We are accustomed in this Society to having lectures of a very high quality and standard, but I do not think I have ever listened to two lectures from which we have gained more information about a very remote and little-known part of the world than the two lectures Mr. Skrine has given us. We are under a great debt of gratitude to him, and, if I may say so, we recognize in him the worthy son of a worthy father. (Applause.) One more remark. We cannot refuse our tribute of admiration to Mrs. Skrine, who accompanied him in these strenuous and terrifying travels, and assisted him in preparing the magnificent series of slides with which he has illustrated the lectures. We should have liked to hear her view of the situation; and I am sure we all recognize and admire the intrepid work she did in accompanying her husband in these remote and inhospitable regions. Finally, as regards the military aspect of the question, may I say that, apart from our line of defence in Chitral and Kashmir, we have an effective outer line of defence as long as we have officers like Mr. Skrine beyond our borders to show what the British flag stands for, and to show what the British officer stands for. (Applause.)

Before opening the meeting on April 24 the CHAIRMAN said: Since our last meeting we have lost two of our most distinguished members, our late Honorary President, Lord Curzon, and, later again, Lord Rawlinson, a very distinguished member of this Society. All realize, I think, how much the Society owes to the Marquis Curzon: there was no public man in our time more closely associated with Central Asia, who took a deeper interest in its problems, or had a wider acquaintance with them. He touched Central Asian affairs at many points—as traveller, a historian, an archæologist and antiquarian, and as a statesman; wherever he touched them he adorned them; and he used his great literary and forensic talents in bringing home the problems of Central Asia to the people of this country. Those of you who had the privilege of being present at our last annual dinner will remember what a wonderfully brilliant survey he then gave us of the Central Asia of thirty years ago and of the Central Asia of to-day. We

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all feel how much the Society owes to him. For the last seven years he has been our Honorary President, and it was a satisfaction to him that, during his tenure as Honorary President, the Society made such wonderful strides forward. I think we also realize how much his loss means to us. I should also like to say on your behalf how much we lament the loss of Lord Rawlinson, who was a very distinguished soldier, and died in harness as Commander-in-Chief in India. He was also for many years a member of this Society. It was largely to the researches of his distinguished father, Sir Henry Rawlinson, that this Society owes its existence. The family of Rawlinson has special claims upon us. I am quite sure you would not like this meeting to pass without some record of our sorrow for the loss of these two very distinguished members and our sympathy with their families.

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on Friday, May 8, 1925, at the Royal United Service Institution. In the absence of the Chairman (the Right Hon. Viscount Peel, G.B.E.), Colonel Sir Charles Yate presided. Air Vice-Marshal Sir Sefton Brancker, K.C.B., lectured on "Air Routes in Asia."

The CHAIRMAN: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to introduce to you to-day Air Vice-Marshal Sir Sefton Brancker, whose great journey eastwards you all know of and have read about in the papers. Sir Sefton Brancker is a well-known man in the Service. In the South African War he served both in the Horse and Field Artillery. He then went to India, and flew out there as Military Observer in the manœuvres in 1910 and 1911. So that you see he is an old Flying Officer. He was a Director of Aeronautics and served on the Air Council, and held various important posts throughout the war. In 1919 he retired with the object of helping civil aviation. He is now the Director of Civil Aviation, and that, I think you will all agree, is one of the most important things this country has before it at the present moment. His journey to India was one of the most memorable things that have ever happened, and I am sure we shall all look forward with great interest to what he has to tell us now on the various routes going to the East. I will ask him to give us his address. (Applause.)

AIR ROUTES IN ASIA

The LECTURER: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel a little guilty about this lecture, for this reason: When I was in Calcutta the other day I met one of your members, General Thomson, who is commanding the brigade there, and I rather lightly told him I would lecture to the Society when I came home. He also did me the honour of putting me up as a member of the Society, which I have since become. When I made that promise I intended to sit down, study Central Asia, and try to think out a few things that might happen there in the future so far as aviation is concerned. But I really have not had the time, and so I have altered my title to "Air Routes in Asia," instead of Central Asia. It covers a very much larger area, and deals with parts of the world I know something about. I think I had best describe to you first what we have accomplished in Europe in the way of air transport as briefly as I can; then try to explain how this experience can be applied to Asiatic conditions and routes to the East;

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and then indicate what we are trying to do and what may be done in the near future. In Europe we have had five years' experience of air transport with the cross-Channel services. We ourselves, the French, the Germans, and the Dutch, have really been leading the way in Europe, and in addition to that the Americans have done a certain amount of development over on the other side of the Atlantic. I look upon these cross-Channel services as more or less an experiment, from which we can obtain data and experience for the development of the very long Imperial air routes through Asia and the East. We are running from London to Paris, Basle, and Zurich; to Brussels and Cologne; and to Amsterdam and Berlin. We have also a small service to Guernsey. The French have gone very much further. They are running from Paris to London and Amsterdam, and in addition a through route by Strasbourg to Prague, Vienna, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Constantinople. Last year they actually ran on to Angora; they also have a branch service from Prague to Warsaw. Unfortunately for them, at the moment, that through line has been upset because the Germans have refused to allow them to fly across the South of Germany, so that the bit from Strasbourg to Prague has been cut out, and they are trying to work their way through Vienna and Switzerland. The Turks had also refused permission to run through Turkish territory, but I believe this has now been given. They have a very interesting and very useful route from Toulouse down the east coast of Spain to Casablanca, and that route is being extended this year, or will be next, to Dakar in French Senegal; it has a branch to Oran and Biskra. It is proposed to extend this line down the east coast of South America. Germany has one line which runs to London. They do not come here very often. They have various internal lines, and a service through Zurich, Nuremberg, Frankfort, Vienna, and Budapest has proved a very efficient line. They also run from Königsberg to Moscow; that is nominally a Russian line, but is under German control. They have a line from Königsberg to Finland, each section nominally belonging to the country it runs through, but the whole controlled by the Germans. They have also a finger in the pie in the case of the line running from Bremen to Copenhagen. All these French and German lines are subsidized by the Governments concerned; the French subsidy is much more liberal than ours, and encourages the companies to keep a large staff of pilots and a large fleet of aeroplanes. The German enterprises cover the biggest individual scheme. It is run by Mr. Junkers, a very capable engineer who manufactures aircraft, and who has created a very comprehensive system, of which the real object is to sell his own aircraft. He has been extremely successful so far; he has turned out 400 commercial aircraft since the end of the war, perhaps four times as much as the whole of this country put together. I

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think there are 180 of his machines flying in Europe to-day. Our method is different. For four years we went through various choppings, changings, and alterations of policy. At the beginning of 1924 we formed a single national company, Imperial Air Ways. That company has the monopoly of subsidy within Europe: we have promised we will not subsidize anybody else within the boundaries of Europe. We have given them a total of £1,000,000, to be issued in annual instalments on a sliding scale for a period of ten years. They have to fly a minimum of a million miles a year. Outside that they have absolute freedom. They go where they think they can make air transport pay, and they can use as few pilots and as few aircraft as are necessary for purely commercial reasons; and this contract is an honest endeavour to force air transport into a commercial proposition, and to avoid supporting it by artificial subsidies as soon as possible. The fewer pilots and aircraft they can keep, and the more work they can get out of those pilots and aircraft, the more likely they are to make it pay. They have nine years left in which to get down to a real business proposition; after which they are supposed to pay back the £1,000,000 by degrees. You may find it hard to justify a subsidy to this form of transport which does not pay its own way. But unless we *operate*, we shall never learn anything about air transport; and unless we fly over Europe when other people are doing it, British prestige in aviation will go down very considerably. We have to keep level with other people, and spread our influence in different parts of Europe. Our longest distances are to Zurich and Berlin, both about 600 miles. That is not nearly long enough. The further you go the better facilities your air transport offers. If you look at the map, you will see that France is the only European country running lines of real imperial importance. She has the line connecting France with Morocco and Senegal, and the line to Angora, which is only one day's flight from French Syria. So that she is connecting up the French colonies by air with Paris. We are only making a small start towards the East so far, but I will show you later on what we intend to do. This slide may be stale news to some of you; it shows the type of aircraft we are using at present on the cross-Channel route. That is the Handley Page type. It carries fourteen passengers, has been on service three years, and is a very satisfactory machine. There are two engines. The pilot is in front with assistant or wireless operator; the freight and baggage compartment is behind. The next slide shows the De Haviland, 34, single-engine machine, 450 horse-power, carrying eight passengers, with pilot and assistant in front. The former cruises at seventy-five to eighty miles an hour; this between ninety to a hundred. There is a smaller type of machine, the type Mr. Cobham and I went out to Rangoon on. It is only 230 horse-power and it carries four passengers. It is probably the most economical type of machine in existence at present.

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The next slide gives you an idea of the latest flying-boat that has been produced. It is in the experimental stage, and is going to be put on the Guernsey–Southampton route very soon. Its two engines total 900 horse-power. It is being tried experimentally. In considering Eastern problems, we must remember that none of these machines are really suited for work in tropical conditions, and we have got to make a good many alterations and improvements before we shall get machines really satisfactory for that purpose. Working in the hot weather along the Persian Gulf is a very different proposition from working here.

I will now show you how the traffic has improved since we started five years ago. This table represents the whole of the traffic which has passed over the Channel in the last five years. Now,

British Civil Aviation (Excluding Joy-Riding).

Period.	Machine Flights.	Machine Mileage.	Passengers Carried.	Cargo Carried (Tons).
May, 1919-Dec., 1919	467	104,000	870	35
Jan., 1920-Dec., 1920	2,854	644,000	5,799	120
Jan., 1921-Dec., 1921	993	225,000	5,256	43
Jan., 1922-Dec., 1922	3,625	717,000	10,393	183
Jan., 1923-Dec., 1923	4,765	943,000	15,552	326
Jan., 1924-Dec., 1924	4,892*	936,000*	13,601*	541*
Jan., 1925-Apr., 1925	990†	190,000†	2,000†	133†
Total ...	18,586	3,759,000	53,471	1,381

* These represent only ten and a half months actual operations, as services were suspended during April and the first part of May.

† Approximate figures.

if you take the mileage, you will see that the second year we got 644,000 miles. Then we had a bump down to 225,000 owing to a change of policy of the Government. Then we went up to 717,000; then to 943,000; and last year it was 936,000 miles. The last figure would have been considerably higher if it had not been that we were out of action for about two months owing to trouble with pilots last April and May. You see there has been a steady increase in passengers. Last year the figure was 13,601; that shows a decline, which was due to the break in continuity in April and May—two very important passenger-carrying months. If it had not been for that, the figure would have been about 18,000. The freight returns look promising. In the second year it amounted to 120 tons. In the third year that figure went up to 183 tons, and in the fourth to 326 tons. Last year it was 541 tons, and I should not be surprised if we see it touch something like 1,000 tons this year. That gives you some idea of how the public are

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beginning to appreciate the value of air transport, even though it is operating for short distances only, and it proves that the traffic has steadily increased. This slide gives you some idea of the passenger traffic between London and Paris. It exemplifies some of the difficulties we have to compete with in this part of the world. You see the traffic goes up to a peak about August: 1,800 people crossed the Channel during August in 1921, 2,000 the next year, 2,000 in 1923, and 2,600 last year. But when you come to the winter it comes down to 100, 100, 150, a little over 200, and so on. That makes it very difficult to run a service on economical lines, because either your fleet in the summer is not sufficiently big to cope with the traffic available; or if it was sufficiently big, you would have a large number of machines doing nothing in the winter. The effect of accidents is quickly seen. An accident occurred in 1922, and the passenger traffic went down with a bump. It recovered itself and increased steadily. In 1923 there was another accident. Then down went the passenger traffic, but very soon after it went up again. The accidents had no real lasting effect on the bulk of the traffic carried. You can also see how we stand as regards our neighbours the French. The black line is the total passengers carried across the Channel: the dotted line shows the passengers carried on British aircraft. You see we were the pioneers and carried the whole of the traffic for the first two years. The next year, owing to the Government saying that civil aviation had to fly by itself without subsidy, or something of the sort, we lost way and carried only half the total. Next year we went up again. Last year has not been so good; but that again was due to the trouble last April and May, when we lost a lot of our goodwill and clients to the French. What this year will bring forth it will be interesting to see. I must show you something with regard to safety. The table below is a record of the fatal accidents

PAYING PASSENGERS KILLED OR INJURED ON RECOGNIZED BRITISH AIR TRANSPORT SERVICES.

	May, 1919–Dec., 1919.	Jan., 1920–Dec., 1920.	Jan., 1921–Dec., 1921.	Jan., 1922–Dec., 1922.	Jan., 1923–Dec., 1923.	Jan., 1924–Dec., 1924.	Jan., 1925–Apr., 1925.
Fatal Accidents ...	1	1	Nil	Nil	1	1	Nil
Passengers killed ...	1	2	Nil	Nil	3	7	Nil
Passengers injured ...	2	2	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil
Mileage Flown ...	104,000	644,000	225,000	717,000	943,000	936,000	190,000*

* Approximate figure only.

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which have occurred on regular and recognized British air services. You see that in the first year, 1919, we had one, and we had one in 1920. We had none in 1921, none in 1922, one in 1923, and one in 1924. It comes to a total of four fatal accidents for a number of miles which is equivalent to flying round the equator 134 times. With such a record you cannot call aviation a dangerous means of transport, and the sooner the public realize that the regular authorized and properly managed air transport services are really extraordinarily safe, the better. The trouble is that every accident that is in the paper sinks into the public mind as proving that aviation is dangerous. These figures show you it is not: I do not think you could get round the world 134 times without more accidents by any other form of transport. We have made distinct strides in reliability. Naturally the public want reliability. This last year, 1924, we have an efficiency, including the winter season, of 93 per cent.: there were 7 per cent. of failures in 4,250 flights. Of these failures, 5 per cent. were due to weather; you can call that bad visibility. Only 2 per cent. were due to mechanical defects, to an engine or something going wrong. As to weather or bad visibility, when we get East, on to our big routes, that condition is going to improve enormously, and instead of our having 5 per cent. of interruptions, I should think it would drop to 1 per cent. Regarding mechanical failures, the figures are being steadily improved by improvements in design, better maintenance, experience, and so on. On Imperial routes through Asia, I do not see why, once we get a new service fairly started, we should not get to something like 98 per cent. regularity.

The next point is economy. Naturally the public want to travel comparatively cheaply. The table on p. 257 gives you a statement showing the position regarding the time saved and the extra money charged on the British air routes in Europe to-day. You will see that from London to Paris costs six guineas, and only saves four hours and a half for an increase of £3 1s. on the ordinary fare. That is admittedly expensive, but on the Paris route there is a luxury traffic of Americans who do not care how much they pay; so rates are high. But when you turn to London–Berlin, we are saving fifteen hours, and only charging 18s. 2d. extra. On London–Amsterdam we are saving nine hours and a quarter, and are only charging 12s. extra. So, you see, it is not so frightfully expensive; and as you go further you save more and more time, and therefore the extra charges are more and more justified. Zurich is £3 extra, but that includes the expensive link of Paris. It saves practically a day. As worked out here, an average of 3s. 3d. extra is charged for each hour saved; not counting the tips, cabins, sleeping berths, and expensive meals involved in other means of travelling. The air is more comfortable than other means of travel, because you avoid all the bother of pushing your way in the crowd out

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FARES AND APPROXIMATE TIMES BY ORDINARY MEANS OF TRANSPORT AS COMPARED WITH AIR TRANSPORT.

	Time by Ordinary Transport.	Time by Air Transport.	First-Class Single Fare by Ordinary Transport.	Single Fare by Air Transport.	Time Saved by Air.	Difference in Fares.
	Hours.	Hours.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	Hours.	£ s. d.
London–Paris...	7	2½	3 5 0	6 6 0	4½	3 1 0
London–Paris–Basle–Zurich	19½	8	5 17 6	9 0 0	11½	3 2 6
London–Brussels	7½	2½	3 4 0	4 4 0	5	1 0 0
London–Cologne	15	3½	3 17 6	6 0 0	11½	2 2 6
London–Amsterdam	12	2¾	3 8 0	4 0 0	9¼	12 0
London–Hanover	20	5½	5 13 0	6 5 0	14½	12 0
London–Berlin	22	7	7 1 10	8 0 0	15	18 2
Southampton–Guernsey ...	6½	1¾	2 3 6	3 0 0	4¾	16 6
Total ...					76	12 4 8

(Average of about 3s. 3d. extra cost for each hour saved, not counting the fact that the journey by air saves appreciably in tips, taxis, meals, and sleeping berths.)

of the train, into the steamer, and so on. We are making improvements along many lines in connection with safety, reliability, and economy. We are making better engines, improving the stability of aircraft, and getting more accurate wireless navigation, which all mean that you can fly in much worse weather. Maintenance will, I hope, become cheaper as we simplify design and get on with more robust machines. We are working towards cheaper fuel: we shall probably use heavy oil in the future, which will mean a saving of 80 per cent. of the fuel bill. Greater reliability will lower insurance costs, and increased traffic will lower overhead costs and consequently fares. From the experience of five years, we know that we are getting on the average 700 hours' flying out of pilots, and 1,200 hours of work from each machine during the year. That is to say that in the year each pilot flies 63,000 miles, and 100,000 miles is covered by each machine. Pilots *have* done up to 1,000 hours in the year, and machines up to 2,000. We have arrived at a point where I think we can say that we will carry a ton for 4s. 6d. a mile at 95 miles an hour. That is rather borne out by our trip to Rangoon and back the other day, which cost us 2s. a mile for a useful load of 1,000 lbs. I think with the various improvements which I have indicated we ought to reduce the cost to 2s. 6d. a ton-mile before many years are out, and then we shall be coming down to business. The Government to-day are ordering

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experimental commercial aircraft as a step in this direction: there is one type being ordered, in which we are endeavouring to get a higher paying load per horse-power. We are trying to design machines which will carry 5 lbs. paying load per horse-power instead of only about 4 lbs., as is the case at present. We have got machines on order which have been specifically designed for operations in the Persian Gulf, having a view to the particular conditions existing there. They are three-engine machines. A specification has been drawn up for a large flying-boat for operations between Rangoon and Calcutta; and we have another type designed for freight carrying as opposed to passenger traffic. All these machines, I hope, will be flying within the next year or eighteen months; and will be put on to some of these routes to be thoroughly tried out. I must touch on the question of airships. The Government have at last a settled policy and taken up airships once more. The scheme, very briefly, is that we are re-conditioning our two old ships, R 33 and R 36. On these we are going to carry out aero-dynamical research and train crews. Two new ships will be built, and, with these, experimental trips will be undertaken to India. We have decided to build an experimental base at Karachi and a temporary station on the Suez Canal. R 33 has a volume of 2,250,000 cubic feet. The new ships will be more than twice as big. They will have engines of 7,500 horse-power, and will carry 100 passengers at 70 miles an hour. You cannot compare the two. R 33 is an obsolete and comparatively feeble ship, but she proved the other day, when she broke away, that she could come back safely although severely damaged and in very bad weather indeed. That goes a long way to prove that the big ship will be a very safe and reliable conveyance. In the ship there will be room for 120 people to live in great comfort. The passengers will have a lounge, a dining-room and a smoking-room, and will sleep in two-berth cabins.

That is as much as I can tell you of the experience we have got up to date with our five years' work across the Channel. The East offers some different factors, some advantageous and some disadvantageous. Take the difficulties first. First, and perhaps most serious, is the fact that when operating in the East any aircraft loses lift; because, generally speaking, in the East the air is less dense than it is in this country. If you take the extreme case of Baghdad in the middle of the summer, I think the density of its atmosphere is only about 0·82 of the density of the atmosphere in this country. India suffers from the same sort of disability. It is equivalent to asking aircraft to take off from an aerodrome at a height of about 3,500 feet. When you get extra height and Eastern conditions combined, as at Quetta, the difficulty is increased. Quetta is at a height of 5,500 feet, but in the middle of the hot weather, the rarefaction of the atmosphere makes it nearly equivalent to 8,000 feet for getting-off purposes. The result is that whereas with a machine flying across the Channel you have

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assessed its paying load at so much and its total weight at so much, if you are to operate that machine in the East you have to deduct at least 10 per cent. of the total permissible weight. Ten per cent. does not sound very much at first, but it is really considerable, because the whole of it has to come off *paying* load. One of our standard single-engined machines, fully loaded, weighs about 7,000 lbs., of which 1,700 lbs. is paying load. Ten per cent. of 7,000 lbs. is 700 lbs., and if you deduct that from the paying load, this comes down from 1,700 lbs. to 1,000 lbs. So it means that your eight-passenger machine that flies here, under the worst conditions may have to reduce its load to five passengers. That at once means loss of money. To get round that we must either increase horse-power; or increase the surface of the plane; or increase the size of the aerodrome; or a little of all three. All mean more money. Increased horse-power means more powerful engines and a larger expenditure on fuel. Increase of size means lower speed, and therefore increased expenditure on fuel. Increased size of aerodrome means buying more land. These are all troubles that can be got over. The second serious difficulty in the East is due to the period of very heavy rain which you get in many places for some months. It is not that you cannot fly in rain, but rain reduces your aerodrome into a sort of bog. Iraq is very bad that way; it is a soft "pat" soil, and after heavy rain you cannot move. The Persian Gulf is good from this point of view because the rainfall is small; you can depend on good aerodromes all the year round. India is bad in places; where you have black cotton soils it would be hard to make the aerodrome to stand up in the monsoon. On the Calcutta–Rangoon route we would have to use flying-boats during the rains because we could not depend on aerodromes being fit for use. It may even be necessary to pave aerodromes in some parts of the world. That would get over the rain trouble, but again would mean capital cost. I remember an experience I had at Amman: I was coming back from Baghdad via Amman to Cairo. Amman is on the Trans-Jordania hills above the Jordan. In those days there was a very poor aerodrome there. I arrived from Baghdad with three other aeroplanes, and three came from Cairo, and we all stuck in the mud. There was a little mess there with four or five chairs in it, and thirteen of us living in it. The next day I managed to get a light machine from Ramleh in Palestine to take me on with my baggage—it was not too bad for a small machine to get off. As I departed I shook hands with the officer commanding, and I said: "Can I do anything for you in Cairo?" He said, "Send me a dose of prussic acid." (Laughter.)

The third difficulty in the East, and in all these big trans-continental routes, is the passage of high mountains. The drawback to crossing mountains is that while they are very pleasant to cross in fine weather —when you have beautiful scenery and endless things to look at—in bad weather, when you have clouds on the tops of the mountains, you

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must either go over the tops of the clouds or fly through them. On big mountains, to get over the clouds you may have to fly at 20,000 feet, and some machines cannot do that. Flying through clouds is unpleasant; you may run into a mountain peak. That means unreliability; you have to wait for clear weather. Actually in the future I do not think there is any doubt we shall fly through clouds perfectly happily, because we are evolving apparatus by means of which the aeroplane will fly itself. The machine will fly through the air as a boat floats on the water, without fear of getting out of control. When we get to that point, the pilot can get to the height where he knows he will clear the top of the peaks and steer a compass course. But to-day bad weather over mountains means delay, because you must wait for the weather to clear. The last difficulty in these long Eastern routes is the difficulty of salvage. If a machine has an engine failure, or comes down for any purpose between here and Paris or Berlin, it is perfectly easy to get at the machine, put it right, or repair it and take it away. But if you come down in the middle of the Syrian desert or along the Persian Gulf, it is a very different proposition. The Syrian desert is all right now because we have a track cut across it: you follow the track, and if you come down it is merely a matter of flying down the track to find you. But in the Persian Gulf there are places where you might have to walk three weeks before you came to a civilized habitation. If you landed there it would take you a long time to communicate with anybody. Going down the Persian Gulf, we actually carried four days' rations because we might have to walk a long way if we were forced to come down. Practically the only communication is by dhow along the coast. The result of the difficulty of salvage along the Eastern routes will be to increase insurance rates and involve a lot of unprofitable flying if anything happens. The antidote is to have a really reliable engine or to have a three-engine machine.

Those four are probably the main difficulties. There are other minor ones; for instance, there will be a trouble in housing and feeding passengers which you do not have in Europe, and we have to face the problem of ventilation and comfort of cabins in a hot climate.

On the other hand, there are enormous advantages in these Eastern routes. First as regards weather. You have a climate which behaves itself. You know when the rain is coming, when the dust storms are coming, and so on; and right through the year you have wonderful visibility as compared with this part of the world. Our real enemy here is bad visibility, and that is practically eliminated in the East. The only thing there to stop you are dust storms, which do not last long, or real torrents of rain, which also do not last very long; and both can very often be dodged. You do not get the fogs, mists, and low clouds that you have in North-Western Europe. In our recent journey the country we flew over was nearly all perfectly ideal for flying. People said, "Your pilots will not stand the monotony of the desert;" but

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from what I saw of the desert, as compared with the cross-Channel route, it is a rest cure, and any pilot who has been flying here for some time will look upon it as a holiday. The climate will give a regularity you cannot obtain in Europe under present conditions. Also, and most important, it will make flying possible at night, and that means accelerated services. In Europe it is difficult to fly by night because of the large amount of bad visibility and the unsettled state of the weather. The second advantage of the Eastern routes is that they offer long distances. There is no very serious competition. There are two long-distance routes in operation in the world to-day. The first runs from New York to San Francisco. That is run in the way we hope our Eastern routes will be run. One day New York to Chicago, that night Chicago to Cheyenne, and the next day to San Francisco. That is what we are aiming to get on our way to India. In Australia they are going ahead on the same lines. They go from Perth there to Derby—1,500 miles—in two days and a half. They have not started night flying because there is no demand, and they have not the money to put the lights necessary on the ground. From Perth to Derby was often an eight days' trip by coastal steamer, but by air they get there comfortably in two and a half days. Those are two examples of what is being done to-day and of what we ought to do in other parts of the Empire. There is another difference in the Eastern routes as compared with the European routes: a subsidy is far more justified because air transport will be really building up Imperial communications which are of vital importance. Picture the British Empire in terms of time if we had two airship services flying at 60 miles an hour—one through India to New Zealand and Australia, another down to Durban. Actually, if you measured the British Empire by time instead of miles, it would be modified to these positions: Australia would be somewhere where Aden is; New Zealand would be close to Somaliland; and India no further than Cairo. Egypt and South Africa would be in French Morocco. I leave you to imagine what the results of that would be!

Now I will go on to schemes for the future. On p. 262 is a rough map of the area between London and Singapore. It represents various possibilities in heavier-than-air lines, leaving out the possibilities of the airships; but I will deal with airships first. Our scheme is to have a temporary air-port for airships at Ismailia, and an experimental base at Karachi. The ship will call there on the way to re-fuel. It is calculated that, if all goes well, the ship should do the whole journey in four days—two days to Ismailia and two days onwards. We have selected Karachi because it offers the best climatic and geographical conditions; as this service is admittedly an experiment, we wanted to have as good a place from that point of view as we could in India. Once we get that started, we shall begin investigations whether it might not be better to go or come home by Baghdad. The great thing about the airship is that you have enormous radius and great power of

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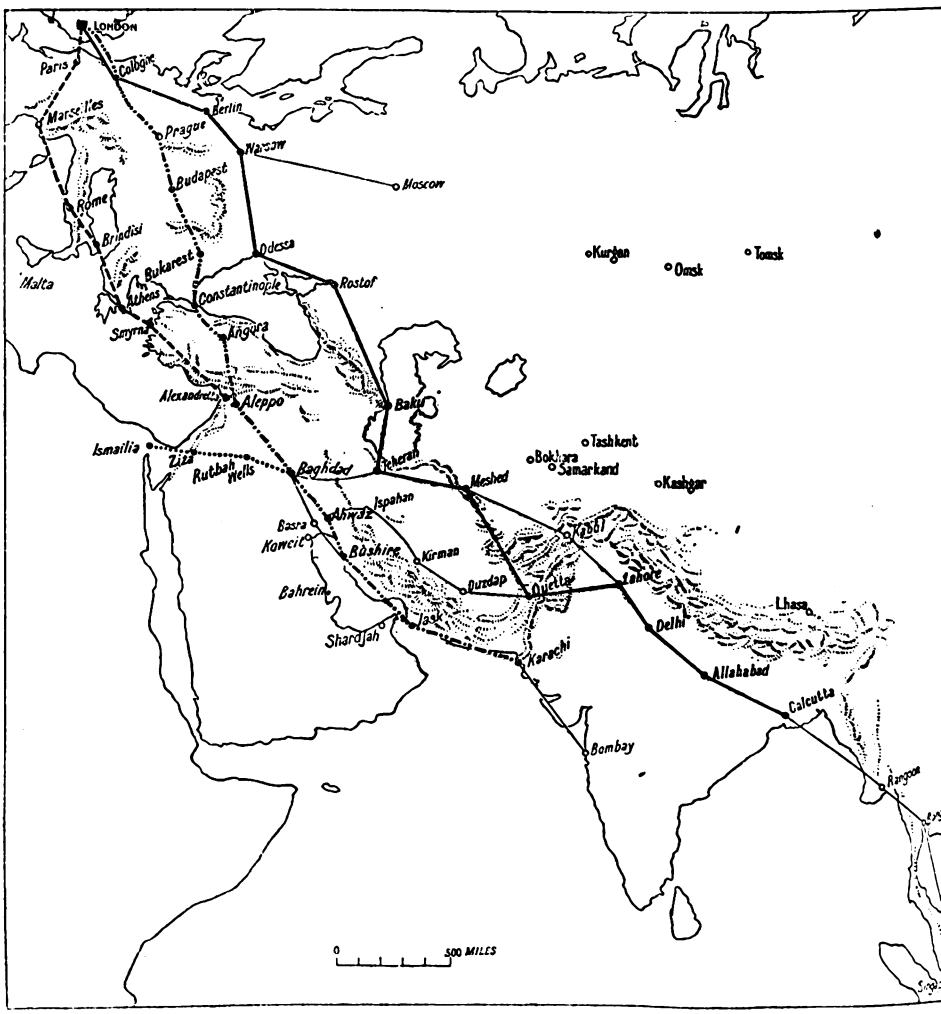

PROBABLE AIR ROUTES TO INDIA

Shortest main route to Delhi and Calcutta.

Route already followed by the French Compagnie de Navigation Aérien as f as Angora, and proposed to be operated by the new British service betwe Baghdad and Karachi.

Alternative route as far as Aleppo as proposed by the French Messagerie Aérienne

The Egyptian-Iraq section of the proposed British service from Egypt to Karachi.

Alternative routes and branches to the above main routes.

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manœuvre. The navigating officer will navigate according to the weather. He will aim for a following wind, and generally he will be able to dodge adverse winds and get following winds. We have an enormous amount to learn in that way, and it is only by experience we shall learn. Although we are starting by Ismailia to Karachi, after a very short time I think you will find the route adjust itself more to commercial conditions. After that we shall continue to Australia, either across India to Calcutta and down through Rangoon; or maybe it will pay us better to go right across to Colombo and on straight from Colombo; but that is for the future. I think, generally speaking, the airship will stick to the sea and flat country so far as possible; because, although an airship can get over mountains all right, it is expensive to do so. She has first to throw out ballast, and then lose a great deal of gas; which adds considerably to the upkeep and also reduces radius. A big climb might involve an extra landing to take in more ballast, gas, and fuel. Turning again to aeroplanes and sea-planes, I have tried to show on the map the alternative routes available. The most direct is through Berlin, Warsaw, north of the Black Sea to Odessa, Baku, Tehran, Meshed, and then either by Kabul or Quetta into India. That route has various difficulties, the biggest one being the Russians. The Germans have been operating a line from Moscow to Baku or Batoum, but they have given it up as hopeless; the Russians are impossible. They have a scheme for operating towards the East, avoiding Russia altogether, by coming down to a corner of Roumania, and then going straight across the Black Sea to Turkish and Persian territory. This route also has the disadvantage that some of it is very high and difficult country, particularly between Meshed and Kabul or Quetta. On our recent journey the route we followed was by Constantinople, Angora, Aleppo, Baghdad, and along the Persian Gulf. We went out to Constantinople by Berlin, Warsaw, and Bucharest. I went that way because I wanted to look at this northern route from the flying point of view. It is very good. There is not a hill the whole way. You rise by a very gentle gradation to 1,800 feet near Lemberg between Bucharest and Warsaw. It is a very easy route, and I think it will be flown considerably more regularly during winter than any other line across Europe. We came back from Constantinople by Belgrade, Bucharest, Prague, and Strasbourg. That route is much more difficult. You have to cross the Balkans, the Carpathians, the mountains between Prague and Germany and the Black Forest. As a matter of fact, I think that in Europe air lines will develop from commercial and political considerations more than any others. The places which offer the best traffic will be visited by aircraft flying across Europe. It will be a slow commercial development. We do not mind very much, because our scheme now is to try and link up Egypt with India, and any line extending from Europe in the future is bound to meet us somewhere and so connect

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us with Europe by air. Outside European lines, there is very little of interest in the East to-day. The Air Force are running a fortnightly service from Cairo to Baghdad. The Germans are running a service between Enzeli and Tehran; and the French have a desultory line going between Aleppo and Deires Zor on the Euphrates, for military purposes. That is about all that is happening at present.

The Air Force route probably best known to you is the one from Cairo to Baghdad, passing close to Jerusalem and Amman. From Amman to Baghdad there are 650 miles of desert, marked by a plough-line right across, so that if anything happens to the machine on the way over and it is flying along the route, it is easily found. If there was no mark, although the machine might be dead on its course, it would be extraordinarily hard to find, and people might die of thirst before they were picked up. About 150 or 200 miles from Amman there is what is called the lava country—100 or 150 miles of black lava. It is very rugged country; I think it must be the relics of the old eruption which destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, and which broke up the Dead Sea and wrecked this part of the world. Some of the smooth plains are as flat and shallow as this floor, and make the most perfect landing-places you can imagine.

The route we have under consideration from Ismailia to Karachi covers about 2,500 miles, or about thirty-three hours' flying. It can be covered very easily in two days and a half flying only by daylight, which at once saves eight days in travelling to Karachi or any place in the North-West of India. When we get to night flying we shall probably get through in thirty-six hours. Then we will be saving ten days to Karachi and the northern part of India. If this service was started there is little doubt we should soon have a branch from Baghdad to Tehran, or from Ahwaz to Tehran. Possibly there will also be a summer route, to avoid the heat of the Persian Gulf, by Ahwaz, Ispahan, Kerman and Duzdap to Quetta; but in the winter it would be pleasanter to go along the Persian Gulf. The position in India is that the Indian Government are quite keen on a service from Karachi to Bombay, and from Calcutta to Rangoon. If once we could establish the service to Karachi the rest would follow. We should soon have a service to Rangoon; then Singapore would be crying out, and it would be extended to Singapore. I have indicated that the airship base was going to be at Karachi, and this at first seems to be running in competition with a heavier-than-air service. But the Karachi base for the airship is purely experimental. It is not looked upon as the commercial base, which may be Bombay or Calcutta. The aeroplane also will carry a great deal of local traffic which the airship cannot deal with. The aeroplane will tap Persia, Turkey, and so on. On our reconnaissance we went out by Aleppo, down the route, and so on to Rangoon. We came back by Rutbah Wells and across the desert to Damascus. It was not by any means a difficult journey, but was an extremely comfortable

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one. I was surprised that so little fatigue was involved in flying very long distances. We spent on some days ten hours in the air—often six, eight, or nine—and came in as fresh as we started. We never had a dull moment the whole time. The load of the machine was a big one: there was myself, a mechanic, and a considerable amount of baggage, with eight hours fuel. We were away four months, and I did not get to the bottom of my clothes; so, you see, we did ourselves well in baggage. We practised "safety first" the whole way; the only time we abandoned that was when, coming back from Prague, we were running into heavy snow. We pushed on without a weather report, and got shut in by snow over the northern end of the Schwarzwald. We came down in a small ploughed field. We could not get off again, so we had to dismantle the machine. We took it to a neighbouring aerodrome and got away forty-eight hours later. That was a case where we were taking risks and met weather which was impossible, but got out without even bursting a tyre. That can always be done with a really experienced pilot. If I was a rich man I would buy to-morrow the equivalent of a yacht in aircraft, and take to travelling by air as a recreation. It is the most perfect way of getting about. My first object would be to go and visit the Dalai Lama at Lhasa. That would be quite possible with existing aircraft. The next time they try to climb Everest a little air co-operation might make the feat a certainty. With aircraft you could get up to that height now with a special engine. You could drop a line of supplies all the way up, take photographs of every foot of the way up, watch progress, and report it by wireless. Air assistance might possibly make the feat almost safe.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must bring this rather wandering lecture to a close. What is the greatest failure this Empire has made up to date? Considering everything, I think undoubtedly it is the fact that we have a great many too many people in this country and too few in our Overseas Dominions. The antidote is surely to improve Imperial communications. You want every form of transport, of course, for the development—railways to develop the vast tracts of country themselves; shipping to take the workers and settlers to those tracts, and to take away the produce to the various markets—but you want aviation to bring the Overseas Dominions nearer home, quicken mails, and make possible visits of negotiation for the busy man who cannot spare the time under the present conditions. I believe I am right in saying that all great empires have depended on communications for their existence, and have collapsed when eventually those communications broke down. In the case of Tamerlane those communications were by camels and horses; and in the Roman Empire they were by roads; and when those communications broke down the empires began to disintegrate and eventually collapsed. Our Empire was built on shipping, and one of our great problems as an Empire is the difficulty of administration; it is only by improving our communications that we

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can really develop Imperial trade as much as it ought to be developed. Air transport will help us to avoid misunderstandings with the Overseas Dominions, and to avoid loss of touch, and, most important, will help to promote real mutual co-operation throughout the Empire. Our prosperity in the past has been very largely due to the fact that we are a nation of sailors; we must become a nation of airmen under the changed conditions. It so happens that the qualities of the sailor are just those required for the airman. There is no doubt we can produce the best airmen in the world, as we have produced the best sailors. We must build aircraft as we have built shipping in the past: it is only by operating aircraft that we can ensure progress in design, and by obtaining really successful and good commercial aircraft, establish the British industry throughout the world. When air transport pays its way without artificial assistance it will boom in every part of the world. When the business man sees that air transport can make money he will take it up with avidity, and vast orders will be available for the country with the best designs. To-day, I think, Germany is trying to get into that position. The time when air transport will pay its way is not so very far off. Three days ago the President of a big American company called the Stout Aeroplane Company, which is controlled by Mr. Henry Ford, came to see me; he told me that Mr. Henry Ford had now definitely come to the conclusion that the time had come to back air transport. Mr. Ford is no fool; he would not go lightly into a thing of that sort. He told me they had worked out schemes for certain services in the United States from A to Z, and were convinced that they could make these services pay without any artificial assistance; and with this object in view they were going to open eight or nine new air routes in the United States this summer. If Mr. Henry Ford gets in with bulk production of really efficient aircraft, we shall find it hard to compete; but we must see to it that we get a fair proportion of the world's aircraft construction. A prosperous aircraft-constructing industry will give us what we want in the way of national resources—the large numbers of pilots, mechanics, designing offices and factories—that we shall want if we have another great national emergency leading, perhaps, to another great war. We do not want war: aviation has come to make it ten times more horrible than ever before. Sir Hugh Trenchard has said he would gladly "abolish the air." I do not quite agree! I like breathing the air and like flying. Abolish, he might have said, military aviation. The British Empire would be better if it could be abolished: it has put us in a weaker position than we were in before. It has blotted out the Channel, and we are on terms of equality with our Continental neighbours so far as war conditions go. But we cannot abolish aviation. That being so, let us take the good things it offers, as well as the inconvenient, and use it as a means of binding together our Empire more firmly and more sincerely than ever before. (Applause.)

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The CHAIRMAN called on Major Wood Humphrey.

Major WOOD HUMPHREY: I have only to repeat what the Lecturer has to say; it is certainly extraordinarily interesting. We are working out this scheme of flying out to India, and it is to be hoped the Government will support us in the way we ask them, and give us sufficient money to make a real job of the route to India. It is an absolute necessity we fly out on that route. It is the one Imperial route that offers financial success in the really near future, and I think everybody in Parliament should use every endeavour possible to put that through. I am sure everybody agrees with me in thanking Sir Sefton Brancker for his excellent lecture. (Applause.)

Lord WINTERTON (Under-Secretary of State for India): There is one thing I should like to say, as representing in one House of Parliament the interests of one of those countries to which Sir Sefton Brancker referred. In the first place, in a fairly long experience of lectures, some of them rather unfortunate—where I have been involved in yawns the whole time—I have never listened to a statement which filled me with more enthusiasm, or which I thought more interesting, than that of Sir Sefton Brancker. (Hear, hear.) I was very sorry when he sat down. I would willingly have listened for two hours instead of one. He has dealt with some of the most important questions with which we as an Empire are faced to-day. I should like to say in passing, while it would ill become me as a junior member of the Government to make observations on policy on an occasion like this, I find myself in considerable agreement with what Major Wood Humphrey said: I think it is very necessary that the attention of Parliament and Governments generally should be kept more closely fixed on questions of aviation than has been the case in the past. Sir Sefton Brancker naturally refrained from criticizing anything that has been done by Governments in the past; but I, as a politician and a member of a Government, can say that, in my opinion, there has been in the last six or seven years a great want of consecutive and consistent policy. But I hope under the energetic Secretary of Stateship of my friend Sir Samuel Hoare, the Minister for Air, there will be an alteration and we shall go ahead. (Hear, hear.) Sir Sefton has spoken of some of the difficulties of commercial aviation and of getting the public sufficiently interested, though I think the figures he has given are on the whole very reassuring. The aviation of passengers since the war has gone through several phases, it seems to me, speaking as a layman. Immediately after the war it was the new thing: very few had had an opportunity of trying it except those who had served in the Flying Force in the war. It became the thing to do. One's friends said, "Have you flown to Paris?" and one went. Then came another period when even fresher inventions began to be more widely used, such as broadcasting, and the public turned their attention to things like that. To-day there is a danger of its falling

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between two stools. It is not the novelty it was immediately after the war; on the other hand, the public have not generally wakened up to the advantages it affords of getting about business expeditiously. Then Sir Sefton Brancker showed the real saving of time and, for long distances, of money that there is. We in this country suffer from old ideas, which is another way of saying that we suffer from old men. There are still a lot of people who say, "Put me in a flying-machine and ask me to go up flying. Not me." Just as there used to be people who, if you invited them to go into a motor-car, said, "Not for me; I have always driven horses all my life, and will not go into a motor-car." There is a lot of that spirit abroad. But such people will some day be in their graves, and a newer generation will grow up to whom going up in an aeroplane will present no more difficulty, danger, or unexpectedness than journeying in a train or motor-car to-day. We have to do all we can to get the rising generation to take to flying. If we do not, the Americans will. I venture to hope that everyone in the audience has been impressed by the closing words of Sir Sefton, where he referred to the grave danger of the Americans getting ahead of us, cheapening the production of aeroplanes, going in for mass production and leading in aviation. No one in this audience will dissent from this proposition, that our success in commercial aviation—we all know of our success in military aviation, and I think we can be proud of it—but our success in *commercial* aviation has yet to be fixed and stabilized. I do not think Sir Sefton would differ from that proposition. It is to try to fix and stabilise it that he and his colleagues are working. The position which this country fills in commercial aviation in the next ten years will be a rough test of our ability to hold our own in post-war international competition. There are not wanting signs, which give some of us feelings of depression in our bad moments, that this old country, despite its wonderful success in the war, has not got the aptitude it used to possess to compete with other nations in sport and industry. There are not wanting signs of decadence in that respect. We have seen that in many markets of the world commercially we are not holding our own; and it is seen in other ways. It is going to be an enormous business, commercial aviation. If we can get the same lead (and we have still time to get it) that our forefathers got in shipping—especially steam shipping—there is a bright path ahead for this country. If we do not, I believe that our position will be a serious one—speaking as a layman who only once in his life has flown, and is therefore unbiassed. Believing that the great transport of the future is to be found in the air and not on the ground or sea, one earnestly hopes that the next ten years will see us go ahead, and be in the same position in the air as we have always been on the sea. Only in that way can we retain our hold on Empire. We are more vulnerable in some respects than any empire that has ever existed, but if we use the air properly we

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can tighten up the bonds of Empire in a way that would have been unbelievable twenty years ago. (Applause.)

Mr. SKRINE: The first point that occurred to me is the difficulty of equalizing the traffic in summer and winter; and I should like to know the cause of the drop in winter traffic. It seems to me due to cold; are any precautions taken against cold for pilot, mechanic, and passengers? The second question is: Are the machines of the Company fitted with wireless? It seems essential that machines traversing such difficult countries should be in touch with repairing stations. A third point would be with regard to the nature of the merchandise carried. What tariff is charged per pound, and how far is it taken advantage of by the mercantile public?

Sir ARTHUR BARRETT: I would like to ask the Lecturer, What view is taken of air transport with respect to railways and steamship lines? Is it expected that railways and steamship lines will eventually be superseded on such routes as can be served by air transport when the latter becomes fully established, or are they to run in opposition to one another, or in combination?

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: I listened with very great interest to Sir Sefton Brancker's lecture; we could not have had a more interesting one, and we congratulate him on his safe return. With regard to French aviators, I read that Lieutenant Thierry had made a long journey, starting from France, passing through Toulouse, right across Morocco, and across the desert to the Niger. There, I believe, they had to come down on account of engine trouble. They started again and went on down the Niger to Port Lome, and then right on to the Congo, finishing at Stanley Pool, and he and his colleagues and the mechanic are now on their way back to France. That shows that the French are quite alive to this question of quick communications by means of aeroplanes; and this trip, I believe, was taken not only from the military standpoint but, quite as important, from the commercial standpoint. From what I read, it is possible to reach Stanley Pool in eight days from Paris. Again, I might mention that the Belgians are taking extreme interest in this matter. They are also developing the aeroplane traffic in the Belgian Congo, and I think it is possible that within a very short time we shall see aeroplanes from Stanley Pool right down to the south-eastern section of the Congo in three days. That is being developed also, I believe, on commercial lines.

The LECTURER: I would like to support Lord Winterton most heartily on the point of the education of the public. One of the good qualities of the American is that when you offer him a new thing he jumps at it and tries it. Offer the same thing to an Englishman, and he says that you are a crank and dodges out of your way. Of the cross-Channel passenger traffic which you saw put up on the screen, I think from 70 to 75 per cent. is American. They come and fly as a matter of

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course, but we won't. Like Lord Winterton, I have had to tell various audiences that I believe that until everybody over forty, including myself, has passed away, air transport will not come into its own! However, the rising generation are going to be all right. It is interesting to know that some of the officers of the Cologne Garrison have their boys out for the school holidays; and those boys are insulted if asked to travel by train—air is the only possible way for them. I agree with Lord Winterton about stabilizing our policy. Thank goodness, we are getting stable. The ten years' agreement with Imperial Air Ways is stabilizing. Our airship policy is more or less stabilized. We have a three years' programme; when we have a little more experience, I hope we shall have a ten years' programme there. The route to India I hope will be stabilized, including a contract covering a period of years, so that it can grow up with foresight and a proper policy. Mr. Skrine asked about the variation of traffic between summer and winter. I am afraid the case I put of passengers to Paris is abnormal. That is luxury traffic. Most of the people are going on holidays, and naturally travel in summer. The peak in August indicates the middle of the summer holidays. In winter there is not nearly so much traffic to Paris. The people going there want to go on to Italy or the Riviera, and it is not worth while to fly to Paris and break the journey to take train there. But if there was a through air service we should probably have quite a good winter traffic. I hope that in the future when the public learn the advantages of the Zurich service, it will fill up in the winter with people shortening the time of the journey to winter sports. When we get the business men to use it in numbers, they must travel at all times of the year, and this winter gap will be filled up. One advantage of carrying freight is that it is not much affected by season. Mr. Skrine asked if the machines are heated. They are heated, and we are developing experiments to get them more perfectly ventilated and heated; air transport is becoming an extremely comfortable means of travelling even in intense cold. He asked about wireless: I can reply at once, Yes, all passenger-carrying machines of any size carry wireless, and are forced to do so by international law. Actually on the service between London and Paris the machine is in communication with the wireless control tower in Croydon during the whole journey; the pilot can ask for weather reports and pass back information for those following him. Croydon can warn the pilot of bad weather in front of him, and give him instructions to land if necessary. That wireless control has grown up in the last three years, and has proved an enormous success. We are bringing in measures in international law which will make it necessary for passenger aircraft flying in any part of the world to be fitted with wireless. We look on it as practicable. He asked about merchandise. Naturally ladies' hats and dresses from Paris. Motor bicycles: I think we had a consignment of 100 to take to Cologne. Sick people are frequently brought

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over by air, as being the most comfortable and safest method of travel. Tobacco: I think five or six tons were taken over to Cologne not long ago. Samples of wine, gramophone records, boots, and cloth imported from Germany come by air. Wireless equipment, drugs, gold in bars, silver in bars; we have carried a great deal of bullion lately in international financial negotiations. All sorts of things: if you are down at Croydon, it is worth while having a look at the Customs go-down to see the curious things that come by air. The latest was a lion cub. I think the average rate for freight is about sixpence a pound to Paris; it is twopence a pound for 100 miles. Sir Arthur Barrett asked about competition with railways and shipping. There is bound to be a little competition in the early stages. If we establish the route from Ismailia to Karachi, we are bound to take some passengers from the P. & O. But I think air transport has come as an antidote to the congestion of the other means of communication. Wireless and cables are worked up to capacity already, and laying down a new cable to avoid congestion is an enormously expensive undertaking. If a business man, or a member of the Government, or I, for a joy ride, want to go out to Australia, we cannot go there now because we cannot get away for long enough. If the air makes our visits possible, they will have some effect. The business man will make a deal; the member of the Government will do something about mutual co-operation; I shall go and see friends; and we will all make new traffic. What will be the result of more traffic? All forms of transport will benefit. The establishment of air transport, so far from competing with the older forms, will give them greater traffic. As I said during the lecture, one of the things that quick communications do is to stimulate trade between two countries and bind them more closely together. If they are bound more closely together the traffic between the two countries increases. It is not possible for all that traffic to go by air. I think, personally, that steamer companies and railway companies will get more traffic from the institution of transport by air. There is a leading railway now in this country considering the possibility of adding air transport to its other activities. We should like to see the big shipping companies come into aviation and take over one of these services, possibly of airships. I have only one comment to make about the last gentleman's remarks. He congratulated us on our safe return. I do not like that word "safe": it was safe from start to finish. You might say my reluctant return: I should be quite willing to start off and do that journey or another to-morrow, if I had the chance. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Sefton Brancker has answered all questions most kindly. I hope Sir Edmund Barrow will now say a few words.

Sir EDMUND BARROW: Naturally, as I have no experience of flying, I am not going to talk about the air, but I should like to talk about the Lecturer. I am sure you will be interested to hear something about Sir Sefton Brancker's birth as an airman. I assisted, not exactly at

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the birth, because I believe he had a trial flight once before I saw him; but I actually assisted at his official "air baptism." In fact, I was his godfather on that occasion. What happened was this: Monsieur Jullerot, a well-known French airman, came out to India in 1911 to advertise some machine or other, I forget which. The aeroplane was a new thing in India, and was looked on as unpractical for military purposes. About that time I was directing some ground manœuvres in Central India, and I thought it would be a good opportunity to test an aeroplane at military manœuvres. At my request Monsieur Jullerot very kindly came down to those manœuvres, which were the very first at which aeroplanes were used in India. With Jullerot came the Lecturer. They were both members of my mess, and we fully discussed the subject of aeroplanes in war. I may tell you that most of us looked on the aeroplane as rather a "Jim," and thought we should not get much benefit from it. However, the next day I sent out Sir Sefton—he was Captain Brancker then—with Monsieur Jullerot to reconnoitre. He went out, I think, about ten or twelve miles; and in the space of half an hour or so we got back a very full report from Captain Brancker regarding the position of the enemy and all the necessary details. That was a convincing proof to us all of the value of the aeroplane in military manœuvres, and I always feel proud of the fact that Sir Sefton flew on that occasion in the presence of a large force of doubting soldiers who were at once converted by what they saw to the value of the aeroplane. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN (Sir CHARLES YATES): My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think we have had a most interesting and most instructive lecture, and a most interesting discussion. Now I will ask you to join me in passing a most hearty vote of thanks to our Lecturer for the treat he has given us this afternoon. (Applause.) Our lecture has been mainly directed to the air routes in Asia, and I think we all realize the extreme importance of what we may call the backbone of those routes—that is, the route from Cairo to Baghdad, Karachi, Calcutta, Rangoon, and Singapore. That will be the great backbone, I hope, of the air routes in the future; and what we want, as the Lecturer told us, is to make a start. We want to see the special machines made for standing the heat of the Persian Gulf. We want to see the flying-boats made for the route across from Calcutta to Rangoon. But we want to make a real start. We want to secure our Empire communications, and I trust, and I think I may say we may be certain, that under the present conduct and administration of the Air Service we shall get a start in a very short time. We look forward to that and hope we shall get it. You have already shown how thoroughly you welcome the very interesting lecture Sir Sefton Brancker has given us, and I can only say, Let us accord him our most hearty vote of thanks for his kindness in coming here to-day. (Applause.)

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ACROSS THE SYRIAN DESERT TO PERSIA

Sir Charles Yate took the chair at a meeting of the Society held on February 27, when Mrs. Patrick Ness read a paper describing a journey undertaken by herself and her niece in the autumn of 1923, from Beirut, via Damascus and Baghdad, to Teheran and Isfahan, including a trip to Resht and Enzeli on the Caspian from Kasvin on the way back to Baghdad.

The journey was described in the following stages: (*A*) From Beirut via Damascus (71 miles) to Baghdad (532 miles) by motor-car, under the arrangements made by the Nairn Transport Company, which had then (September, 1923) only recently started operations. The first crossing of the desert by motor-car had been accomplished in the preceding April, when four ladies accompanied the two men who conducted the party. Since then several crossings had been made successfully, and several attempts had failed. (Full details of the initiation and exploits of Mr. Nairn's Transport Company were given by Major D. McCallum in a lecture before the Society in November, 1924.) On this occasion the convoy consisted of three 27 h.p. six-cylinder Buick cars, with three drivers, a mechanic in command, and an Arab guide; in addition, eight passengers with their baggage were carried. In the leading car, besides the driver, the two ladies and a French officer travelling to Teheran to take up his post as Military Attaché there and the Arab guide were accommodated. Provisions and a supply of water were distributed throughout the convoy. After an uneventful journey of seventy-one miles across the Lebanon to Damascus, the convoy as above left Damascus early on September 23 and proceeded across the trackless desert for 269 miles to the Rutbah Wells, and at 7 p.m. halted for the night. At 4.30 a.m. the next day a start was again made, and at about 10.0 a.m. a party of R.A.F. with three cars were met, near the edge of the desert, and after some forty miles across black bituminous soil and sand the bridge at Ramadi was reached at 2 p.m.

Mrs. Ness spoke most eulogistically of the excellence of the arrangements and the skill of the drivers, mechanic, and guide, whereby this journey of 459 miles across the desert was accomplished with only two forced stops to repair punctures.

From Ramadi the route followed the so-called main road via Faluja to Baghdad in the bed of the Euphrates, which is liable to inundation in the flood season, and after only a few hours' travelling

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the leading car sank up to its axles in the mud deposited on a causeway, and was only extricated after four hours' work, when, as darkness had come on, the party returned to Ramadi and there spent the night.

On the 25th at 11 a.m. the "Maude" bridge of boats at Baghdad was crossed, and the first stage of the journey, 603 miles, was completed.

Mrs. Ness made light of the heat and dust experienced throughout, but a temperature of 105° F. in the shade at Baghdad must have been no pleasant experience for the two ladies. The second stage (*B*) was by train from Baghdad to Khaniqin, ninety-four miles, which occupied a whole night punctured by sandflies.

Stage (*C*) from Khaniqin to Teheran, 470 miles, should be accomplished in four days by the following stages—which might be reduced to three if the means of transport were efficient and the two last stages combined—to Kermanshah, 130 miles; Hamadan, 130 miles; Kasvin, 145 miles; Teheran, 92 miles. The charges for a car are £55, to which must be added £11 for tolls, which number about thirty on this road. Owing to the defective cars and inefficient drivers the party only managed to reach Kerind (seventy miles) the first day, and on the second day the remaining sixty miles to Kermanshah were covered.

The discomforts and filth of the Kermanshah Hotel were mentioned with great restraint by Mrs. Ness.

From Kermanshah viâ Kasvin to Resht on the Caspian the road was originally most efficiently aligned and laid out by Russian engineers, and was maintained by British troops in the latter stages of the war. But apparently it now suffers from Persian neglect and is in wretched condition.

From Kermanshah the stage of 103 miles to Hamadan was successfully completed on the third day, and the travellers were entertained there by the manager of the Imperial Bank of Persia.

On the fourth day, owing to a breakdown which caused a delay of six hours, the party only reached Manian, near Avek, where they stayed the night in a deserted Russian house at the foot of the Sultan-bulaq Pass. And Kasvin was reached on the fifth day without further mishap, and again the officials of the Imperial Bank offered hospitality to the party.

The sixth day brought the third and last stage of the journey to an end at Teheran, and the two ladies stayed there for several weeks.

After this, a start was made for Isfahan, 288 miles, which it was hoped to reach in two days. But owing to a serious breakdown the first night was spent in a squalid Persian hut, another at Qum, and Isfahan was reached on the third day only.

After an uneventful return journey to Teheran and a short halt there, the party started for Baghdad. From Kasvin a visit was paid to Resht and thence to Kasian, where a German steamer was seen

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unloading a cargo of sugar, which had come from the Baltic under its own steam by canal, lakes, and the River Volga, some 2,400 miles, to that port on the Caspian Sea. After visiting Enzeli a return was made to Kasvin and thence to Baghdad, where, obviously to her great relief, Mrs. Ness found herself once more in the efficient and competent hands of the Nairn Transport Company for her journey back to the Mediterranean. In the two to three months which had elapsed many great improvements had been made. A regular service had been established and a well-defined track across the desert was apparent. In addition a fleet of 31 h.p. Cadillac cars were employed, and carrying the homeward Christmas mails, the journey from Baghdad to Damascus, 532 miles, was accomplished in forty-five hours.

Mr. F. D. HARFORD reminded the audience of an article published in 1918,* in which he had said: "Perhaps before long we may see mechanically propelled vehicles crossing the deserts of Syria and Arabia. From the description of the soil and the nature of the desert between the Euphrates and Damascus, as given by Lieutenant Ormsby in 1831, and by other travellers since then, it is probably quite possible to cross this desert by automobile and also to visit comparatively easily and safely many hitherto unexplored parts of Arabia and Syria." A bold prophecy to make in 1918.

The CHAIRMAN (SIR CHARLES YATE) laid stress on Mrs. Ness's description of the road from Teheran to Resht and of the German ship she had seen on the Caspian. "Mrs. Ness described how a German ship had come from the Baltic right down through the Russian internal canals, down the Volga into the Caspian Sea, and so to Resht. Now that shows us how continental countries take advantage of their waterways, and what care they take of them. As far as I know, wherever I have been on the Continent I have seen canals everywhere, almost every river canalized, and the greatest use made of their waterways. We in this country have allowed a great many of our canals to fall out of use; some were acquired for this very purpose by the railways. We have paid no attention to waterways, although water carriage is the cheapest form of transport you can get in the world; and we make very little use of what canals we have. I only hope the time will come when we shall pay more attention to our canal system, and get a cheaper form of carriage than the railways now give us. Here was an instance. A German ship had come all the way from the Baltic, right through Russia to the Volga, down the Volga and the whole length of the Caspian Sea, to land its goods and stores, whatever they were, in Persia. It is a thing we ought to take to heart, the way that water carriage is taken advantage of on the Continent, and how we neglect it ourselves."

He then asked Mrs. Ness to accept a most hearty vote of thanks for her delightful lecture.

* See *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1918.

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AN ARMY IN THE MAKING

LITTLE is known of the 'Iraq Army in England, and it is proposed to give a short description of this force, beginning with a few words on its origin.

During the British occupation of 'Iraq the only military force recruited locally was the "Arab and Kurdish Levy Force," which still exists as a British local force, under the name of the "'Iraq Levies." In November, 1920, an 'Iraq Government was substituted for the British Civil Administration, and one of the Ministries of this Government was that of "Defence." Ja'far Pasha al 'Askari, C.M.G., late Commander-in-Chief of the Hijaz Army, having arrived in 'Iraq in October, 1920, was appointed Minister of Defence in the first 'Iraq Cabinet. No further development took place till January, 1921, when a skeleton Headquarters Staff of ten 'Iraqi officers was formed, their numbers being increased to twenty-four by April, 1921. Many of these officers had fought on the side of the Allies during the Great War in the Sharifian forces.

In February, 1921, Nuri Pasha al Sa'id, C.M.G., D.S.O., arrived from Syria, and was appointed C.G.S., and in March 111 'Iraqi ex-officers of the Hijaz Army arrived in 'Iraq, and became available for service in the 'Iraq Army. In April Colonel P. C. Joyce, C.B.E., D.S.O., The Connaught Rangers, was appointed Military Adviser to the Ministry of Defence.

The result of the Middle Eastern Conference at Cairo had then to be awaited, and it was not till the end of June, 1921, that the first recruit for the 'Iraq Army was enlisted.

The age of this army, therefore, is still under four years. It was decided that the 'Iraq Army should be organized, trained, dressed, and equipped on British Army lines, and, with the exception of their head-dress, therefore, an 'Iraq Army unit is modelled on a British Army unit. Its clothing and equipment is purchased in England through the Crown Agents. Service in the army is voluntary, and is for a period of two years. On completion of this period, a soldier may re-engage for a second period, and over 50 per cent. of the rank-and-file re-engage. The ration given is a generous one, and service is now most popular. There is no difficulty in keeping up to the strength budgeted for—on the contrary, it is now necessary from time to time to restrict the number of recruits that may be accepted at the various recruiting centres.

In July, 1921, the 'Iraq Military College was instituted under British instructors. It was designed to provide a training establishment for 'Iraqi ex-officers of the Turkish Army who had naturally no knowledge of British methods of training; 156 officers joined the 'Iraq Military

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College in July, 1921, and 105 more towards the end of 1921 and beginning of 1922. The Minister for Defence, C.G.S., and all the officers of the Headquarters Staff joined the College, and went through a course themselves. The subjects then taught were—

Infantry Drill.
Cavalry Drill and Horse and Stable Management.
Musketry.
Military Administration and Regimental Interior Economy.
Sanitation and Hygiene.
Elementary Military Law.

In January, 1923, the 'Iraq Military College was changed into the 'Iraq Army Training Centre, and now consists of—

(*a*) The Cavalry School.
(*b*) The Training Centre proper, consisting of—
Senior Officers' Courses.
Junior Commanders' Courses.
Musketry and Bayonet Fighting Courses.
Lewis Gun Courses.
Vickers Gun Courses.
Hotchkiss Gun Courses.
Signalling Courses.
Rifle and Hand Grenade Courses.

(N.B.—Three hundred and sixteen officers passed courses at the 'Iraq Army Training Centre, May, 1923 to December, 1924.)

(*c*) The 'Iraq Military College for Cadets, which was opened in June, 1924, for sixty students, between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two, who do a three years' course to qualify for commissions as second lieutenants. Amongst the first batch of cadets are many sons of tribal shaikhs.

In addition to this college, one 'Iraqi cadet is accepted at Sandhurst every term, and serving officers are sent yearly to Aldershot for a course of one year's attachment to British units, and officers are sent to the long-course at the Equitation School, Saugor, India. It will thus be seen that the 'Iraq Army makes every effort to turn out well-trained new officers and to keep their present ones up to date.

The important question of the training of N.C.O.s is not overlooked. Classes for N.C.O.s were started at the old 'Iraq Military College in 1921; 455 N.C.O.s passed courses at the present 'Iraq Army Training Centre during 1923-24. A very large proportion of these N.C.O.s re-engage, and are making the army their career.

One of the first tasks with which the Ministry of Defence found themselves confronted was the necessity of forming an Arabic military vocabulary. Hitherto all military terms, textbooks, words of command, etc., had been in Turkish, and the necessity of translating these into Arabic involved the selection, adaptation, and classification for military purposes of words which had before carried no special military significance. A considerable number of British military textbooks have by

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now been translated, and a special translation department is always fully employed in translating new books, and keeping the ones translated up to date, and the 'Iraq Army is trained and drilled wholly in its own language.

There is an idea that the bulk of the 'Iraq Army is recruited from townsmen; but, in fact, about 70 per cent. of the Arabs in the army are of tribal stock. In addition, there are large numbers of 'Iraqi Kurds and 'Iraqi Turcomans in the ranks and amongst the officers.

The 'Iraq Army now consists of four regiments of cavalry, four batteries of artillery, and six battalions of infantry with transport, medical, veterinary, ordnance, and pay services, and has a strength of about 8,000 of all ranks.

The system of Military Law used is based on the Civil Code of 'Iraq for civil offences and on British Military Law for military offences, and the rules of procedure followed are based on those of the British Army. From soon after its inception parts of the 'Iraq Army have been used for minor operations in aid of the civil power against recalcitrant tribes, and in 1924 it undertook for the first time active operations in the Sulaimaniyah district, entailing considerable fighting and some casualties; they acquitted themselves satisfactorily, and the 'Iraq Army is taking its full share in the guarding of the southern, northern, and eastern frontier of 'Iraq.

There is a British Military Adviser and British Staff Officers at Army Headquarters, and British officer instructors in every station where there are any considerable number of 'Iraq troops, and, in addition, British officers direct the instruction at the 'Iraq Army Training Centre. These officers have always worked in the closest co-operation and on the most friendly terms with 'Iraqi personnel, and excellent liaison exists between the 'Iraq Army and the R.A.F. and British Military Forces in 'Iraq.

Sport is encouraged in the 'Iraq Army. All mounted officers play polo, and the 'Iraq cavalry team won the Bonham-Carter handicap polo tournament in 1924. Several officers have won hurdle races at the Baghdad Race Meetings, and large numbers turn out for pig-sticking meets. The 'Iraq Military College and Infantry units play association football and hockey, and it must be remembered that these games were foreign to 'Iraq till a few years ago.

Considering the short life of this army, and the constant financial stringency in the 'Iraq, the fact that this regular army has been built up from nothing to a force of all arms, with the usual ancillary services of 8,000 strong, in a space of three-and-a-half years, is, I think, a matter for satisfaction.

The 'Iraq Army does not cost the British taxpayer one penny, all its expenses being borne by the 'Iraq budget. The spirit of both officers and men is excellent, and there is every reason to hope that the young 'Iraq Army has a favourable future before it.

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REVIEWS

TIBET PAST AND PRESENT. By Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 24s. net.

Many classifications of travel books have from time to time been proposed, but one which divides them into two classes—(1) those whose main object is to instruct, and (2) those whose main object is to inspire—is as good as any. Once in a generation a book does both, and does both well, and we get a masterpiece like "Arabia Deserta"; but in an ordinary way there are just good and bad books in either class.

The book before us belongs to class 1, and ranks high in that class. The instruction imparted is much of it new, and most of it interesting; and if the author's style strikes the reader as somewhat egotistical, the fault is venial in a distinguished public servant, who, while serving, cannot, and in the nature of the case, must not, be acclaimed by the general public.

As Sir Charles Bell rightly says in his introductory chapter, "Tibet has ever fascinated the imagination of mankind." Probably it ever will, though the first glamour—"the romance of ignorance"—has been stripped from the country these twenty years, not a little owing to the endeavours of our author.

No European has ever been so intimate with a ruler of Tibet as has Sir Charles Bell with the thirteenth Dalai Lama; and it was a curious fate which ordained that the Lama with whom this intimacy grew up should be, not only the greatest ruler Tibet has ever had, but a man whose attainments and character would have marked him out as an unusual person in any age and in any country. Not the least delightful part of the book is the author's sympathetic account of this remarkable figure—the contrast between his childlike faith and his iron will, his political shrewdness and his religious simplicity.

The chapters dealing with the events which led from the Younghusband Mission to the Chinese occupation of Lhasa, and from the Chinese Revolution to the return of the Dalai Lama to his capital, are the most arresting in the book. Few people realized at the time how close China came to accomplishing her designs, nor how far-reaching and pregnant with future trouble those ambitious designs really were. All this is admirably described, and we can only admire the author's vision and grasp of the situation. Mr. Teichman, a few years ago, gave us

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an account of these events from the Chinese point of view; Sir Charles Bell naturally stresses the Tibetan point of view, and his arguments seem to us irresistible.

Few topics could be more absorbing than the history of British foreign policy which the author's story, perhaps unconsciously, reveals. At first we are almost dumbfounded by the apparent indecision and vacillation of the British Government in its dealings with Tibet; indeed, the author admits that only the Chinese Revolution of 1911 saved us from humiliation. But looking more deeply into the matter, we cannot avoid believing that the British Government saw still further ahead, and was ready even to sacrifice the friendship of Tibet—the lesser need—for the greater need, namely, the winning of the World War, which it foresaw. In other words, the friendship of Great Britain and Russia must not be imperilled for the sake of Tibet.

That we did retain the friendship of Russia during those critical years, and afterwards regain that of Tibet, we may thank the angel Gabriel and our own lucky star, which sends us men of the calibre of Sir Charles Bell. But having once made up her mind which side to take in the quarrel, Great Britain must never again back out and leave Tibet in the lurch. We believe she never will. If Britain can promote a friendly solution of the Sino-Tibetan trouble, so much the better; but if not, there can be no turning back now.

In a few matters we find fault with the author. He rightly complains that the Tibetan names on our maps are often woefully incorrect; but he is himself an offender in this respect, especially with Chinese names. Batang is not usually spelt Ba-tang—though he allows us a free choice by spelling it both ways—nor Litang, Li-tang. There is even less excuse for hyphenating Tsaidam; Koko Nor *Lake* is redundant; Irawadi, for the great Burmese river, is archaic; and surely the province south of the Tsangpo bend is Pemako, not Pemakochen—though there is a monastery called Pemakochung by the river in the gorge itself. Again, in the historical review we are told that the Tibetans anticipated Darwin by claiming descent from a monkey—which is one of those things which really should not be said in the twentieth century, seventy years after the publication of the "Origin of Species." Had the Tibetans made that odd claim for the first time to Sir Charles Bell himself, they would still have anticipated Darwin, since he never made so reckless a statement. We were not aware that there were antelope in Tibet—probably the author means gazelle; on p. 154 there is some confusion as to what comprises "inner" and "outer" Tibet.

Apart from these minor faults, we have read the book with real pleasure and deep interest. Assuredly the author has deserved well of his country, serving her with tireless energy, faithfulness, and vision, even when, to his bitter regret, the home Government could not

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officially endorse his real love for this strange and lovable people. The final triumph of his policy must be a peculiar satisfaction to him in his retirement.

If it is not a book for the general reader, it is something more—a standard work on one of the most critical periods in the history of Indian frontier politics. It is generously illustrated with good—some very good—photographs; the maps are clear and sufficient for their purpose; and the index functions adequately. There is also a complete set of appendices, giving the terms of the various Tibetan treaties, such as no student of the Tibetan situation can afford to be without.

F. K. W.

To LHASA IN DISGUISE. By A. W. Montgomery McGovern, Ph.D. (Oxon). London: Thorton Butterworth, Ltd.

Most people will remember the newspaper sensation which was created some three years ago by Dr. McGovern's "secret" journey to Lhasa.

In a series of articles subsequently contributed to the *Daily Telegraph*, our author described his journey; and there we supposed the matter would rest, so far as sensational journalism was concerned, and no harm done. But Dr. McGovern has now written a book which is little, if any, less sensational than the articles referred to; and though we have no desire to prejudice people against believing exactly what they like, yet, since the author, in his most aspiring flights of fancy, butchers the reputations of those who are unable to defend themselves, we feel it our duty to take up the cudgels on their behalf.

In a dedication he attempts to disarm criticism, and promises us a more technical account of his travels later. But it is already too late. We are beginning to suspect Dr. McGovern. He cannot so easily disavow gross inaccuracies and worse misrepresentation. No traveller capable of any useful contribution to geographical knowledge would seriously make such a silly statement as the following: ". . . Mr. George Knight, F.R.G.S., conceived the idea of organizing a research mission to Tibet, to carry out a thorough survey of the country and the people."

To come down to more important matters: The account given of the late Sikkim Maharaja's domestic affairs on p. 32 is entirely inaccurate; nor does the Personal Assistant referred to on p. 33 hold his post at the pleasure of the Political Officer. The "fanatical peasantry" of Tibet are new to us, and we cannot think that the members of the Tibet Mission would endorse the author's verdict that the Tibetans appear to be "arrant cowards." To anyone who knows the true inwardness of the events described on p. 263, the published account reads curiously. Here is the art of misrepresentation brought to perfection! Every word we believe to be literally true—or almost

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every word—for we cannot bring ourselves to believe that this telegraph clerk gazed at our explorer for several *minutes* "in blank and speechless bewilderment"! and yet the *tout ensemble*, we suspect, is highly fictitious. The author would lead his readers to believe that the road up the Tista valley was not only quite unknown, but non-existent, which is not the case; and why he should add 1,000 feet to the height of a well-known pass is more than we can say. To speak of the "gross inaccuracy of existing maps" (p. 94) in the case of a country like Sikkim, which has long been known and accurately mapped by the Survey of India, arouses a suspicion that the author cannot read a map; while "Kamchendzonga" for our old friend Kinchinjunga, though doubtless correct, is not helpful.

Dr. McGovern is a little too insistent on the stainlessness of his honour to be convincing. No man, we suspect, who was sure of himself would give the matter of his parole quite so much thought; though we have no intention of going into the moral question involved.

The photographs are interesting. When were they taken, and by whom? That opposite p. 180, with Chinese in attendance on the Tashi Lama, must be at least ten years old, since there have been no Chinese in Central Tibet since 1912. That of the Dalai Lama, opposite p. 306, was presumably taken in India about the same time—obviously it was not taken in Lhasa. No acknowledgments are made, however.

If the author would confine himself to straightforward narrative, and not boast of his own cleverness at the expense of others (as on p. 79), nor insist so much on his own moral rectitude, we would have no quarrel with him. He would be the perfect exponent of the Brighter Travel book; we would forgive his lack of scientific knowledge, his childish love of exaggeration, even his artful misrepresentation. But we are too much prejudiced against this method of conducting a "scientific" expedition to derive much pleasure from his book, though we will not deny that the general reader may enjoy it.

Dr. McGovern displayed a certain dogged courage which we admire, and it seems to us a pity that he should have discounted this by playing to the gallery. F. K. W.

TURKEY IN TRAVAIL. By Harold Armstrong. With eight illustrations and two maps. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head. 8s. 6d.

This book contains a record of the experiences of the author in Turkey from 1916 to 1923. These naturally fall into two periods—firstly, the period before the Armistice during which the author played the part of one of the defenders of Kut, and subsequently that of a captive in Anatolia; and, secondly, the period from the Armistice to the conclusion of peace with the Kemalists during which time the author saw Turkey firstly from the point of view of Assistant Military Attaché

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in Constantinople, and later as a member of the Inter-Allied Sub-Commission for the control of Ottoman Gendarmerie set up under the treaty of Sèvres.

Mr. Armstrong's knowledge of the Turkish character and language and his habit of careful observation render the account of all his adventures most interesting, and his estimate of the character of the different races formerly included in the Turkish Empire worthy of more than passing notice.

But what interested me especially was the author's account of the Allied occupation of the Constantinople area and of his experiences as a Turkish Gendarmerie officer, since, as far as I am aware, this is the first account of its kind to be published.

Mr. Armstrong's narrative of his exciting chases after Greek and Turkish brigands in the Skutari area makes thrilling reading. In dealing with the subject of brigandage he has not, however, attempted to hide the very real tragedy of the life of the common people in that and other districts. His description of the atmosphere of fear of murder, incendiarism, rape and bloodshed under which all the scattered minorities in Anatolia constantly lived was only too true, and marks to my mind one of the saddest chapters in the book.

The problem of internal security and the protection of minorities in Turkey is a vast problem which the Turk has in the past only tackled from one point of view, namely to get rid of the minorities and thereby save further trouble.

But, far from producing the desired result, it may fairly be argued that the methods of the "unspeakable Turk" had themselves largely caused the state of lawlessness which obtained in their dominions, for it was the traditional Turkish inhumane policy of deportation and terrorism, with consequent emigrations, that produced small and widely-scattered communities with a corresponding increase in the promiscuity of crime.

The fact that the British controlled Ottoman Gendarmerie during the Allied occupation engaged in all kinds of crime and brigandage shows how the situation can be aggravated if anything but the best material be employed.

As illustrative of the poor quality of the Turkish internal security forces one has only to point to the fact that before the war British residents living a few miles outside Constantinople used to resort to paying brigand bands a regular subsidy rather than trust to the efficiency of the Turkish gendarmerie to protect them. With the advent of the British control of gendarmerie, however, such a course was rendered incompatible with their loyalty to the British administration.

With regard to Mr. Armstrong's account of the Allied occupation of the Constantinople area throughout the whole account there are no

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statements of fact, as distinct from opinion, with which I find myself in disagreement, with the following two exceptions:

Firstly, I do not think the author is quite fair to Mr. Lloyd George or the Greeks when he seems to suggest (p. 83) that the decision to allow the Greeks to occupy Anatolia was largely influenced, as far as Mr. Lloyd George was concerned, by (1) inaccurate maps showing a preponderance of Ottoman Greeks in and around Smyrna, and (2) inaccurate reports that Greeks were being massacred in the Smyrna area. I would point out that certain, though not all British observers in Turkey, whose duty it was to furnish the Government with information on Anatolian affairs believed both propositions to be true as the result of their independent observations. There were from time to time Greekophil and Turkophil officers on the British military and diplomatic staffs in Constantinople, both of whom would naturally tend to be biassed in the degree of reliability they personally would attach to reports of atrocities they sent forward to London. In the circumstances in view of the clash of information Mr. Lloyd George had no reasonable alternative but to draw his own conclusions.

With reference to the attitude of the European Greeks towards Hellenism, in describing which the author (p. 94) says, "they played at being the champions of their oppressed fellow-countrymen in Anatolia, but this was but a fancied rôle," I think that this, regarded as a general statement, did not fairly represent the attitude of the Greek people, although it may have represented the attitude of some of their leaders. Among the European Greeks both in Greece and Turkey I found enthusiasm for the cause of the Unredeemed Greeks, and this enthusiasm from time to time manifested itself in political demonstrations.

The second matter which I have to criticise is a small point in the author's account of the Greek offensive against Angora in 1921 (p. 208). The author is mistaken if he supposes that the Greeks on August 14 "pushed the Turks in front of them until they reached the Sakaria River," for the main body of the Nationalist Western Army, after the failure of the counter-attack against Eskishehr on July 21, withdrew to the east of the Sakaria; and it was not till several days after the commencement of the Greek advance on August 14 that the Greeks met the main body of the Turkish Western army occupying defensive positions south-west of Angora, so well prepared that the Greeks never succeeded in breaking through them. It was the superior Turkish strategy in withdrawing to the east of the Sakaria which was largely responsible for the Greek failure to reach Angora. For by doing so the Turkish leaders lessened their relative inferiority by—

(*a*) Making it difficult for the Greeks to bring up supplies on account of their extended communications in a difficult country while correspondingly increasing their own facilities for reinforcement and

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supplies owing to proximity to their depots at Kastamuni, Angora, and Konia, and further east at Amassia, Yozgad, and Kaiserieh.

(*b*) Wearing out the Greek offensive spirit by prolonging the campaign.

(*c*) Choosing their line of resistance on the edge of a practically waterless desert across which the Greek army would be forced to advance to the attack.

Another factor which materially contributed to the Turkish success was the unity of command possessed by the Kemalists. This was achieved by the appointment of Mustapha Kemal on August 5 to the post of Commander-in-Chief which helped greatly to maintain the moral of the troops severely shaken by the retreat from Eskishehr. This step, besides establishing unity of command, greatly assisted the task of mobilising rapidly all the material and moral forces of the country, thanks to the powers practically of dictator conferred on the Commander-in-Chief. With the Greeks, on the other hand, there were two headquarters present on the field of battle—the H.Q. of the army in Asia Minor under General Papoulas, and a portion of G.H.Q. from Athens under the C.G.S. General Dousmanis. The latter interfered in the conduct of the battle, and both were liable to interference by King Constantine. The result was to place the Greeks at a great disadvantage compared with the Turks once a clear-cut programme had failed to win through and plans had in consequence to be modified.

In conclusion I have been much entertained by the author's description of the "pleasant life in Constantinople," especially in his account of the charms of the Russians which I most heartily endorse.

MAI-YAWON DUNIYA.

THE TRADITIONS OF ISLAM. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HADITH LITERATURE. By Alfred Guillaume, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. 10s. 6d.

English writers on Islam have rightly devoted much attention to the study of the Qur'ān, and there are more translations of this book (which upwards of 230,000,000 of persons believe to be inspired) and more learned works devoted to the exposition of it, in English than in any other European language. But important as the study of the Qur'ān is for the understanding of Muhammadan thought, there is a danger, in Protestant countries at least, that the common comparison of the Qur'ān with the Bible may leave out of consideration the immense influence of the Traditions of the Prophet. For the Qur'ān and Islam are by no means synonymous, and it is in the Traditions of Muhammad that the student may find the key to many of the problems of Muslim dogma, jurisprudence, political theory, and the organization of daily life. In no English book has this particular section of Muslim theological literature received systematic treatment or been set forth

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with the same fulness of detail as in Professor Guillaume's illuminating volume. He shows how the Traditions arose and how they were collected, and he explains the place they came to occupy in the general system of Muslim dogma, law, and political theory. He has also made an interesting and judicious selection of traditions illustrative of Muhammadan ethics and manners, the status of women, superstitious practices, etc., and in an appendix has given a translation of the whole chapter of the traditions on predestination from the collection of al-Bukhārī. A particularly interesting chapter in his book is devoted to the Traditions that may be traced to Christian sources, in which miracles corresponding to those recorded in the Gospels are attributed to Muhammad, and the sayings of Jesus are put in the mouth of the founder of Islam.

The greater part of the information contained in this book has not hitherto been made accessible in the English language, or has been hidden away in works known only to specialists. Professor Guillaume has, therefore, put all serious students of Islam under an obligation by the publication of this instructive and attractively written volume, which deserves an honoured place in the library of every Englishman who wishes to understand the religious outlook of devout Muhammadans.

T. W. A.

Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire. By Mr. M. P. Charlesworth, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.

This is a scholarly and important book by a Fellow and Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge, on a really arresting subject which has hitherto hardly been adequately dealt with. There is no map, unfortunately, and the author only partially disarms criticism on this point by alluding to the expense. We hope that any future edition will include at least a map in black and white. The book is conveniently divided into chapters, each complete in itself, and those headed Syria, the Sea-route to India and Ceylon, Asia Minor, and the Overland Route to China and India, will specially appeal to members of the Central Asian Society. It is with the first two centuries of our era that the author is concerned.

The chapter on Syria describes the various trade-routes from Egypt and through Petra, Damascus, and Palmyra to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates Valley, to ancient cities like Gerra, Ctesiphon and Charax, to Parthia, Chinese Turkestan and China.

It is well shown how Asia Minor, so rich in agricultural and mineral resources, was served by her roads, rivers, and ports. "Ephesus was the starting-point for all going East, with its large harbour, and receiving as it did the goods of the Overland route, it was the largest and most prosperous mart in all Asia." One road passed along the south via the famous Cilician Gates (through which

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the Baghdad Railway now runs) and across the mountains to the Euphrates and Zeugma.

The overland route to China and India is that which makes the greatest appeal to the imagination. We are told that the Romans encouraged trade by the Red Sea ports to India by sea, in order to diminish the trade through Bactria and Parthia. Two merchants, Isidore of Charax (once at the mouth of the Euphrates), and Maes Titianus of Macedonia, have described the stations between Zeugma on the Euphrates and Bactria on the routes by which silk and other commodities of great value in a small bulk were transported. Sir Aurel Stein's explorations in Chinese Turkestan have thrown further light on these silk routes to China, finding as he did still intact pieces of silk, and frescoes showing Greek and Roman influence in combination with Indian art.

From Ctesiphon by the modern Kermanshah route, by Ecbatana, the famous pass of the Caspian Gates, Merv, and Bactra (now Balkh) the route reached the station called the "Stone Tower," identified by Stein with Tashkurgan. "At this lonely spot," Mr. Charlesworth says, "three civilizations, those of China, India, and of the Hellenized Orient, met and gave in exchange their wares, and their painting and art." Another route branched off south from Merv to Kandahar, where Chinese merchants or agents were also to be met.

The extent of Roman penetration in the Far East is proved by the fact that the gold coins of Northern India are of the same weight as the Roman *aurei* of that period, showing that the Roman gold coinage was a standard, and accepted over a very wide area. Mr. Charlesworth adds that the word *denarius* persists long in Indian literature.

F. D. H.

THE INCONSTANCY OF MADAM CHUANG and other Stories from the Chinese. Translated by E. B. Howell. With twelve illustrations by a native artist. London: Werner Laurie. 10s. 6d. net.

No Chinese tales have been presented to Western readers so often as those of *Chin ku ch'i kuan*, the collection from which the six translated in this volume are taken. A complete rendering of the whole work with its forty stories has never been published in a European language, but parts of it have been translated and retranslated again and again. So long ago as 1735 the story which provides Mr. Howell with his title was done into French by d'Entrecolles, and many well-known writers have since taken their share—Thoms, Pavie, Davis, Abel-Rémusat, Julien, Schlegel, d'Hervey-Saint-Denys, and Douglas. But their versions either are scattered in periodicals now rare or are hardly accessible in books long out of print. So a fresh rendering is welcome, especially when it is the work of a scholar with just judgment and sound knowledge of the country.

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Mr. Howell wisely refrains from giving literal translations of these stories in their entirety. Some passages he omits because they are unessential to the narrative or would require copious and involved notes to make them understood by Western readers. This problem of selection has to be tackled by every translator of a literature packed with historical and legendary allusions only intelligible to those trained in the old school of Chinese scholarship. Another way out of the difficulty is to shirk literal translation and give the substance in Western dress. It is an alternative offering fatally easy escape from textual difficulties and encouraging the sin of glossing. Mr. Howell has kept clear of these dangers. The tales, which he presents with such ability, provide not merely amusing reading but visions of Chinese thought and life of the past. One hopes that Mr. Howell will publish some more of the same kind.

It is a pity that a better artist was not found to do the illustrations. The author calls them "a trifle crude," and no one is likely to dissent from this opinion. W. Perceval Yetts.

The Balochi Language. By Major George Waters Gilbertson. Assisted by Ghano Khan, Haddiani. Published by the Author. 1923.

Major Gilbertson, assisted by Ghano Khan, has, with infinite labour, combined with an affection for the wild children of nature he so well understands, brought forth a work which will not only be of inestimable value to the young officer whose lot may be thrown amongst the Baluch, but also to the tribesmen themselves, because the one thing which they really appreciate above all others in those set in authority over them is that they shall be able to converse direct without the aid of an interpreter. The author has perhaps left his reader to conclude that Baluchistan is a province inhabited chiefly by the Baluch, whereas it is a country with a great diversity of languages as well as races. Among the former we have Pashtu, Brahui, Eastern and Western Baluchi, Jatki or Siraiki, Jadgali or Sindhi, Khetrani, a dialect of Western Panjabi, and Lasi. In Kalat the cultivators of H.H. the Khan, called Dehwars, speak a very bastard Persian, and the Loris (the smiths, and musicians), a gypsy language of their own called Mokaki. The language of correspondence is Persian.

In the Marri-Bugti country Eastern Baluchi occurs, and this is the particular brand of Baluchi on which the author has built up his useful book. It is doubtless the best form of Baluchi, and that used by the most noted tribes, but probably not by the largest number, for a Rind from Kachhi will, with some difficulty, understand a Rind from Mand on the Persian border, and a Lasi slave would be looked on as speaking almost a foreign tongue in Dera Ghazi Khan. Few languages have such a diversity of patois. Most people who have spent their lives

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amongst the Baluch would probably say that Baluch means "nomad" or "wanderer," and that though in the seventh century they were in strength in Persian Baluchistan and moving eastwards, they originally came from Aleppo. In the heart of Arabia Mr. Philby found an Arab tribe called "Marri," noted for exceptional primitiveness even amongst its uncivilized neighbours. Throughout Persian Baluchistan and Mekran are found tribes of the same name and early history as in British Baluchistan and Kalat. But the main factor which gives almost all pandits a chance of proving their own theories about the Baluch, is that each tribe is either continually being built up by absorbing individuals or whole sections, or disappearing by being absorbed; the principle of "Hamsaya" is the mainstay of the Baluch organization, and enables it to gather various elements even of alien origin, and who, having proved themselves, are admitted to the tribe and given wives.

The late Nawab Sir Bairam Khan was, like many of his confrères amongst the Baluch chiefs, much troubled as to what would be the future of his people under the new dispensation of so-called national rule in the Panjab, and apparently, not without reason, he often suggested a Pan-Baluch confederation to be under a separate administration or to be attached to an enlarged frontier province combining all the frontier tribes.

The arrangement of the grammar is in certain respects unique, and the author has, by marginal dark lines, drawn distinct attention to the portions which he looks on as most important, and the literal translation in brackets in each sentence of every lesson is most helpful in explaining the construction.

The conversational sentences and passages with translations that have been set at higher standard examinations, ought to prove of the greatest service to students and candidates. Major Gilbertson has dedicated this most useful book to "My old and humorous pal the Baluch"; it will surely be the cause of cementing many friendships between the Baluch and other sympathetic officers. Wáh Mavárkí, Thi hair eṅ.

ALIF SHABNAM.

THE GREAT BETRAYAL: A SURVEY OF THE NEAR EAST PROBLEM. By Edward Hale Bierstadt. London: Hutchinson and Co. 1924. 15s.

To attempt "A Survey of the Near East Problem" in 200 pages, even when supported by 140 pages of documentary appendices, is an ambitious task, especially when the author claims that his judgment is impartial. Unfortunately Mr. Bierstadt is by no means unbiassed, his sympathies being very much in favour of the Christian minorities of Turkey, and he has no scruples about expressing his detestation of the Turks. In fairness to him one must admit that few who have had

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recent experience of relief work in the Near East can retain any Turkish sympathies.

The author's feelings, however, lead him into several unfortunate misstatements and omissions which mar the book. For instance, on p. 123 he states that during the Turco-Greek operations in 1921 "French officers served under the Turkish flag," and can quote no better authority than an Athens newspaper to substantiate this grave accusation. In a chapter entitled "The Truth about Smyrna" the statements of many eye-witnesses are quoted, and one cannot read without emotion the narrative of the horrors which were enacted. No doubt the bulk of the evidence points to the Turks as probably responsible for originating the fire, and certainly so for the appalling outrages which accompanied it; but the exact origin of the fire is a matter on which His Majesty's judges have been unable to give a definite ruling, and Mr. Bierstadt only produces witnesses who support his own convictions, while ignoring all provocative action on the part of Armenians or Greeks.

The author is on surer ground when he recounts the history of American missionary and philanthropic effort in the Near East. He estimates that 50 million dollars have been subscribed for missionary work alone during the past ninety years, while the figures for relief work are still more striking: as he says: "The American public has spent during the last ten years more than 86 million dollars specifically for relief work in the Near East." He goes on to say: "This relief work has been necessitated, not by an 'act of God,' but solely because of the Turkish policy of torture and extermination." Mr. Bierstadt frankly admits the moral obligation incurred by the United States to protect and succour the Christian minorities, who have been encouraged to develop their national and religious instincts by American educational and missionary effort. "American responsibility for the civilization which she herself has created," he says, "is patent and manifest. It was American money, and American men and women who through years of sacrifice helped to bring that civilization into being." This at once brings him into conflict with the State Department in Washington and Admiral Bristol, the High Commissioner of the United States in Constantinople, whom he vigorously condemns for carrying out, at the dictation of the big oil and tobacco interests, a selfish commercial policy to which all higher motives are ruthlessly sacrificed. "The American High Commissioner, his associates, and the officers under him are apt to favour Turkey because the foreign policy of the Department of State favours Turkey, and the Department of State favours Turkey because it is to the advantage of American Commercial interests to do so." . . . "The American people had established a flourishing western civilization in Asia Minor; that civilization has been drowned in oil." . . . "The action of the United States Government during and after the

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disaster of Smyrna is unique in the history of the nation. It violated every standard and tradition of national honour and decency."

Mr. Bierstadt roundly criticizes the American representatives at the Lausanne Conference, and recalls many interesting facts to support his indictment. In particular he condemns Admiral Bristol for trying to hush up the evidence of Dr. Ward of the American Foreign Missions Board, who had witnessed the brutal treatment of thousands of deported Greeks and Armenians. "He requested Dr. Ward not to make public what he had seen, because it would cause animosity toward the Turks and might undo the work that he, Admiral Bristol, was trying to accomplish—namely, the establishment of friendly trade relations between the United States and Turkey."

Whether "the great betrayal" of the Christian minorities of Turkey could have been equitably avoided by the political measures advocated by Mr. Bierstadt, such as the Treaty of Sèvres and the Wilsonian project for Armenia, is of course an extremely controversial matter; his book is a piece of special pleading on the subject, but it exposes in a vigorous and illuminating way the danger of humanitarian principles being sacrificed on the altar of commercial interests.

La Parure des Cavaliers et l'Insigne des Preux. A French translation, by J. Louis Mercier, of an ancient Arab treatise on the Horse. Librairie Orientaliste. Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1924.

Since the birth of the world no animal has been held in greater esteem than the horse, and of its various races the Arab has been preferred. Its glories have been sung in verse by the poet Antar, who has extolled it above the rest of its kind. He writes: "Did not He exist whose mighty power the very planets dread, I would have made the back of my horse the cupola of the universe."

It is with these words that the French Consul in Morocco, Louis Mercier, introduces to us his translation, "La Parure des Cavaliers et l'Insigne des Preux," of the Arabic text of the book of the horse by 'Aly ben 'Abderraḥman ben Ḥoḍeïl el Andalusy. The Arabic text, which appeared in 1922, has now been followed by an accurate French translation, together with six learned appendices, a bibliography, and a glossary of Arabic hippology. In a preliminary preface M. Mercier states that the author, Ibn Ḥoḍeïl, wrote his work by order of Sultan Mohammed, King of Granada, about 1362, to whose Court he was attached, and where he devoted himself to the study of literature. Beyond these facts little seems to be known of him, and no mention of his name is found in Brockelmann's bibliography. According to M. Mercier, the work here translated seems to have been a revision of a longer and more complete work entitled "L'Ornement des âmes," etc.

The book is divided into twenty chapters, the first fourteen of which

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treat of the creation and diffusion of the horse, its mysterious virtues and qualities, its training and trappings, and all that pertains to its care, while the last six deal more particularly with the handling of the sword and lance, and the general equipment of the rider, his cuirass and his arms, and their use in battle. Five of the appendices contain the author's opinion on the text, while a sixth gives a translation of an equestrian manœuvre in 1818 by James Ridley, who was wrecked on the African coast in 1815. In the former he discusses the training and work in the riding-school, the origin of the Arab horse and its various offshoots, the breeding and age of the horse, its care and feeding, and a general view of horse training by the Arabs in all ages.

The book is a curiosity of the first order, and should be consulted by everyone interested in the Eastern horse and the Arabic language.

Some of the lore and legend found in the present work is current in other Muslim countries (*vide* the Persian work "Faras-nāma-yi Hāshimī," published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the Urdu work "Faras-nāma-Rangīn," published by Quaritch). Hindu legends, too, like Muslim legends, relate that the horse was once a winged animal, and every Hindu sais knows that a horse's castors or "wings" mark the spot where, under the orders of Indra, Sālihotra cut off the wings of the horse. It is also interesting to learn from our author that the term *tabargūn* applied by Afghan and Indian horse-dealers to a certain faulty conformation of the quarters has apparently an Arabic origin. In Steingass's Persian Dictionary the word is wrongly given as "hollow-backed" as applied to a horse.

Some of the illustrations in the translation are said to be reproduced from Arab miniatures. Though the headings and descriptions of these are in Arabic, the smooth faces of the riders, their dress, and the pattern of their crossbows point to a Turkish origin.

Oriental dictionaries generally are hopelessly inaccurate regarding the names of birds and plants. A European, searching for accuracy, is dismayed on looking up a word to find that it means "a swan, a heron, an antelope, a kangaroo, or an animal to ride on." If asked the name of some small bird, an ordinary Arab will unhesitatingly reply, "A sparrow." If it is pointed out that the bird is yellow, he will add contemptuously, "Then it is a yellow sparrow." One is, therefore, not surprised to learn that amongst Port Said fishermen the Arabic for "shrimps" is "fleas." It is consequently no reflection on the scholarship of the French translator to suggest that some of the names of his birds have been incorrectly translated. *Farḳ* (*farkh*), for instance, means "a chicken, a nestling, an eyess," and not "a pigeon"; *çaqr* (*ṣaqr*), though loosely applied to any hawk, is the name of *F. Saker*, the cherrug of Anglo-Indians; *qaṭâ* (*qaṭṭā*) is not a partridge but a species of sand-grouse, associated in Arabic literature with water. But small in-

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accuracies like these do not detract from the interest and value of the translation or the learning of the translator.

My friend Sir William Ridgeway, with whom the translator appears to agree, has kindly sent me the following note:

"1. Darwin thought that the Arabs had horses time out of mind, and that the bay-coloured, which the Arabs declared to be the 'Kings of Horses,' were the result of careful selective breeding.

"2. But in the Old Testament there is not the slightest evidence of the Arabs of the Peninsula ever having a horse in early times, or before Christ—*e.g.*, Abraham has not any horses, the Queen of Sheba brought no horses to Solomon, etc. Strabo lays down, on the authority of the great geographer Eratosthenes of Alexandria, and of the traveller Agatharchides, that the Arabs had no horses, their part being taken by camels and asses. Strabo was writing at Alexandria about the time of Christ.

"3. On the other hand, there is an immense body of evidence to show that in North Africa there were horses with the characteristics of the Arab horse of later times, from at least 1500 B.C. In the Libyan horse (Ridgeway, p. 469) and its derivatives, the Arab, the Andalusian, and the English thoroughbred, the tail is different in structure, in its covering, and in the manner in which it is carried (Figs. 58, 68, 73, 75), from that of Prejvalsky's horse and the Mongolian (Figs. 18 and 53). Yet this is no more an outcome of artificial breeding since the Christian era than is the bay colour and the star on the forehead, for we have found the same feature in the horses driven by Seti I. (p. 217), in those Cypriote chariots on vases dating from 1000 B.C. (p. 288), and in those ridden by Libyans (p. 243) portrayed on the pottery found at Daphnæ, and dating from 600 B.C. Seti I. (Fig. 68) has horses coloured brown and carrying their tails like pure-bred Arabians of to-day. This shows that horses of a brown or bay colour, with the characteristic high set on tail, were in Egypt 1,500 years before the Arabs possessed a horse (p. 229). On the coins of Carthage (Fig. 74, p. 255) from 410 to 310 B.C., there is a characteristic horse like the so-called 'Arab.' But in addition to the coins shown there (p. 255), there is a series of silver coins held by some authorities to have been issued by Massinissa or his son Miccipsa, kings of Numidia, famous for their great herds of the horses (210 to 146 B.C.); or by others by Hamilcar, father of Hannibal, by his successor Hasdrubal, and by Hannibal himself, and struck in Southern Spain, after Hamilcar had founded Nova Cathago (modern Carthagena) and developed the great silver-mines there (240 to 218 B.C.). These show a beautiful, fine-bred horse, evidently the Numidian horses on which the famous cavalry of Hannibal were mounted, and described by Livy as *paullulí et graciles*. These coins as well as those of Carthage demonstrate that there was an indigenous breed of horses in Libya centuries before the Arabs ever possessed any sort of horse.

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Now, as Seti I. of Egypt has such horses under chariot, and as the Egyptian XVII. and XVIII. Dynasties came from Ammon into Egypt, and there were Libyans always on the west side of Egypt pressing in from the earliest times down to the historical period, the Libyan horse (*Equus Caballus Libycus Ridgewayi*) was already fully developed with the typical features of what are now termed Arab horses, and these horses could only have been obtained from Libya.

"That the best horses were imported from Egypt into Syria by 900 B.C. is shown by the fact that Solomon did a great trade in horse-flesh, for he imported horses from Egypt for himself, and for the kings of the Hittites, and for all the kings of Syria (1 Kings x. 26-28). Each horse cost 150 shekels ('and so for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria, did they bring them out by their means').

"There can be no doubt that these Egyptian horses were bred by the Libyans, for there were no other regions in Africa from which they could be obtained, whilst the similarity of the horses of Seti I. to those of Libya in later times makes Libya clearly the source.

"These Libyan horses seem to be descended from the fossil horse known as *E. Stenonis*, which is found in Southern Europe—*e.g.*, valley of Arno, caves of Sicily, and in North Africa (p. 470).

"These scraps, I hope, may be of some use to you for your review."
—W. R.

D. C. PHILLOTT, LIEUT.-COLONEL.

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OBITUARIES.

THE MARQUESS CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K.G.

ALL members of the Central Asian Society will have heard with profound regret of the death of our late President, Lord Curzon of Kedleston. His loss appears to many of us almost irreparable, for it will be difficult to find anyone to take his place who will have the same intimate personal knowledge and sympathy with the objects of this Society.

His connection with it dates from 1907, when he was elected a member. He at once became a Vice-President, and in 1918 was elected its first Honorary President, which post he held until his death. From the very first he took a deep and helpful interest in the Society, its objects, its growth, and its repute, and added greatly to its prestige and influence, not only by the weight of his name but by his interest in its development and his close attention to its affairs. We are all aware of his personal and intimate knowledge of Central Asian history, topography, and politics, and of his unsurpassed authority on most Central Asian topics. We of this Society are especially indebted to him for several lucid and illuminating addresses on Central Asia at our Annual Dinners, and it may be assumed that amongst all his multifarious political, social, and literary activities there were few in which he took a more keen interest than those presented by Asiatic problems. The educated world of those interested in Asia is especially indebted to him for his book on Persia, which has rightly taken its place amongst the classics of our literature, and which, it may safely be predicted, will for many years to come survive as *the* standard work on that subject.

His less-known books on Central Asia and the Far East are also of abiding value to all who are interested in those particular regions. They are not only agreeable and vivacious accounts of his travels, but remarkable also for the accuracy and acumen with which he singles out and describes the essential features of the countries, peoples, and scenes therein depicted; even if those works are in some respects already out of date they are never stale, and never cease to be instructive as well as most interesting. There is one journey in particular, not related in those books, to which reference may here be made: it is the one to Kabul at the end of 1894, and which was indeed a very notable incident in his life, for Mr. Curzon was then only a rising politician, little known in the Asiatic world, while the Amir of

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Afghanistan was a formidable personality who at that time resented all proposals for close intercourse with India. Nevertheless, by his astute diplomacy and winning tact the young politician gained his object and was invited by the Afghan lion to visit him in his den. That visit probably had a far-reaching effect, to our advantage, on the trend of Afghan policy in later years. It certainly made personal relations between the Viceroy and Amir much easier.

Lord Curzon's official life is not the special concern of this Society, but the writer of this brief notice cannot refrain from commenting on one aspect of his personality which has at times been sadly misrepresented. Like all great and masterful men Lord Curzon has not escaped carping and ill-informed criticism, with the result that many people suppose that he was an exacting and intolerant superior. "Exacting" he may have been, but no one ever exacted more from himself, and in so doing acquired a better right to exact the utmost from his staff. As regards the fable of arrogant intolerance, it can be truly and justly affirmed that those who had his confidence were entirely devoted to their chief, for they were fully aware how human and considerate he was, how open to conviction, and how patient in listening to views opposed to his own, *provided* they were reasonable and based on facts, not mere expressions of personal opinion. The popular legend of the haughty and unapproachable autocrat is a myth. On the contrary, socially no one could be more agreeable and interesting, while officially no one could be more impressive and inspiring.

GENERAL LORD RAWLINSON, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., A.D.C.

Few probably realize the magnitude of the task that confronted Lord Rawlinson when he became Commander-in-Chief in India in November, 1920. Though the rest of the Empire was at peace, India was to all intents and purposes still at war; the reorganization and re-equipping of her army were urgent and essential as the result of the lessons of the war; officers and men required rest and some certainty as to their future; the troubles on the Frontier were still simmering; more insistent almost than all these was the demand for immediate retrenchment.

Lord Rawlinson's first task was to ensure that the measures initiated by his predecessor, Sir Charles Monro, were accepted and adopted. These included the introduction of a more decentralized system of command and administration, the complete reorganization of the fighting services, and the re-equipment of the army with modern weapons. The difficult and urgent problem of Waziristan also demanded his close attention to prevent a reversal of the decision

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arrived at by the Government of India in February, 1920, to adopt a more forward policy.

He realized from the start the vital importance of these measures to India and the Indian Army, and, in the face of the acute financial stringency, and of persistent opposition in some quarters to the new Waziristan policy, he threw his weight whole-heartedly in support of them with the same energy and enthusiasm which he had shown in command of the Fourth Army in France. He maintained this attitude during subsequent years in the face of much controversy, and had the satisfaction of seeing the army in India reorganized and re-equipped to its great advantage, and distinct signs of the justification of the policy adopted in Waziristan. Of the measures which it fell to Lord Rawlinson to initiate, the most important were the Indianization of the Indian Army, which was a corollary to the Reform Scheme, the creation of the department of the Master-General of Supply, and Retrenchment.

By founding the Dehra Doon College, Lord Rawlinson opened to Indian boys a fair field to prepare themselves to be officers of an Indian Dominion Army. By ear-marking eight units of the Indian Army for gradual Indianization, he gave to Indians holding the King's Commission the opportunity of proving that they were capable of taking the place of British officers in command of troops, and to Indian leaders the opportunity of finding the necessary number of Indian gentlemen to officer these units as a preliminary to further Indianization.

It is probable, however, that it is in the sphere of retrenchment that Lord Rawlinson will be best remembered by his colleagues outside the army, and Lord Inchcape was one of the first to pay tribute to the reasonableness of his demands and to his willingness to co-operate in reducing expenditure.

In his dual rôle as Military Member of Council, Lord Rawlinson frequently found himself involved in political questions in no way connected with the army. In this respect his knowledge of world affairs, his breadth of vision and great experience gained for him the love and respect of all with whom he came in contact.

Notwithstanding his numerous activities, both in the sphere of politics and of administration, Lord Rawlinson never forgot that first and foremost he was a soldier; and it is no exaggeration to say that, during his time as Commander-in-Chief, thanks to his example and guidance, the standard of training and efficiency of the army in India has reached a standard never previously attained. He took over an army suffering severely from the aftermath of war, in a low state of efficiency both as regards equipment and training; sceptical as to the future, and consequently querulous and unhappy. He applied his remedies with the confidence bred of wide military experience and sound judgment. His vitality and indomitable will enabled him to follow the course he had planned without hesitation, but without

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precipitancy. His human sympathy and strong personality inspired others to follow. He has left a legacy to India and her army, the value of which will be appreciated more and more as the years go by.

MISS ADA CHRISTIE

Miss Christie, who passed away in November, would have been better known if her modesty had not prevented her from writing or even talking—save to a few intimates—of her travels. These were accomplished by sheer character, pluck, and patience; she had neither youth, robust health, or means to pay for more than bare necessaries, and her following was limited to a personal servant to cook and interpret—she had only a smattering of Persian and Turkish—a man to look after the animals, and where obligatory, a Turkish *zaptieh*.

Twenty years ago, after spending two winters in Jerusalem and visiting Petra, then rarely seen, she started eastward and travelled by Palmyra (Tadmor), Mosul (visiting Nineveh), and reached Baghdad; saw Babylon, though warned of the danger, and then passed into Persia, visiting the Bakhtiari Mountains, where the last white woman seen had been Mrs. Bishop; on to Teheran, and by the telegraph posts to Bandar Abbas and India. Two years were spent in better-known parts—India, Ceylon, Shan States, Bangkok to see Angkor, China and Japan; then she returned by Siberia and Crimea to Athens, visited Thessaly, various Greek islands, and Crete, and settled in Smyrna, and in spite of political unrest, travelled in Asia Minor. In the spring of 1910 she left for Dineir, Konia, the Cilician Gates, saw Adana then still in ruins, and visited the ruins on the coast, the remains of many civilizations. Then Sis, Anavarsa, Hadgin, and that wonderful maiden fort, Zeitun. Through Shakr (Comana) to Kaiserieh to study the strange troglodyte houses and churches. Sivas followed, and the cañons of Divrik and Egin. She circled Lake Van, and by Urmia passed into the Caucasus. Involved in endless difficulties owing to a cholera epidemic, she at last reached Tokat and the beautiful Amasia, and on her way back to Smyrna saw both the Hittite and Phrygian sculptures. The following spring she saw Carchemish, Urfah, and Diabekr, and that autumn left for England, where she continued to read and study those ethnographical and archæological subjects that had always interested her.

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APPENDIX

GRASS: A MOTION PICTURE DEALING WITH A PERSIAN MIGRATORY TRIBE.

A FILM of this name dealing with the annual migration of the Bakhtiari has been recently produced in New York, and the following account (taken from the *New York Times* of March 31, 1925), will have a special interest for many who know the tribe. The film is described as "a remarkable series of scenes dealing with migratory tribes who go through the same nerve-wrecking, exhausting performance twice a year in order to feed themselves and their cattle."

"The most stirring stretch is where these folks, who belong to a tribe known as the Bakhtiari, thousands strong, cross a river so swift that it would shame the Tay in Scotland. The men and women, boys and girls, all doing their bit, prepare for the fording of the water by blowing up goat skins, which are then used as floats under the primitive types of rafts. Men steer their cattle by plunging along on the blown-up skins, apparently taking the task as something to which they were born. There are scenes of the rafts and thousands of head of animals being swept along in the torrent, some of the young animals being packed without any idea of comfort on the floats. When they leave the shore they are caught in the current and are hastened to the opposite bank of the river, where they have to be agile in gaining a foothold so as not to be dragged further along in the swirling waters.

"Once safe on the other side, after they have gathered together their cattle, their journey seems merely to have been started, for the men and women and the youngsters are then faced with an appalling climb over mountainous rocks that strikes one as a task no less dangerous than fording the river. And once they have dragged themselves, some on their bare feet, the women carrying their babies, their journey is by no means over, for they have to attack a mountain, 12,000 feet high, the trudge over which is agonizingly slow because of the deep snows. Here the men, from chief down, are seen taking off their shoes and going barefooted to dig a path for their caravan. It seems a terribly long ordeal, this climb over the mountain, with another ice-cold stream to cross. Determination is written on the brown countenances of the Bakhtiari, who never wince, never become excited, never frown, but go on with stoic faces, stolidly, knowing that they will conquer the difficulties as their forefathers have been doing for hundreds of years.

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"There are about a million of these migratory people in the chain of mountains from the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf, belonging to different tribes, who twice a year cross from one side of the mountains to the other in search of grass. It is said that there are 50,000 Bakhtiari on the journey depicted in this film.

"After they have travelled many miles, crossed the turbulent river, fought their way over the lofty and treacherous rock ridges, beaten their way through icy streams and up Zardeh Kuh, they are seen standing gazing upon a land sweet with a grass of emerald green, and for a few months they know that their lives are safe, and their cattle can be fed, that they themselves can eat. But as soon as the grass is burned by the sun they have to pack up and go through the hazardous performance again.

"In some of the stretches there are photographs showing humans and cattle zig-zagging up the rocks that seem to cover several miles. Mrs. Harrison, who has gained fame as a writer and war correspondent, is the only one of the American trio seen in the film, as the two men were always busy with the camera. The journey, aside from the travelling over wind-swept plains to the meeting-place of the Bakhtiari, took forty-eight days, and the late Robert Imbrie, the American Consul who was slain by fanatics at Teheran, attested to the fact that Mrs. Harrison, Mr. Shoedsack, and Mr. Cooper were the only white persons ever to have accomplished the exhausting ordeal."

A note, written by a member of the Society, accompanying the extract says:

"The last sentence is, however, scarcely correct: Sir Henry Layard, H. B. Lynch, Major Sawyer (1889), Jacques de Morgan, Mrs. Bishop (1890), and Captain (now Lieut.-Colonel) Lorimer (1903-1910)—to mention only two or three—have not only travelled with the Bakhtiari tribes in their annual migration (though not by the Zardeh Kuh route), but have recorded their experiences in print.

"The enterprising trio of United States citizens responsible for the film originally intended to accompany the Jaf Kurds from the plains of Sulaimani northwards; refused permission, for very good reasons, by the authorities in Iraq, they were induced by a chance meeting with an Englishman to try their luck with the Bakhtiari—and were, as the sequel proves, successful, thanks to the support of the Bakhtiari Khans, obtained through the British Vice-Consul at Ahwaz and the officials of the A.P.O.C., Ltd., on the spot."

The U.S. illustrated paper *Asia*, for December, 1924, January and February, 1925, contains the full story of the adventures of the party, illustrated with some magnificent photographs, the best scenes that have ever been taken, or at all events published, of south-western Persia.

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THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR.

In the fourth chapter, entitled "Les Héros Inconnus" of "La Canne de M. Michelet," by Jules Clarétie, the first edition of which appeared in 1886, I came (pp. 82-3) across the following passage:

"J'ai toujours rêvé qu'on élevât, dans quelque coin de la France, ou sur une place publique de Paris, un monument de marbre ou de bronze qui perpetuât à jamais, aux yeux des hommes, moins oublieux que leurs mémoires, le souvenir des inconnus, des gens sans nom, des cadavres anonymes, des martyrs sans gloire, obscurément tombés pour la patrie.

"Ce serait là la fosse commune des héros oubliés, le Panthéon des petits, des humbles et des dédaignés de la Renommée.

"Ce serait le vrai monument élevé, non pas à un homme, à un souverain, à un guerrier seul, mais à la France tout entière.

"Et ce serait là que les mères des enfants morts loin du pays, les veuves . . . ce serait là que les sœurs, les amies, les amantes, apporteraient leurs couronnes mortuaires aux jours anniversaires du trépas de ces martyrs."

This vision is the issue of the experiences and of the impressions wrought upon the mind of M. Jules Clarétie, and doubtless others, by the scenes of the war of 1870-71; and, to my mind, the war of 1914-18 has caught up its reflection, and inspired the erection or creation of those monuments dedicated since the Armistice by many nations to "The Unknown Soldier." It is but the other day that our King and Queen, in passing through Paris, paid their tribute to the one which in France realizes the vision so vividly expressed by M. Jules Clarétie forty years before.

A. C. YATE.

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1924

Receipts.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To subscriptions, 1924	763 0 0	
,, ,, in advance	18 0 0	
,, ,, in arrears	1 0 0	
		782 0 0
,, Life subscriptions		15 15 0
,, Journal subscriptions	8 10 10	
,, ,, sales	9 8 7	
		17 19 5
,, Dinner Club subscription		14 7 6
,, Gift to library		7 6
,, Sundries		4 1
,, Interest on War Loan	5 0 0	
,, ,, Deposit	4 17 10	
		9 17 10
,, Balance at bank, January 1, 1924 ...	59 7 6	
,, ,, of petty cash, January 1, 1924	6 5 7	
		65 13 1
		£906 4 5

In addition to the National Saving Certificates mentioned in the above account, the Society hold further National Saving Certificates to nominal value £100 and £100 5 per cent. War Loan.

Expenditure.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Rent	62 11 10	
,, Rates	16 11 6	
,, Salary	116 10 0	
,, Telephone	4 10 8	
		200 4 0
,, Lectures: Hire of Room	40 19 0	
Lantern...	24 7 0	
Slides	6 18 0	
Printing	22 11 9	
,, Special expenses of Lecturers	20 8 4	
,, Sundry lecture expenses	6 17 11	
		122 2 0
,, Journal: Printing	291 4 1	
Postage	21 12 3	
Map plates	10 10 0	
Reporters, etc.	49 1 0	
Maps and slide-maps	13 5 0	
		385 12 4
,, Library		9 11 6
,, Annual Dinner and other expenses ...		45 1 5
Petty cash	22 8 9	
Postage	36 12 0	
Stationery	8 6 7	
Dinner Club	6 0	
		67 13 4
,, War Savings Certificates	40 0 0	
		40 0 0
,, Balance at bank, December 31, 1924 ...	29 14 5	
,, ,, petty cash	4 4 5	
		33 18 10
,, Bank charges		2 1 0
		£906 4 5

Examined and found correct.
C. FRAZER,
J. F. RYND.

May 18, 1925.

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NOTICES

Library.—The sale of the following books has been authorized at 2s. 6d. each volume:

"Attack on Fortresses," Fraser, 1875; "Coomassie and Magdala," Stanley, 1874 (2 volumes); "Darkest Africa," Stanley, 1890 (2 volumes); "Defence of Positions," Fraser, 1877; "Expedition to the Niger, 1841," Allen, 1848; "From Korti to Khartoum," Wilson; "Gordon in Central Africa," Grant, 1881 (2 volumes); "Niger Expedition, 1857-59," Crowther and Taylor, 1859; "Niger Flora," Hooker, 1849; "Niger Expedition, Medical History," Williamson, 1843; "Service and Sport in the Sudan," Comyn, 1911; "Seven Years in South Africa," Holub, 1881; "Sport in Abyssinia," Mayo, 1876; "Story of the Rear Column," Jameson, 1890; "Story of the Soudan War, 1885," Pimplett, 1885; "Through the Dark Continent," Stanley, 1878 (2 volumes); "Through Bosnia and Herzegovina on Foot during the Insurrection," Evans, 1876; "War in Bulgaria," Baker Pasha, 1879 (2 volumes); "Walk across Africa," Grant, 1864.

The following books have been received for review:

"Turkey in Travail," by Harold Armstrong. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 250. Maps and illustrations. (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head. 1925. 8s. 6d.)

"Trade Routes and Commerce in the Roman Empire," by Martin Charlesworth. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 288. (Cambridge University Press. 1924. 12s. 6d.)

"Guide Catalogue du Musée Guimet," par J. Hackin. $8\frac{7}{8}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 175. Illustrations. (Paris: G. van Oest et Cie. 1923.)

"Asiatic Art in the British Museum," by Laurence Binyon. $13\frac{3}{4}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$. Plates LXIV. + Pp. 74. (Paris: G. van Oest. 1925. £3 3s.)

"The Wandering Scholar," by David G. Hogarth. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 274. (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1925. 8s. 6d.)

"A Thousand Years of the Tartars," by E. H. Parker. (2nd Edition.) $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 288. Five illustrations and maps. (Messrs. Thornton Butterworth. 1925. 8s. 6d.)

"The Heart of the Middle East," by Richard Coke. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 320. Illustrations. (London: Messrs. Thornton Butterworth. 1925. 18s.)

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"Religions of the Empire," edited by W. L. Hare, with an Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross. 9″ × 5¾″. Pp. 519. (London: Messrs. Duckworth and Co. 1925. 16s. net.)

"Hajji Baba in England," by James Morier. World's Classics Series. 6″ × 4″. Pp. 347. (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. Cloth, 2s.; leather, 3s. 6d.)

"India as I Knew It," by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. (London: Messrs. Constable. 1925. 18s.)

Members only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

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JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XII.

1925

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PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

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NOTICES

APOLOGIES are due to Mrs. Patrick Ness for some errors in the report of her lecture "Across the Syrian Desert to Persia" (see Vol. XII., Part III., p. 273). The distances from Khaniqin to Teheran should have been as follows: Khaniqin to Kermanshah, 129½ miles; Kermanshah to Hamadan, 103 miles; Hamadan to Kasvin, 145 miles; Kasvin to Teheran, 92¾ miles. It may also be said here that the admirable slides illustrating the lecture were taken from her own photographs.

The Reviewer of "Tibet Past and Present" (Vol. XII., Part III., p. 279) wishes to make the following correction: "In my review of Sir Charles Bell's book 'Tibet Past and Present' I stated that there was some confusion as to what comprises 'inner' and 'outer' Tibet. This is not so; the statement on p. 154 is correct as it stands. The interior of Tibet is now known in certain high circles as 'outer' Tibet, while the outlying provinces are known as 'inner' Tibet. We understand that Sir Charles himself is not responsible for this bright contribution to geography."

Library.—The Council are grateful for the following gifts of books to the library: From Colonel Yate, "A Six Years' Diary," by J. S. Cumming; "With the Die Hards in Siberia," by Colonel J. Ward; "The Afghan Wars," by A. Forbes; "Two Years in Constantinople," by Dr. Sturmer; "Backwards or Forwards," "Can Russia Invade India?" "India's Frontier Question," by Colonel Hanna; "Under the Care of the Japanese War Office," by E. McCaul; Russell's "Crimean War"; "The Bilochi-Nama"; Forbes' "Persian Grammar." Also to the Rev. Fr. A. Poidebard, M.C., for "La Parure des Cavaliers et l'Insigne des Preux" (French translation by L. Mercier).

The following books have been received for review:

"Two South Arabian Inscriptions," by Professor D. S. Margoulieth (from rubbings in the possession of Sir Neill Malcolm, K.C.B.). (Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.) 9⅞″ × 6½″. Pp. 9. 2s. paper.

"The Heart of Aryavata," by the Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. 9″ × 5¾″. Pp. xvii + 262. (Constable. 14s.)

"Through Inner Deserts to Medina," by the Countess Malmignati. 9″ × 5¼″. Pp. 188. Illustrated. (Philip Allan and Co. 10s. 6d.)

"With Lawrence in Arabia," by Lowell Thomas. 9″ × 5⅞″. Pp. viii + 317. Illustrations. (Hutchinson. 21s.)

"People of the Steppes," by Ralph Fox. 8″ × 5¼″. Pp. 246. Illustrations and map. (Constable. 8s. 6d.)

"Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand," by Ella R. Christie, F.R.G.S. 8½″ × 5¾″. Pp. 280. 54 illustrations and map. (Seeley Service and Co. 21s.)

Members only are responsible for their statements in the *Journal*.

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

THE Anniversary Meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1, on Thursday, June 11, 1925. In the absence of the Chairman, Lord Peel, Colonel Sir Charles Yate presided.

The CHAIRMAN: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sorry to say Lord Peel, our Chairman, is not able to be present to-day, and it has fallen to my lot to take the chair this afternoon. We are now at our Anniversary Meeting, the Annual General Meeting for the year, and I will first of all call on the Honorary Secretary to give a brief report of the year's proceedings.

The HON. SECRETARY (Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton): Sir Charles Yate, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The first matter of interest that I will refer to in our annual report is that of membership. As you know, for a certain number of years up to about three years ago the increase in the rate of membership was exceedingly high. Of late years we have not been able to keep up these large numbers of new members for various reasons. Perhaps it may be that the title of the Society, "The Central Asian Society," defines a rather narrow scope, and that might keep people away. But I would like to remind you, if I may, of what our late Honorary President, Lord Curzon, said at our last annual dinner. He said: "You would make a very great mistake if in your *Journal* you confined yourselves to the geographical Central Asia, for your purpose is to deal with the political Central Asia," and he went on to point out how these interests of the political Central Asia cover a far wider field than that defined by the geographical title, that they extend from Turkey in the West to China in the East, and include Persia and Afghanistan. As a matter of fact, our lectures and *Journal* cover the whole field of Islam north of the Equator, and if this extension of our activities is fully appreciated, surely we may expect to cover a wider field from which to recruit members. I think our field is widening by degrees, but the more our *Journal* is made popular, the wider the field of recruitment undoubtedly ought to be. As regards the actual figures for the year: at last year's annual meeting we had to record a membership of 763. Since then there have been losses by resignation amounting to 22 and by death of 12, making a total of 34. We have elected since that meeting 110 new members, so that there is an increase of 76 on the year, making the total number up to 839.

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(Applause.) The deaths to be recorded during the year are twelve in number. Of course, the first to be mentioned must be that of Lord Curzon, our Honorary President, who joined this Society, I think, in 1907, and who always took a very lively interest in its affairs. His loss is a great one. Another distinguished name among those who have gone is that of Lord Rawlinson. Although he used not himself to take much active part in our affairs, his name perpetuated that of his illustrious father, who was such a high authority on all Central Asian matters. Miss Ada Christie, of whom we did not hear very much, was a lady who travelled very extensively some few years ago in Persia, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia. I believe it was rather difficult to get information out of her regarding her travels, but what was obtainable was certainly of very great interest. Other names I should mention are Sir Lee Stack, Sir Robert Coryndon, Sir T. Bennett, Colonel Bramley—I do not knew whether you may have noticed his initials occasionally at the foot of some very good reviews of books which have appeared in the last and previous issues of our *Journal*—Colonel Bayley, Colonel Kirby Ridgway, V.C., and Majors Bois, Bremner, and Pulley. Those are the twelve members who have passed away during the year. Of lectures we have had eleven up to date since the season opened in October. A lecturer is coming before you to-day, and we hope to have one more lecture in July, but that is not quite certain. The *Journal* has been improved very much by the introduction of reviews, which now take up a large space in that publication. That is generally voluntary work done without remuneration by our members. We regard it as a very valuable addition, and if any other members are willing to undertake reviewing work I am sure the secretary will be very glad to hear from them. As regards the library, Mrs. Frazer has now become librarian, and the books have been not so much rearranged as carefully catalogued by Colonel Wallace, and I am sure anybody who wants to make use of the library will much appreciate his work when they go there. Several members have been very active—I will not mention their names—during the past year in obtaining recruits for us, and I can assure you that any member who will do that will be doing very valuable service to the Society. For instance, if you could obtrude the *Journal* on the notice of any visitors to your houses, I am sure it would attract their attention to the Society, and probably tempt them to become members. (Hear, hear.)

The Chairman called on the Honorary Treasurer to give his report.

The Hon. Treasurer (Sir Edward Penton, K.B.E.): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am glad to report that the finance of the Society is quite satisfactory.* Sir Raleigh Egerton has told you about the membership. The subscriptions, with one or two payments in

* See Vol. XII., Part III.

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advance and of arrears, came to about £782, and other receipts bring the credit side of the balance-sheet up to about £906 4s. 5d. On the other hand, our expenses for rent, rates, salaries, and telephone are about £200. Our lectures cost about £122 2s. 6d., and the *Journal*, which of course is the most expensive item, costs £385. The remainder is composed of small items, but it will interest you to know that we have been able this year to invest £40 in War Savings Certificates, and there is a balance at the bank of £33 18s. 10d. (Hear, hear.) I would like to add to that, besides the £40 War Savings Certificates, we also have investments which with these War Savings Certificates total about £250. This puts the Society in a secure financial position. As treasurer I do not want you either to feel that we are hoarding the money which should be spent by the members, or on the other hand that the present financial position warrants any diminution of effort in getting new members. Sir Raleigh Egerton has laid quite rightly considerable stress on the importance of the *Journal*. We cannot really spend a great deal more than we are doing on lectures. I think you find the lecture-hall at the R.U.S.I. comfortable; I do not think as treasurer I should be justified in suggesting a free tea. But on the other hand we have to realize that this Society does not only exist for the members who come to lectures, but exists even more for the widespread members who look to our *Journal* for something really good and authoritative. (Hear, hear.) I would not like you to think that I am joining issue with one of my colleagues, but although we do get an immense amount of voluntary work done for us—work of a nature that I think no other journal gets even when it pays for it—there is a certain amount of expense involved in getting the material for the voluntary workers. Now we have set ourselves the task of trying to become the authority on reviews of books on Central Asia not only published in this country, but published in Europe and elsewhere. We have to get those books, and we cannot always get them free. The more members we can get, the more money we can get, and the more we can develop the *Journal*, and the more we can develop the services of this Society as they were intended to be developed for those who take a real interest in our policy in Central Asia. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN (Colonel Sir Charles Yate): Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have had a very interesting account of the work of the Society, both from our Hon. Secretary and our Hon. Treasurer; and I think you will agree that the Society is progressing in the way that we all wish it to progress. Our numbers, which is the great thing, are now, as the Hon. Secretary told us, 839. I do wish everybody to impress upon himself that we wish to increase the size of our *Journal*, and make it even better than it is now. Mind you, it is an uncommonly good journal, and a most interesting journal. I feel sure that our *Journal* is welcomed through-

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out the East by the large number of members that we have scattered all over Asia. We want to make it as good as possible, to get all the reviews of books, and do everything else that we can. I ask every member here present if he will try, during next year, to bring in one other member, a friend of his own. All members, both ladies and gentlemen, I hope, will try and do their best to get during next year one fresh member to join the Society. We want to have a minimum of 1,000. We have got 839; our aim and object is to have 1,000. If we have a thousand members we shall be able to improve our *Journal* and do much more in various ways. So I ask all to bear that in mind, and try to bring in recruits as fast as they possibly can. Now I am sorry that Lord Peel is absent to-day, because he would have spoken to you with the authority of the Chairman during the past year. I am speaking in his place to-day, and I wish to say that we in this Society owe a great debt of gratitude first of all to our two Hon. Secretaries, Sir Raleigh Egerton and Mr. G. Stephenson. (Applause.) Sir Raleigh Egerton, we know, is a very busy man. He does a great deal of work in all sorts of charitable directions. I know that he works several days a week for the Officers' Families' Association, and other associations of that sort. We thank him very much for the work he gives us, and Captain Stephenson also. They both give us a great part of their time, and the trouble they take for this Society deserves the thanks and applause of all of us. (Applause.) Next, what would the Society be without our Secretary, Miss Kennedy? I cannot tell you how much we are indebted to her, and I sincerely hope that when we get a larger *clientèle*, and have more funds at our disposal, we shall be able to do something to show her how much we appreciate her work. (Applause.) Now, as our Hon. Secretary, Sir Raleigh Egerton, said, we take in the whole of Asia. We work all Asia from China—I will not say to Peru, but from China—not only to Palestine, for we take in India, and through India we take in East Africa. In fact, I think we may class ourselves as I once heard it very pithily put, I think, by the Hon. Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society—I do not know whether she is here to-day—"Central Asia, Unlimited." There we are, working all over Central Asia, and I hope we shall continue to do so. The business we have to do now is to make the changes in the Council for the present year. You all have the paper here which sets them out. Two Vice-Presidents retire in accordance with Rule 13. Three Members of Council retire in accordance with Rule 23, and, as you will see, with regard to our Hon. Treasurer, I am glad to say there is no change. Sir Edward Penton has done this work for us for years and years. Ever since the Society was first started I think he has been working for it; and we owe him a great debt of gratitude for the time and trouble he has given to the Society. We hope that he

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will continue to act as our Hon. Treasurer for many years to come. (Applause.) The two Hon. Secretaries have done their two years, I am told, and are willing to be re-elected for another two years. I cannot say why two years especially was selected. I myself think people ought to be elected for either one year or three. We split the difference at two years, and I would ask you to record a special vote of thanks to General Sir Raleigh Egerton and Mr. Stephenson, and to confirm their election as Hon. Secretaries for the next two years. (Applause.) Then, as our Hon. Secretary has told us, Mrs. Frazer has kindly undertaken the charge of the library. Mrs. Frazer, you will remember, was originally the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, and she was the Secretary of this Society. She knows everything connected with it, and she has spent a great deal of time and trouble in arranging and cataloguing all our books. We owe her a special debt of gratitude; so long as the library is under her charge, I am sure it will be a most useful place of reference for those who wish to learn any matter concerning Central Asia. Our library is increasing week by week, and I hope we shall have a fine collection of books of reference here connected with all parts of Central Asia. Lord Peel has completed his year of service as Chairman of the Committee, but has kindly consented to go on for the present, until fresh arrangements can be made. He is a very busy man, as we all know, and a Cabinet Minister, and his time is not always at his own disposal. But he has very kindly consented to act on, and we remain in that way just as at present. Regarding the elections, there have been no fresh nominations by any member. Therefore, I put to you the proposals of the Council that have been given up to date: As Hon. Secretaries, as I said, to be elected, Sir Raleigh Egerton and Mr. Stephenson; as Vice-Presidents, General Sir Edmund Barrow and Lieut.-Colonel Fremantle move up from Members of Council to be Vice-Presidents; as ordinary Members of Council, Colonel Sir Charles Yate and Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate, who are now at the head of the Vice-Presidents' list, become Members of Council. Then, to fill the vacancies that have taken place, it is proposed that Major-General Sir Webb Gillman, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., and Mr. Rose, C.I.E., be appointed Members of Council. Major-General Sir Webb Gillman is an artillery officer who served with great distinction throughout the war. He was Chief of the Staff at Baghdad from 1918 to 1920. On his retirement he was made Commandant of the Royal Academy at Woolwich, and is now Inspector-General of Ordnance. I am sure he will be a valuable addition to the Council. Mr. Archibald Rose, C.I.E., was a member, first of all, of His Majesty's Consular Service, and later he became a member of His Majesty's Commercial Diplomatic Service. He has travelled largely throughout China and Mongolia and Central Asia. He served during the siege of Peking in 1900, and was for two years on the Burman-Chinese

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frontier, dealing with the political and tribal questions in that very disturbed area where the boundaries of China, Burma and Tibet all meet. In 1911 he represented the Foreign Office at Simla in the Tibet Conference, and he also travelled from Simla through Central Asia across the Pamirs and Turkistan to Europe. He ended up as Commercial Secretary to the Legation at Peking, and I must say we look to him to give us great help in all that pertains to the Far East. I hope, ladies and gentlemen, you approve of our selection of these two Members to join the Council. A third vacancy will shortly happen, owing to Sir George Lloyd having been appointed High Commissioner for Egypt. He, as you will see by the paper, is the last appointed Member of the Council. To take his place it is proposed to elect Lieut.-General Sir George McMunn. He is another distinguished artillery officer. He served in the Dardanelles, in Egypt, and in Mesopotamia, where he was Commander-in-Chief until he became Quartermaster-General in India. He brings a wide knowledge of Eastern affairs to our help. I therefore have now much pleasure in proposing to you the election of all these various gentlemen whom I have mentioned, and I will ask all of you, if you agree to that. (Carried unanimously.)

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A PICTURE OF ASIA

By Miss U. H. Blackwood.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on Thursday, July 9, 1925, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., when a lecture was delivered by Miss Ursula H. Blackwood. In the absence of Lord Peel, Sir Raleigh Egerton presided.

In opening the proceedings the Chairman said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Lord Peel, our Chairman, is unfortunately unable to be present to-day. Miss Blackwood has honoured me by making a personal request for me to take the chair, which I have great pleasure in doing. I must introduce Miss Blackwood to you as having been for about seven years head of the Military Translation Section at the War Office. That certainly argues high qualifications for dealing with a book, as she is doing to-day, written by an Italian author, Aurelio Palmieri. He has written his views on the Bolshevik influence in Asia. Miss Blackwood has made a rough translation, and now proposes to give us a summary of his views on the subject. I do not know if he is a diplomatist or in what capacity Signor Palmieri acquired his knowledge. I have nothing more to say except to ask Miss Blackwood to kindly give us her address.

Introduction.—In putting before you this little causerie to-day I remembered a fact that I had been told of the old masters, who it is said did not depend upon their genius alone to produce a masterpiece. One who made a study of the painting of satin would often be called in to touch up the dress, another who made a special study of hands would complete the work, and so on.

In my picture of Asia to-day I can lay no claim to being a master of my art, therefore I shall attempt no more than to draw the pencil outline—give the scheme of the picture, the painting of which I must leave to others, who are masters in their art.

This picture is divided into three distinct parts:

1. The dual nature of the Russians and their ambitions, which forms the subject of the picture.

2. The comparison of the policy of the Czars and that of Russia of to-day, which forms the pencil outline and which in turn is subdivided.

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3. Can this policy succeed?

The subject is given, the outline drawn. But this part is beyond the limits of my pencil; I can but put forward diffidently a few colour schemes for the experts to choose from.

Part I.

The Dual Nature of the Russians and their Ambitions.

Russia, situated at the crossway between Europe and Asia, has throughout history, hesitated between the two civilizations. Like the shuttle in the loom, the pattern in which she is woven by fate assumes now an Eastern now a Western design, according to which of the two cultures govern her destiny at that moment.

Here lies the enigma of the Russian character.

To which does Russia really belong? Here is a question she may and will probably have to answer within the near future. To probe Russian culture it is necessary to go back further than Bysance. As Italian civilization is derived from Rome, so the seeds of Russian civilization must be sought for on the shores of the Black Sea and the Bosphorus, in the old Greek colonies. But from 1238, for over two centuries, Russia became an Asiatic province: the shadow of the Asiatic darkness obscured her. But we must not imagine that the hordes of Mongol conquerors were entirely composed of savages. The Mongols had felt the civilizing influence of China. They had an administrative system, and thanks to their discipline Asia became their vassal. Their invasions were carried out methodically with strategic plans. They prepared the political unification of Russia, the great Moscovite Empire, which to the European travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries presented the aspect of an Asiatic despotism. Their influence on Russia was very great, but unfortunately took place at a time when Asian civilization was non-productive, and they drew Russia within the orbit of Asia; and when at length they were driven back, they bequeathed to Russia the fatal legacy of Eastern lethargy which still permeates through her in "Nichevo" and "Sichas."

The Westernizing of Russia began with Peter the Great. A genius of reform, was he such a convinced admirer of the West? Was not his dream for Russia that she should have a window to see into Europe and rule the world? Did he perhaps think, "We have need of Europe for a while, and then we can turn our back on her"?

But the door to Europe was opened and from it new fields of art, literature, and culture sprang. From it the geniuses of modern Russia matured. Russia is less European than the United States of America, and yet the European culture is non-existent in the latter as compared with the former. The explanation of this lies in the antiquity of Russian culture. The roots of Eastern civilization were never com-

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pletely irradicated. Grafted with Western culture it flowered. It is a mixture of the two which seem the antithesis of each other. Hence its peculiarity. In the depths of the Russian flower we scent the aroma of the East. And yet it is neither the one nor the other. It is their synthesis produced by the Creator's kiss.

Therefore in its gradual evolution it is predestined to give to the world something new, something of its own; for the West it will be the echo of the voice of the East.

Again we return to the question. To which does Russia belong—East or West? Her place in future history—her destiny—what will they be? Is she Nordic or Mongol? Is there such a thing as a Slav race? Will Russia disintegrate, the different races of which she is composed returning to throw in their lot with their parent stock? The ultra Pan-Russian will say "No." Russia has up till now mistaken the road. There is an antithesis between the Eastern and Western worlds which is incapable of producing a complete civilization. It is Russia who will create it. Russia will work out her own destiny. She who stands in the centre of two great continents—two great civilizations—holds in her hand the balance of the scales; Russia is, as it were, the confluence of two great rivers of civilization, therefore it is she who is destined to unite and train the two rivers into one.

Since the world-war symbolizes the shipwreck of the West, Russia should steer her bark towards the East to create the civilization of the future. Through Russia, the East cured of its state of paralysis will build up the stones of a regenerated civilization, not only of a continent, but of the whole world.

To us Anglo-Saxons, probably lacking imagination, this programme appears somewhat ambitious, even overwhelming.

We are inclined to look back in history at the fate of those who have tried world domination or the forcing of one single culture on humanity.

Are the Pan-Russians dreaming a chimeric dream or is our imagination too limited by our own horizon to see beyond into the events of a distant future?

Part II.

Let us now draw in the outline, which I must subdivide into:

Russian conquest and colonization of Siberia and the ethnical penetration of Russia into Asia.

Errors of Policy in the Far East.

Bolshevik Programme in the Far East.

Russian conquest and colonization of Siberia and the ethnical penetration of Russia into Asia.

The history of Russian policy in Asia has been one of ever pushing forward. Debarred from a maritime outlet in the Baltic and in the

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Black Sea, Russia strove to gain a port on the Pacific and aimed at naval supremacy in the Far East, a policy which was frustrated by the regeneration of Japan. The Russian penetration into Siberia dates from the thirteenth century, when her merchants traded in China, and this was followed in the sixteenth century by a military expedition organized by Cossacks, who under Yermak added the Siberian jewel to crown of the Czars. Like the Spaniards in the American Indies the Russians were dazzled by the mirage of untold riches. At the beginning of the eighteenth century they were near Lake Baikal and later reached the shores of the Amur, which led to the first conflict with China.

From this time Siberia became the exile of the political and religious prisoners, and as her riches were discovered, they were employed to exploit and develop them. Siberia, however, would have remained a desert but for the agrarian colonization which followed, and which led to the emigration of thousands of peasants from Russia in Europe.

Errors of Policy in the Far East.

But Russia failed to reap the full advantages of her prize.

She committed three grave errors with regard to Siberia.

1. Ethnically she did not Russianize the Great Siberian stretches. There were certainly 15,000,000 Russians beyond the Urals, but these were scattered in one long thin line along the main ways of communication. This constituted a weakness in itself. Before pushing forward to the shores of the Pacific, Russia should have first consolidated and colonized the great waste areas of her dominions and thus carried out her expansion in echelon.

2. Not to have awaited the auspicious moment. China was easily overcome, but in one corner of Asia a miracle was taking place of awakening energies and Asiatic consciousness. Russia, though well equipped with agents, had failed to obtain an accurate conception of Japan. Instead of temporizing and consolidating her advance step by step, she precipitated events and the clash of arms annihilated her dream in Asia.

3. She was too late in realizing the priceless value of Siberia's natural wealth. Siberia remained too long the living tomb of political and religious exiles, and her ignorance of physical geography allowed her to cede the southern half of the Island of Sakhalin to Japan.

Thus she missed her mark.

Bolshevik Programme in the Far East.

In the policy which the Soviets are, generally speaking, developing towards the Asiatics, but, above all, towards India, Bolshevism is continuing the traditions of the old Russian spirit. They are connecting up their aspirations with those of the Pan-Russians, or rather are becoming Pan-Russians of the purest type.

Though a mixture of Jew and Russian, they are nevertheless maintaining the old Russian traditions. The Jews do not deny their origin,

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are indeed fascinated by the cradle of their race and attracted to it; their mind is impregnated with Easternism.

The struggle for Asia in the eyes of the Russians assumes the aspect of a struggle of culture. It touches all the vital chords of the Russian heart, whether Bolshevik or anti-Bolshevik, for would not this new civilization be the immortal edifice of Russian genius, of Slavism in its entirety, freed from the dross of Westernism?

The dual nature which certainly forms the distinctive note in the conscious evolution of Russia in the nineteenth century has become even more accentuated with the advent of Bolshevism to the Supreme Power. The pendulum in Russia is continually swinging from West to East and *vice versa*. In the bureaucracy and the Czarist despotism of old Russia we trace the Mongol element. In the liberal or Menshevik we trace the Western element. The Bolsheviks are indirectly derived from the latter, therefore by education and tendencies belong to the West. They were fed on German Socialism, and yet—and here lies a subtle difference—though the Mensheviks were Western, Bolshevism is Eastern and is conducting Russia back into the spiritual atmosphere of the East. Moreover, the Bolsheviks, though owing their origin to the Western or German influence, having failed to force their ideals on Europe, are now placing their hopes in Asia, and to effect this they are intensifying the study of all Oriental languages, history, art, and literature.

This reawakening of Oriental studies in Russia is a sign of the future policy of the Bolsheviks. In the Far East they are following, by a different method, the policy of the Czars. Combating the Japanese expansion: confirming their supremacy in China: destruction of British power in India: these were the leading points of the old Russian policy in Asia, and, strange to say, coincide perfectly with the triple aims of the Bolsheviks.

To the cry of Internationalism in Europe they are using that of Nationalism in Asia.

Should Moscow succeed in blending her ideal of Internationalism with that of Nationalism, will not modern Russia become a more serious factor in world politics than the Russia of the Czars?

(*a*) *Combating of Japanese Expansion.*—According to Bolshevism, Imperialism was but a European disease. It was unknown to the East. Capitalism, which is the corner-stone of Imperialism, was also unknown. Asia, the cradle of humanity, lived in a state of torpor. But one day one of these Asiatic nations awoke, and trained by experience, before entering the unequal struggle, she created a new Asio-European civilization, keeping the soul and tradition of the East, but assimilating the material progress, the militarist ideals, and deadly armament of Western civilization.

Japan, this regenerated Asiatic nation, took the motto, "Asia for the

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Asiatics," and constituted herself as the advance-guard of the great nationalist movement in Asia against European exploitation.

To the "Yellow Peril" of Europe, Japan set up the "White Peril" for Asia, the Asiatic substitute for the Monroe doctrine.

Her first victory over China opened the eyes of the believers in the spiritual immobility of Asia.

But to adopt the expression of the Bolsheviks, "the bacillus of European civilization" was deeply rooted in the system of Japan. Her awakening was not a moral awakening. The Japanese of the European School became the Imperialists of the Far East.

In the Yellow Races of Asia they did not see racial brothers, but slaves to be exploited. With Russia they attempted to divide up Asia, and conquer the great markets of China.

Japanese Imperialism, according to Bolshevik historians, commenced in 1874 with the occupation of the Island of Formosa, and they openly accuse Russian Imperialism of having given rise to Japanese Imperialism.

Korea was to become the apple of discord between Japan, China, and Russia. The defeat of China in 1894 and her victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War decided the fate of Korea, which henceforth became a province of the Mikado.

The Bolsheviks considering Korea to be the heel of Achilles of Japan made this province the centre of their Communist propaganda.

The defeat of Russia in 1904-5 had eclipsed her influence in China to the advantage of Japan, whose ambition has been still further favoured by the world-war. The extent of the present Japanese penetration into China cannot be truly estimated, on account of the many secret clauses in her treaties with the latter. Against the Japanese designs in China, Chicherin has traced the political tendencies of Bolshevism. "Russia and China are two natural allies, and to them belongs the future of the Far East. China knows that the Russians have no hostile designs against her independence. With her enormous military power, Russia is predestined to protect and support Chinese rights."

One of the causes of friction between Czarist Russia and Japan was the total possession of the Island of Sakhalin which commands the mouth of the Amur. The same cause was a continual source of enmity between the Moscow Soviets and Imperialistic Japan: an incontestable proof that the Soviet policy is but a continuation of the policy of the Czars.*

With regard to Mongolia, Bolshevik Russia is hostile to the Japanese aims for the identical reasons which inspired Czarist policy.

Meanwhile Japanese policy is trying to substitute Russia in Central

* The Russo-Japanese Treaty of 1924 has, to a certain extent, settled this question.

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Asia, and obtain for herself free movement—on the coast of the Pacific Ocean—militarily and economically to dominate Manchuria, to deviate the old Russian land and maritime routes and exploit the resources of Siberia.

During the Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik struggle in Siberia, Japan no doubt played an important part. She used the chaotic state of the country to penetrate it and bought up large Russian firms, and Japanese capital has a hold over the entire country. Under the pretext of restoring order the Japanese took possession of the Russian possessions in the Far East, and closed the ways and ports of the Pacific Ocean to Russia.

Japan has thus become the great adversary of Bolshevism in Asia.

But is it really Japanese *Imperialism* which excites the rage of the Moscow Soviets against the Government of Tokio? Might this, perhaps, be an optical delusion of the manipulators of Soviet Policy in the Far East?

(*b*) *Confirming their Supremacy in China.*—The history of the Russian influence in China follows step by step the history of Russian domination in Siberia.

The advance of Russia towards China across Siberia has been going on for about five centuries; the first clash with China took place over the Amur.

Real diplomatic relations between China and Russia began with the first half of the nineteenth century. The shadow of Japan is cast over all the Russo-Chinese treaties. Its policy was a duel with Russia for the conquest of China and its great resources. For China the struggle merely means whether she is to become exploited for the benefit of the East or the West.

The Treaty of Nerchinsk, 1689, recognized and sanctioned the territorial rights of China on the Amur and its territory. But by the Treaty of Aigun of 1858 the Amur was definitely made an integral part of Russian territory. Russia's failure to gain control of the Balkans and defeat in the Crimean War made her turn again to the Far East.

After her defeat in the Russo-Japanese War and failure in Manchuria, Russia in 1911 demanded new concessions in Mongolia from China, but receiving a curt refusal, proceeded to stir up the Mongolians to demand autonomy. China again refused these pretensions. But China was being shaken by revolution, and the Manchurian dynasty which had been the reigning house since 1644 was overthrown. Mongolia thought the moment had come to claim her independence and to sever with Russia's support her dependence upon China. After some intrigues and negotiations in 1913, completed in 1915, by the Treaty of Kiachta, Mongolia became apparently emancipated both from Russia and China, but this so-called autonomy placed her at the mercy of

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Russia, who used her protection as a cloak for commercial and political penetration.

The consolidation of Bolshevism in Siberia resulted in increasing the territorial pretensions of the Soviets of Moscow in Mongolia. Pretexts were not lacking. They followed the tactics they had used in the Caucasus of setting up small autonomous republics on the Russian frontiers.

And for this purpose Mongolia, situated on the confines of Russian territory, seemed the best adapted. According to the Treaty of Kiachta, in 1915, Mongolia recognized Chinese supremacy but formed an autonomous state; but in 1919 China had repudiated this Treaty and considered Mongolian territory as Chinese. Mongolia had become the refuge of the anti-Bolshevik forces. Hence the Bolsheviks played the old game of pretending to free an oppressed people from the anti-Bolshevik forces and to restore order. Red troops were sent at the request of the Mongolian people, though probably these requests were prepared in Moscow.

But the military successes of the Bolsheviks did not solve the diplomatic question of the Chinese rights in Mongolia. The presence of Russian troops constituted a violation of Russo-Chinese treaties. Against these violations of the rights of her territory China, torn asunder by internal discords, could only put up barren protests.

There was the Pro-Japanese party in China and the Pro-Russian.

The recognition of the Soviet representative in 1920, and the sending of a Chinese military mission to Moscow to arrange a military treaty against Japan, deluded the Bolsheviks into thinking that they had won China to their cause, and that she might serve as an instrument in their hands for the overthrow of Japan.

Thus, as Czarist Russia had robbed China of Manchuria, which was then wrested from her by Japan, so Bolshevik Russia is endeavouring to strip China of Mongolia.

To eliminate the Japanese from Siberia and the Russo-Chinese frontier, the Bolsheviks fomented and approved the setting up of the Republic of the Far East, which was to maintain the continuity of territory and relations with China, and form a diplomatic obstacle to the Japanese expansion in Siberia and bordering Chinese territory.

But Russo-Japanese relations, from diplomatic skirmishes, became openly hostile. In face of the growing and extravagant pretensions of Japan, the diplomatic mission of the Republic of Chita had no longer any *raison d'être*, unless it was to become a dependence of Japan. Therefore its Government was dissolved, and it was again absorbed into Soviet Russia.

(*c*) *The Destruction of British Power in India.*—And now we come to the third point in the policy of the Czars in common with the Bolsheviks—the destruction of British power in India.

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Let us first seek the motives of this policy, and then study the methods employed.

One genius alone had probably conceived the plan assigned by Providence to Greece—Alexander the Great. Death robbed him of the fruits of victory. The dream of a world civilization with a Grecian impress was dissipated, to be absorbed into the large, but nevertheless limited, confines of the Roman Empire. European culture, which through Rome emanated from Greek sources, reassumed the enterprises of Alexander the Great. Beginning with the Crusades, the West spread over the oceans and reached India, China, and Japan. Forty millions of Europeans carried Western civilization to the New World. Africa became a European colony.

This was a practical conquest of four continents by Europe—for the most part ruled by the Anglo-Saxon races. Great Britain thus holds to-day the strategic points of Gibraltar, Malta, the Suez Canal, Aden, Bombay, Calcutta, Colombo, Singapore, and Hong-Kong. One link alone in the chain is missing—the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Those countries which are the most adapted for colonial development, such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada, East and South Africa, and half Asia, fly the British flag. She thus controls the resources of the world in raw material, to which she has added the oil reserve of the petrol fields of Mesopotamia. The Bolsheviks also accuse Great Britain of aiming at the possession of the Black Sea and extension of her control over Kurdistan and the Caucasus, under the cloak of freeing oppressed nations. Therefore to Bolshevism Great Britain is capitalism and imperialism personified, and the destruction of the British Empire is her most important objective.

With regard to India, which the Bolsheviks call the "Pearl of the East," their political action is indirect. They seek to act upon India through intellectual and sentimental channels. On the one hand they magnify the cultural power of India, the necessity for the Indians to reawake from their torpor, to rouse their national consciousness, to throw off the political and economic yoke of Britain; on the other, propounding the theory of a racial brotherhood, ideals, and sentiments between Russians and Indians, of a spiritual affinity which links the two nations. To quote a German writer:

"In many ways the Russian has more affinity with the Indian than with the Chinese. Like the Indians, the Russians have a universal comprehension, a universal fraternity, and are eminently unpractical. The Russian heart beats more in harmony with the old heart of India: the two people have identical basic relations with regard to God and Nature, and the same religious fervour. And yet the Russians have a common origin with the Chinese. The foundation of all the Mongols is the infinite, the infinite in space and time. No European, no Indian

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has this. But the Russian has it, and there is something Asiatic in him." *

The Bolsheviks, whilst waiting until they are sufficiently powerful and during the time necessary for the completion of their ambitious schemes, are leaving to the disintegrating forces in India the task of hastening the expulsion of the British from India. These six revolutionary forces, according to the Bolsheviks, are:

(i.) *The cynical and egotistical exploitation of the economic resources of India to the sole advantage of Great Britain.* In India the extremists have illusions. They think that India can not only provide for her own people, but for the whole world. Asia appears to them to be predestinated to fight Europe in the economic arena. She can produce European products at low prices. Rich beyond description in raw material, she is like a human anthill. The competition of Europe and America would become impossible on account of the low cost of labour in India in comparison to the former. If India had a mercantile fleet of her own, and her ships, under the protection of a national flag, could trade with the commercial ports of the world, the economic hegemony of Great Britain would cease.

These rosy schemes must, however, be accepted with reserve. Admitting the existence of the raw material, the skilled labour for the mechanical plant is lacking.

The Indian workmen have neither the physical force nor the mental discipline nor ability.

(ii.) *The unification of the national consciousness of India, indirectly effected by Great Britain.* According to Bolshevik theories, the revolt against British Imperialism would not have taken root if India had remained an agglomeration of different nationalities torn by the internal dissension of their heterogeneous structure.

Philologically India is the greatest polyglot state in the world.

India is without either religious or social cohesion.

(iii.) *The development of the Indian Nationalist movement whose Anglophobia is becoming more and more accentuated.* Hence the Bolshevik tactics with regard to India consist in fanning the flame of nationalism. It is certainly strange that in Asia the International should support the cause of Nationalism, but all is grist that comes to the mill when aiming at the destruction of European Imperialism.

(iv.) *The intellectual and spiritual influence of the two leaders of the autonomous India movement, Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore.*

(v.) *The insurrection of the Mussulman element in India against British rule.* The Bolsheviks are using the cry of Pan-Islamism to raise the standard of revolt against British domination in India.

One of her most serious problems is probably that of her relations with Islam. But in the event of an agreement being reached between Moscow, Angora, and Kabul, Russia in the pose of an Asiatic Power might play an important part in the future struggle for the emancipation of Asia.

(vi.) *The fatal transformation of India into a great industrial nation and the consequent development among the masses of Socialist and Communist ideas.* The evolution of India, an essentially agricultural

* "Das Reise Tagebuch eines Philosophen" (Keiserling).

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into an industrial country, is not without its effects; not only changing the habits and ideas of the people, but its economic consequences are more serious than people realize.

These forces, according to the Moscow Soviets, are preparing the advent and triumph of Bolshevism in India.

Persia.—Though Persia deserves to be treated at some length, time precludes it, therefore I shall only touch on it from the point of view of its importance as the road to India.

Persia is the country which next to Afghanistan has been most exposed to the attacks of Bolshevism. The reason is obvious, both are on the borders of Russian territory, and both are on the road to India.

Persia might be compared to Belgium, and, indeed, suffered considerably during the war from her geographical position.

Following the traditions of Czarist policy the Soviets wish to conquer India.

The first axiom of their policy is "strategically Persia is necessary to Bolshevism, therefore the Bolsheviks have the right to conquer it."

It should become the centre of the Pan-Islam world, the link in the chain between Polar Asia and Tropical Africa, and at the present moment this connecting-link is more important than might appear to the casual observer.

Its importance for Internationalism is also very great.

The diplomatic history of Persia is really a history of Anglo-Russian rivalry.

Russia's aim has always been to obtain a warm water port.

Her designs against Constantinople were to gain hegemony in the Mediterranean. Across Siberia she reached the Pacific.

The Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean could be reached either across Persia or by way of Armenia, Kurdistan, and Mesopotamia or by Turkistan, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan.

The diplomatic relations of Persia with Russia date back to 1561, and by a strange anomaly, according to Palmieri, the Russian envoy also represented England.

Peter the Great entertained designs of adding Persia to the Russian Crown, but for this purpose it was necessary to subdue first the Caucasus and Daghestan.

It was impossible to repeat the action of Alexander the Great, and therefore had to be carried out gradually.

The Russian penetration began to expand after the taking of Daghestan and Baku in the early nineteenth century.

The Persians, supported by Napoleon I., still resisted the conquest of the Caucasus, especially in Georgia, but after the defeat of Napoleon Russia gradually absorbed Georgia, Daghestan, and gained control of the Caspian.

In 1828 she added the provinces of Erivan and Nakhichevan.

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By the possession of the Eastern Caucasus, Russia extended her dominion from the mouth of the Terek to that of Astara, thus acquiring her Eastern "Rock of Gibraltar."

In the struggle for balance of power and influence between Russia and England in Persia, it may be said that the Russians followed an "active and aggressive," the British a "passive and defensive, policy."

Russia was the great constructor of roads in North Persia. Great Britain parried the "road" penetration of her rival by gaining control of banks and telegraphs.

The long history of Anglo-Russian rivalry is well known and too long to enter into here.

Northern Persia is, above all, the goal of Bolshevik ambitions because across Khorasan and Siestan, skirting Afghanistan, the way to India is opened.

By another way the Bolsheviks may thus attain the dream of Czarist Russia.

The Soviets aim at convincing the Asiatic nations that their policy is the antithesis of the Czarist régime.

The Bolsheviks contend that Russia is destined to effect the cultural and economic regeneration of Persia and develop her natural riches.

But the Persians have had enough of Anglo-Russian rivalry in the past and distrust the Russians. Although the Bolsheviks pretend to condemn Czarist policy, and by cancelling the Persian debts and concessions to Russia think they have gained the sympathy of Persia by their generosity, the Persians have little trust in them, as is seen in their reluctance to sign the trade negotiations.

In reality, Persia, like the West, is afraid of the Soviets.

The latter barely conceal their secret designs. Will they soon show themselves faithful disciples of the former Russian schemes? For Persia—for Bolshevik, as for Czarist policy—comes within the orbit of their territorial ambitions, both for economic and for strategic reasons.

And it is possible Afghanistan may become the arbitrator of the destiny of Asia!

Conclusion.

The subject is given, the outline sketch is made; I now submit to you the colour schemes to complete the picture.

To paint it truly we must strain our eyes to the far distant horizon of time and try to distinguish the landmarks and features.

But we must be careful of our perspective.

We must not lose our values or paint our picture too dark, or exaggerate our high lights.

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Our colour scheme must harmonize and tone with the whole effect.

The colours I offer are somewhat vivid, but it is not for me to mix the paints.

Let us first settle the basis and from it work up these tones.

Strange to say we see, to begin with, that the Bolsheviks have failed to understand the psychology of the East. First they have tried to undermine religion, which is the very soul of Asia.

Communism is not making any real headway either in China, Japan, India or Persia—at least, not to any great extent.

There are not enough industrial workers to produce it, and for many reasons an agrarian revolution as it took place in Russia is hardly possible.

Czarist diplomacy has traced the main lines of policy to be followed in Asia, and, as we have seen, Russia is reverting to her old policy of annexation and advancement. Her designs are becoming no less imperialistic than those of the old Russia and the capitalist countries she denounces so strongly.

But the Russian penetration into Asia took place at a period when Asia was comparatively impotent.

What does the future hold? Let us suggest the colour.

The Asia of the future, roused partly by Bolshevik Russia herself, may turn as much against her as against the white races.

For Asia to look backwards to her ancient exhausted civilization would be but a retrograde movement. Therefore we must be prepared for something new.

If there is no immediate change, and Bolshevism has failed in the East to bring about all her aims, she has nevertheless succeeded in giving a severe shake to the old life of Asia and in arousing national feeling and hatred against Europe.

Is the centre of gravity moving towards Asia whilst European Imperialism is dying?

In the far corner of our picture we see the blue stretch of the Pacific Ocean, on the face of whose waters a stirring page of future history may be written.

We may see a peaceful and gradual elimination of the white races from Asia. But the Bolsheviks have worked for something different. They are trying to stir up the Asiatic hordes, and through a new Attila completely to destroy Europe, and from this chaos they hope to build up a new civilization for the whole world, bearing a Russian impress.

Shall we see a Europe decadent, sinking in the West in the sunset reflection of the world-war and revolution, followed by the red dawn of a barbarian invasion, the prelude to a new day of civilization?

And if this day should come, what position will Russia assume?

Will she form the vanguard of the Asiatic hordes that sweep Europe? Or will she—too late—try and throw in her lot with the

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West? Will she hesitate again, only to realize that she is neither East nor West?

Or will her dream come true, and will she like a Phœnix arise from the ashes to create a new civilization?

Will it really be a struggle of Asia against Europe as we speak of it geographically, or a struggle of race?

Can it be that destiny is working out an entirely new future for mankind? Does this latent power exist in the Slav, or is it our own lack of vision that makes us sceptics?

I will conclude by quoting a passage from Dante's Seventh Canto of the "Inferno," Virgil's description of "Fortune" or "Fate," leaving you to form your own conclusions.

Colui, lo cui saver tutto trascende,
Fece li cieli, e die lor chi conduce,
Si, ch' ogni parte ad ogni parte splende,
Distribuendo egualmente la luce;
Similemente agli splendor mondani
Ordino general ministra e duce,
Che permutasse a tempo li ben vani
Di gente in gente, e d' uno in altro sangue,
Oltre la difension de 'senni humani.
Per ch' una gente impera ed altra langue
Seguendo lo guidicio di costei,
Ched e occulto, com' in erba l' angue.
Vostro saver non ha contrasto a lei:
Ella provvede, guidica, e persegue
Suo regno, come il loro gli altri Dei.
Le sue permutazion non hanno triegue:
Necessita la fa esser veloce;
Si spesso vien chi vicenda consegue.

He whose omniscience transcends all
Created the heavens, and gave them controlling forces,
So that each shines on each in turn,
Distributing the light in equal measure;
Likewise for the worldly splendours,
He ordained one who should guide,
To transfer from time to time the earthly splendours
From nation to nation, from race to race,
Beyond the power of human intellect,
So that one people rules, another languishes,
According to the decision of her
Whose judgments are as deep hidden as the snake in the grass.
Your wisdom cannot compare to hers:
She foresees, judges, and carries out her reign like the other deities.
There is no truce to her decision;
Necessity makes her actions sudden
That each may have his chance.

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DISCUSSION.

Mr. GEORGE SEATON: Could the Lecturer indicate in any way to what extent she separates in her mind the Bolshevik Government of Russia and the sentiment or idea that underlies the great mass of the Russian people? Of course, I am quite aware that in all our minds there is a sort of confusion at present existing as regards the relations of the Soviet Government imposed upon Russia and the sentiment or feeling of the whole population of Russia.

The LECTURER: I think it becomes a purely Russian question. I think we should rather forget the Bolshevism and anti-Bolshevism in looking into the future. Remember that any expansion into Siberia or Asia in any way would become a national Russian question which would be as agreeable to anti-Bolsheviks as to Bolshevik.

Major BLACKER: Sir Raleigh, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think we all have reason to be very grateful to the Lecturer for a remarkably lucid description not only of the world politics of Moscow, but of the way in which Muscovite psychology reacts in regard to those world politics and to the relations with other races. There is a point that stands out very remarkably in the thread of the discourse; the Lecturer asks us —Does Russia represent the struggle of Asia against Europe or the struggle of the Mongoloid against the Nordic? I venture to take up the attitude that we now are in the middle of a phase of the age-long struggle of the Mongols and the Nordics in the Old World, and in this struggle Moscow represents the vanguard and a recrudescence to the days of Attila. If one looks at the Old World on the map, and carries one's mind back in the history of Asia to the third century A.D., one cannot help thinking of the pendulum swinging across from East to West and from West to East. In the third century Attila and his Mongols by the use of a new weapon and new military tactics penetrated as far west as Châlons on the Marne from a headquarters which was probably slightly to the south-west of Lake Baikal. That represents a thrust not to be measured in hundreds but in thousands of miles, across the immense plain of Northern Asia and Central Europe. The methods of Attila were probably a nail in the coffin of the Roman military and civil system. It was owing to the intervention perhaps of the Goths and Scythians under Theodoric that Attila was eventually stopped on the Marne. But the thread was taken up by a successor, Jengis-Khan. His grandson Hulagu, and his lieutenant Prince Sabutai, participated in a fresh swing of the pendulum in the years 1238, 1239, and 1241. This swing of the pendulum did not, it is true, go quite so far west as the Marne. It, however, swept across what we call Russia. It overwhelmed the Varangian or Scandinavian principalities and the semi-Greek states of the Ukraine. It swung through Galicia and drove into Bohemia—which we now call Czecho-Slovakia; overran Silesia

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and was stopped at Wahlstatt by the battle of Wahlstatt or Liegnitz in the year 1241. We need not follow that Mongol drive to the days of Tamerlane, but it is sufficient for the purposes of the present discussion to realize that when that Mongol wave came into Europe or Central Europe, over the great plain, the Mongols were pagans. Their belief was what we now call Shamanism, which is in actual fact the real belief and religion of Tibet and Mongolia. The Buddhism of Mongolia and Tibet is nothing more than a veneer which has been borrowed from the Nordic Gautama. The belief, changing from one race to another, has been transformed in the process. The real basic religion of the Gonpas of Tibet and Mongolia is Shamanism or Demonism. When the great masses of Mongoloids came westward and came in contact with Western and Arab cultures and civilizations they adopted their religions. Those that came in contact with the Arabs became Muslims—for instance, the Kazan Tatars, the Turks, and the Tatars of Azerbaijan and Khorasan. Certain of the Mongoloids —Lapps, Finns, Prussians, and Estonians—became Christians. One important tribe, the Khazars, became Judaized. That extraordinary phenomenon is the key to a great number of Russian problems. It is fashionable to say that nineteen-twentieths of the Commissars of Moscow to-day are Jews. That is true; yet it is not true, because you have only to look at the photographs of Trotsky, Lenin, Zinoviev, and others to see the broad skull, the high cheekbones, the brown eyes, thick lips, and yellow complexion of the Mongol. To carry the story of the Mongolian wave a little further, the pendulum recoiled partly owing to the drive of the Cossacks. Russia was largely rejuvenated by the Cossack, Polish, and Lithuanian Nordics, the Cossacks being a strongly Nordic element descended from the Varangians, who would not submit to either serfdom or domination. The Cossack became an outlaw, and the Cossack Nordic carried the war into the enemy's country to such good effect that I think it was in James I.'s reign, the Cossack penetrated to the Pacific. Then came the day of the Nordic, and in the year 1900 Nordic troops sacked the Winter Palace in Peking. The Mongol did not have to wait very long before a movement took place in his favour. A Russian army, whose officers were largely Nordic, was defeated in Manchuria in 1905. In 1917 the predominant Nordic aristocracy, the ruling dynasty of Russia, were destroyed by the Khazar Mongol band of commissars and their followers. Not only have the Nordics of Russia been destroyed, but the great majority of them, the Nordic elements of the Cossacks and of the aristocracy, are either exiled or dead. At present you may say without the slightest hesitation that Moscow is ruled by Mongols. The last speaker alluded to the gulf between the ruling element and the great mass of peasantry. I venture to suggest that the great mass of peasantry were always either Mongoloid or Alpine, which is very much the same thing, and

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that the Nordic element in Russia was never more than a veneer or fringe. This veneer or fringe of Nordic, which is mainly due to another wave of the Scythians from the shores of the Caspian in the fifth century A.D., has been driven out of Russia, and this represents an important swing of the Mongol pendulum back again towards the west. This leads us to another point. If we accept Moscow as being dominated by Mongolism, what is the connection between the Mongol psychology and Bolshevism? In a word, to get this we must remember how and where the Mongol's ancestors have lived for innumerable generations. We say in a loose sort of way the Mongols came from Central Asia. We also say in an equally loose way that the Nordics and their ancestors came from Central Asia. Both are equally true, but the Central Asia of the Nordics around the Caspian basin is an entirely different Central Asia from the Central Asia of the Mongols about Lake Baikal. The basin of the Caspian is a great plain hardly above sea-level. The country south and south-east of Baikal is a high plateau at a great height above sea-level. The Mongol's ancestors for countless generations have lived in an environment where emulation, competition, rivalry were out of the question. There was nothing for them to strive against one another for. Hence we have a levelling and anti-individualism. On the other hand, our Nordic ancestors have always been up and doing, and striving one against another in the rush for fresh lands and to the sea. Hence anti-individualism is the very life-blood of the Mongol and so of the Bolshevik. (Applause.)

Mr. Rose: Miss Blackwood has carried us so rapidly over so broad a field and has made so many stimulating suggestions that I feel rather overwhelmed. The eastward and westward plunges of Russian energy were just beginning to swing backwards and forwards comfortably in my mind when Major Blacker introduced even another factor, the tug-of-war between the Nordic and Mongol types. All these factors, all these forces, are no doubt influencing the current of events in Eastern Asia. When one travels by railway from Moscow to Vladivostock, across the vast undeveloped tracks of Siberia, or across the Central Asian desert from the Caspian to the borders of Chinese Turkistan, one is conscious of an immense vital force, emanating from Russia and hurling itself eastward with great imaginative power and a complete disregard for natural obstacles. Its sense of vitality is almost staggering in comparison with the placid atmosphere of the East. But it is not possible to let loose such vitality without something happening. It woke up Japan and changed her whole outlook on life. She recognized a menace to her security, abandoned her policy of isolation, and quickly transformed herself into a progressive and military nation. And now the same Russian vitality is having its effect on China, though we cannot yet see what the results will be. It has taken longer to produce results there because China is so vast and her machinery of communi-

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cations is so slow. China is shaking herself from the long repose, developing a vigorous sense of Nationalism and powers of resistance to pressure from outside. It is not Russia alone which has been responsible for this, but Russia has played a big part in China's awakening. The building of the Chinese Eastern Railway, as an essential part of the Trans-Siberian route, through the Manchurian province of China, created a zone of active Russian influence and colonization actually within the Chinese borders. Up to the Russian Revolution the position of Russia in North Manchuria was one of absolute dominance. Then came a short period during which the Russian power waned, and China made a bid to recover her position. But Russia has again become very active in Eastern Asia. It is not convenient for her just now to mobilize fighting forces at the eastern end of that long Siberian railway. But her diplomacy has taken the place of fighting forces. On May 31, 1924, she concluded with China a "Treaty on General Principles" which made valuable concessions to Chinese national pride. In return for Chinese recognition of Soviet Russia, she expressed her willingness to abandon exterritoriality, to draw up a transfrontier tariff on reciprocal lines, to retrocede all the territorial concessions of Czarist Treaties, to meet Chinese susceptibilities in regard to the administration of the Boxer Indemnity funds, and to frame new treaties with China "on a basis of equality." I do not recall that any surrender of practical privileges on the part of Russia has yet resulted from that Treaty. But it was a handsome gesture. And Russia has secured the one thing that really mattered to her, the business control of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The concessions promised to China will only take effect as a result of a subsequent Conference, which was to have been convened on June 30, 1924, but which has not yet met. And so Russia is once more a living force in China, with active agents established at the big Chinese centres, and with an apparent determination to reconstruct and even to extend the old Russian influence which seemed for a brief space to have waned in Eastern Asia.

The CHAIRMAN: Would any lady or gentleman like to carry on some of the very novel suggestions which Miss Blackwood has put before us as regards Russian methods and the possibilities of Russian development in Asia?

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The time is getting on. I do not think I need attempt to add anything to what has been said to-day; I think we may all agree that there are many very interesting points put before us by the Lecturer. We must remember that the lecture was based on the writing of an Italian author, and the views are those, not of an English student of these affairs, but of an Italian who has studied them. They are, therefore, perhaps the more interesting because he very likely regards these things from a different

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angle from what we do. If I may say so, I think the six reasons or levers which he ascribed to the Bolsheviks as their intention to use against us in India were rather interesting, because some of them were based on such fallacious grounds—such as our exploitation of the Indians. We are much obliged to Mr. Rose for the very interesting description he gave of what has recently happened in China, as to the relations between China and Russia. I finish by asking you to give your thanks to the Lecturer for the very interesting lecture she has given us. (Applause.)

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BURTON MEMORIAL LECTURE :* THE RECENT HISTORY OF THE HIJAZ

By H. St. J. PHILBY

We are assembled here this afternoon to honour the memory of Richard Burton.† The actual centenary of his birth fell on March 19, 1921, and was then duly celebrated at the cemetery at Mortlake, where he was buried thirty-five years ago, after a lifetime of prodigious turmoil and labour. But to-day we meet to give practical effect for the first time to a scheme then set on foot for the celebration of his memory in a manner which, I venture to think, would have appealed to him more than any amount of adulation at the tent of grey stone which he exchanged at death for the tents of black hair in which in the full vigour

* By kind permission of the Royal Asiatic Society.

† The first Burton Memorial Lecture was delivered by the Arabian explorer, Mr. H. St. John Philby, C.I.E., at a meeting of the Society held at the hall of the Royal United Service Institution on June 16, when there was a large attendance.

The President, Sir Edward Maclagan, said that it was his privilege, before calling on Mr. Philby to address them, to present to him the first medal which had been awarded under the terms of the Burton Memorial Fund. The Fund was started with the help of a committee which included a number of influential and distinguished persons. The patron was the Duke of Connaught, the chairman Sir Richard Temple, and the deputy-chairman Sir Percy Sykes. The committee were greatly indebted in particular to the honorary secretaries, Dr. Grenfell Baker, a personal friend of Burton's, and Mr. N. M. Penzer, and to the honorary treasurers, Sir Frederic Kenyon and Mr. R. Campbell Thompson. The restless and inquiring spirit of Sir Richard Burton led him to travel in many countries, but it was more especially in connection with the Middle East, and with Arabia in particular, that his fame was established. It was therefore fitting that the first medal should be awarded to Mr. Philby. (Cheers.) He had spent the greater part of the last ten years in Arabia or in countries in close proximity thereto, and he had published a most fascinating and useful book on the country under the title of "The Heart of Arabia." They had in Mr. Philby a gentleman who resembled Sir Richard Burton not only in his enterprise as an explorer, but also in a very remarkable knowledge of the languages of the East. That useful publication "Who's Who" showed that Mr. Philby's recreation was "Oriental languages." (Laughter.) In this and many other respects much of the mantle of Sir Richard Burton had fallen on the shoulders of Mr. Philby. It was to the speaker a matter of great satisfaction that it should fall to him to present the medal, for Mr. Philby was a fellow-member of the Indian Civil Service and commenced his career therein in the Province, the Punjab, with which he himself was closely connected. He hoped that the Punjab would continue to develop and turn out men of the enterprise and ability of Mr. Philby.

The medal was then presented amid applause.

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of his vigorous life he spent so many of his happiest days observing and recording those portentous additions to the sum total of human knowledge for which he is mainly and justly famous.

It is my good fortune to have been selected not only to receive the memorial medal instituted to commemorate the life-work of Sir Richard Burton, but to deliver in his honour the first memorial lecture designed to illustrate and encourage the special activities to which he devoted the greater part of his life. Apart from the fact that I have been a humble worker in the same Arabian field in which Burton first won his spurs and laid the foundation of the brilliant work and reputation that awaited him, the only links I can find between him and myself are, firstly, that like him I served an apprenticeship of seven years in India before launching out into other fields; and, secondly, that I was born in the year in which his translation of the "Arabian Nights" first saw the light of day.

Those are, perhaps, slender grounds enough for the generous recognition with which my work has been met, and I would like to explain that, when, about a year ago, I was informed that the Burton Memorial Medal had been awarded to me, I made up my mind that before the date of presentation came round I would prove my worthiness of such a distinction by achieving a feat which even Burton himself failed to achieve. You will perhaps recollect that in 1853, when Burton set out for Arabia, his primary intention was to traverse and explore the great unknown region of the South Arabian desert, the Empty Quarter as it is called. He was unable to carry out that intention because the Arabian tribes on his route were in a state of general effervescence—a not unusual state of affairs even in these days. Disgusted at his failure he made the best of it, and consoled himself with a pilgrimage to Mecca, which at once placed him in the front rank of those adventurous spirits to whom the British Empire, as we know it to-day, owes its existence.

From Mecca Burton passed to other fields and never found another suitable opportunity of attacking the southern desert of Arabia, though I believe he was contemplating and preparing for such a venture when he was somewhat abruptly relieved of the post of British Consul at Damascus. That venture has ever since remained unattempted or at any rate unachieved, and the Empty Quarter is one of the few remaining tracts of the earth's surface which the white man has never traversed. I hoped to be the first to do so in company with one or two others when last October I left England for Arabia, but circumstances, into the details of which I need not enter, proved altogether too strong for me and put an end to my schemes. I did not even have the consolation of making a pilgrimage to Mecca, and all I have to show for my efforts to prove worthy of the medal is a sojourn of three months at Jidda during the siege of that town by the Wahhabis.

During those months I was able to collect a great deal of infor-

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mation and gossip about the history of the Hijaz in modern times, and it seemed to me that by placing the knowledge thus gained on record in this memorial lecture I might make amends to the memory of Burton for my failure to achieve the great ambition of his life. There is, moreover, a certain appropriateness in the selection of the Hijaz as the subject of the first Burton memorial lecture in that it was in that country that he began his career of exploration. It was also to that country that he returned twice in later years to explore the mysteries of Midian, and it may even be said that, except for Syria and Palestine, which he knew very well, Burton's actual experience of Arabia was limited to the Hijaz. I need, therefore, make no apology for selecting the recent history of the Hijaz as my text for this afternoon, though I should explain that, in doing so, I had originally intended to trace briefly the history of that country from the time when Burton first knew it in the middle of last century to the present day. I soon realized, however, that it would be quite impossible to deal adequately with such a theme in the course of one hour, more particularly as it has been impressed on me that I must not trespass on the political arena. I decided in consequence to confine myself to a mere sketch of recent events, which I hope some day to develop more fully. And I may perhaps be allowed to state at the outset my qualifications for dealing with the subject. Apart from the three months I recently spent at Jidda, I visited the Hijaz at the end of 1917 when, coming from Central Arabia, I traversed it from its eastern frontier through Taïf and the Wadi Fatima to Jidda, where on that occasion I spent a fortnight; at the end of that period I enjoyed a week's cruise northward along the Hijaz coast, visiting the seaports of Yanbu', Wajh, and 'Aqaba; again in July, 1919, I spent three dreadful days in a steamer in the harbour of Jidda as King Husain would not on any account allow me to set foot on his land; and latterly during the years 1922, 1923, and 1924, I had many opportunities of making myself acquainted with the northern districts of the Hijaz, the districts of Shaubak, Petra, Ma'an and 'Aqaba.

As you all know, the historical importance of the Hijaz rests on the fact that it was the birthplace of Islam. For less than forty years in the seventh century of the Christian era Mecca* was the capital of the Arabian or Islamic Empire, such as it was then. For the next eleven and a half centuries the Hijaz was a mere province, a more or less derelict province, of the Empire to which it had given birth, and which was ruled in turn by the Califs of Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo, and Constantinople. During all this time its part in history was an entirely subordinate one, and its only link with the world was the annual pilgrimage, a festival which, for all the difficulties and inconvenience it

* As pointed out by Dr. Hogarth, it was Madina, not Mecca, that was the capital during this period.

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involved, to say nothing of its potential dangers to the public health of the world, has survived all the vicissitudes of time and provides the hundred millions of devotees of Islam with a political focus the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. Owing to the pilgrimage, and the pilgrimage alone, cosmopolitan populations have grown up in the seaports and chief towns of the country, each of which is, as it were, an epitome of Islam. Those centres of population exist for the sole purpose of supplying the spiritual and physical needs of the pilgrims for a consideration out of all proportion to the value of the services rendered. And the Badawin population of the Hijaz exists mainly by plundering the same pilgrims of whatever remains to them after the townsfolk have done with them. This may be a somewhat drastic statement of the case, but, to understand the Hijaz, one must realize that its sole *raison d'être* is to batten on the annual influx of pilgrims. And the Arabs as a race are so thriftless that they would think nothing of killing the goose that lays the golden egg for one final and glorious debauch of plunder. The maintenance of the pilgrimage is in fact a blessing for which the Muhammadan world has to thank the circumstance that the Hijaz has almost from the beginning and almost to the end of its career up to date been a subordinate province of the leading Islamic temporal power of the day. Its administration was always for the Turks a thankless task without any great prize as its reward; but they did maintain after their own fashion a semblance of order which enabled the pilgrims to perform in reasonable safety the chief and culminating rites of their religion, and the inhabitants of the Hijaz to batten on them regularly and within reasonable limits. On the whole, both parties had reason to be satisfied with the opportunist policy of the "Terrible Turk," and I imagine that, if anyone had up to ten or fifteen years ago thought of taking a vote of the pilgrims as to the most disagreeable part of their experiences, a great majority would have been found to have nothing to complain of except the quarantine regulations imposed on them by the unreasonable solicitude of the Great Powers for the public health of the world. At any rate, Burton had a good deal to say to the discredit of the quarantine station at Tor on the coast of the Sinai peninsula, and, although his criticisms were not listened to or acted on by the authorities, it must be admitted that on such a subject he spoke with the authority of a pilgrim's experience.

Be that as it may, the Hijaz was, comparatively speaking, a happy country during the long period when it was without independent historical importance. The first nail in the coffin of its happiness was driven in when under the auspices of Sultan 'Abdul Hamid the first bolt of the Hijaz Railway was well and truly riveted in 1904. The Hijaz Railway is, perhaps, one of the finest examples of railway engineering in the world—a fact which is not surprising considering that funds, collected by voluntary subscription throughout the Muhammadan world,

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were practically unlimited and 'Abdul Hamid was able to secure the services of the well-known German engineer, Meissner Pasha, who ultimately constructed a great part of the still unfinished Berlin-Baghdad railway. The excellence of his work is attested by the great difficulties encountered by Lawrence and his Arabs in their attempts to demolish it during the war, and the extraordinary facility with which 'Ali, the present King of the Hijaz, was able to restore the most heavily damaged southern portions of the line sufficiently to run trains to Madina in connection with the pilgrimage of last year. For that achievement King 'Ali deserves a great deal of credit.

Sultan 'Abdul Hamid, of course, never regarded the line as anything but a strategic railway for the control of Western Arabia, but in that capacity, owing to the failure of the Turks in face of natural Arab opposition to extend it to Mecca itself before the war, it proved to be a double-edged weapon, and was used to some purpose by the enemies of Turkey during the war. Since the war it has been cut up into three separate sections under the control respectively of Great Britain, France, and the Hijaz, each of which operates its section independently with different sets of rules and tariffs—not a very satisfactory state of affairs, and one of which we shall probably hear more in the future. But no historian of the Hijaz can afford to ignore the history of the Hijaz Railway.

The second nail was driven into the coffin of the Hijaz in 1908, when the Young Turk Government selected Husain ibn 'Ali for the important post of Grand Sharif of Mecca. Sultan 'Abdul Hamid had already on a previous occasion flatly refused to appoint Husain to that post, and when he heard that he had been appointed by the Turkish Government he made a remark which was justified by the event within seven or eight years. "The Hijaz," he exclaimed, "is as good as lost to Turkey." In point of fact, the failure of the Hijaz Railway to reach Mecca was due to no one so much as to the new Grand Sharif.

For the third nail we must pass to the summer of 1916, when the British fleet bombarded Jidda and the Turkish garrison surrendered. It is generally believed that the departure of the Turks was hailed with delight by the people of the Hijaz, but that is far from being the case. Under the cover of the British guns bombarding the port the Amir Zaid, youngest son of Sharif Husain and now a student at Balliol College, invested Jidda on the land side. To stir up local opposition to the Turks he sent a message to the leading citizen of Jidda, Saiyid Muhammad al Tawil, who held the high and lucrative post of Deputy-Director of Customs, offering him the post of Director if he would desert the Turks. The position of the Turks was desperate enough, but Saiyid Muhammad replied that, having served them faithfully for a quarter of a century, he would not desert them in the hour of their need. And not only that, but when the Turkish commander invited

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him to join the council of war, which was to deliberate the advisability of surrender, he declined the invitation on the ground that he could not be a party to a development which, though inevitable, he regarded as fraught with disaster to the Hijaz. The Turks surrendered and the Amir Zaid's army marched into Jidda, but Saiyid Muhammad did not make his obeisance to the conqueror until after he had said his last farewell to the Turkish officers, whom he accompanied for the purpose to the steamer which was to carry them into captivity. On his return to land he informed the Amir Zaid that, the Turks having released him from his obligations to them by departure, he was ready to place himself at the disposal of the new rulers of his country. This incident is, I think, worthy of the best traditions of Arab chivalry, and be it said to the credit of the Amir Zaid and of his father that Saiyid Muhammad was immediately appointed Director of Customs. They had no more faithful servant during the years that have passed since then, and he is commonly reputed to be the only man in the Hijaz who was able to stand up to King Husain. And only at the beginning of the present year history repeated itself when Ibn Sa'ud, after his triumphal entry into Mecca, despatched a message to Saiyid Muhammad offering him the governorship of the whole Jidda district if he would desert the cause of King 'Ali. He replied that Ibn Sa'ud would be justified in doubting his worthiness of such a post if he secured it by treason towards his present employers; and, of course, nobody but he will be governor of Jidda when Ibn Sa'ud occupies that town. He is one of the most remarkable characters of modern Arabian history, and is certainly the outstanding hero of the recent history of the Hijaz.

As Director of Customs he holds the purse-strings of the country—an all-important function in the East as, indeed, in the West—but his activities are not confined to finance. He is the effective ruler of the country, and one of the most remarkable sights I have ever seen is Saiyid Muhammad at work. Bare-headed he sits at his table furnished with nothing but pen, inkstand, and telephone. By his side is his invariable companion, a hukka, or hubble-bubble, and from time to time he sips a cup of Turkish coffee. Round him is a howling mob of Arabs—his own clerks, local merchants, divines from Mecca, pilgrims from Java, India, and elsewhere, and Badawin Arabs of cutthroat appearance armed to the teeth. Never departing from his amazing suavity of manner, he polishes off the business of the day with amazing rapidity. Men literally at daggers drawn with each other exchange the kiss of peace in this strange court and depart arm in arm beaming blessings on the judge, and on occasion even women enter his presence to depart again either reconciled to or happily divorced from their husbands. He alone dared to release prisoners committed to gaol by King Husain, and on one occasion the King, being annoyed with something that had happened in the Customs Department, telephoned from

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Mecca ordering the offending clerk, Hasan Effendi, to appear before him at once. Hasan immediately took sanctuary with Saiyid Muhammad, who called up Mecca on the telephone. King Husain hastened to assure him that some mistake had been made, and that it was not Hasan Effendi but another person of the same name whom he required.

But to return from this digression, the departure of the Turks and the capture by the Arabs of Jidda, Mecca, and Taïf in the summer of 1916 left the Grand Sharif master of the situation in the southern Hijaz, and free to proclaim himself King of the Arab Countries. This claim, of course, brought him into sharp conflict with his eastern neighbour, Ibn Sa'ud, the ruler of Central Arabia. And a *casus belli* was found in the rival claims of the two rulers to a petty oasis on their common frontier called Khurma. That proved to be the fourth nail in the coffin of the Hijaz, though it was not fully driven in until May, 1919, when the rival armies met at the neighbouring oasis of Turaba, and the Hijaz army was annihilated in a night attack on its camp.

History will, in due course, give Ibn Sa'ud the credit due to him for the moderation which he exercised in face of the victory, which left Mecca open to him. Instead of advancing, he retired into his deserts, and thus gave King Husain an ample respite to reconsider the implications of his ambitious policy. But the more he was thwarted in his designs, the more ambitious did he become, and the more reckless in his methods. The five years that followed saw him steadily overtaken by his doom, while by the time of his fall he had succeeded in alienating the sympathy of every element in his own territories. Ready as he was to profit by the sentiment of self-determination that swept over the world during the latter part of the war, he was far from being a believer in constitutional government. The Arabs, in his view, had every right to demand Arab government of Arab countries, but there their freedom of choice ended. Within the Arab world the theory of the divine right of kings applied without any possible exception, and the divine decree that gave the world the blessing of Islam clearly destined the progeny of the Prophet to hold the temporal sceptre of Islam in the fulness of time. And now the time was ripe.

But there was one prize to which he dared not openly aspire, though fate conspired with him to place it within his grasp only to tear it away again, and use it somewhat unkindly as the fifth and last nail in the lid of the coffin. Islam was never easy in its mind about the Arab revolt led by King Husain against the lawful Calif, and when Turkey lay broken by the power of the Allies, the Muhammadan world made it perfectly clear that the temporal vicissitudes of a world dominated by the infidel could not be allowed to affect the spiritual prerogatives of the Prophet's representative on earth. It is idle to consider whether such an attitude has the support of historical or theological precedent.

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Islam, like other religions, is conservative in character, and having been accustomed to an Ottoman Calif for four hundred years, had no intention of approving any innovation on that system. But Islam did not reckon with Republican Turkey, which, being ostentatiously radical, knocked the bottom out of the Ottoman Califate by abolishing that institution just over a year ago.

King Husain was at that critical moment on a visit to his son, the Amir 'Abdullah, in Trans-Jordan, and it was there in the royal camp in the Jordan valley that occurred his formal assumption of the vacant Califate. Day after day deputations and messages poured in from the neighbouring Arab countries, from Syria and Palestine, from 'Iraq, Trans-Jordan itself, and the Hijaz, acclaiming Husain as Calif. But he and the countries concerned would perhaps have been better advised to remember that they are at best only the Arab kernel of an Islam which extends far beyond the borders of Arabia, and that even Arabia was far from unanimous in the matter, as its strongest state, the Wahhabi Sultanate, was hostile to such a development. Egypt and India hastened to disassociate themselves from that development, but it was Ibn Sa'ud, the Wahhabi leader, who took time by the forelock, and, setting aside all idle talk of conferences and committees, launched his armies against the capital of one whom the rest of the Islamic world was denouncing as a usurper. The result is well known. Last September the first of the Hijaz towns, Taïf, fell almost without a blow struck. A few days later Mecca was occupied without opposition, and Ibn Sa'ud himself arrived there in December to organize the conquest of the Hijaz. King Husain was forced by public opinion to abdicate in favour of his eldest son, 'Ali, who ascended the throne as a strictly constitutional King, and King of the Hijaz only. His father's claim to the Califate and the kingship of the Arab countries was definitely and finally written off as an unattainable ambition. Since then King 'Ali has been shut up in Jidda, which the Wahhabis have been besieging in their desultory fashion for the last six or seven months, while Ibn Sa'ud has been steadily extending his tentacles over the outlying districts of the Hijaz. On the Red Sea coast he holds the ports of Qunfida and Lith south of Jidda, and Rabigh and Wajh north of it—a coast-line of some four hundred miles—while so far as can be made out with certainty, the only parts of the Hijaz remaining to King 'Ali are the ports of Jidda and Yanbu', the city of Madina, with the Hijaz Railway northwards, and the provinces of Midian and Ma'an in the north.

Such in brief outline is the history of the rise, decline, and fall of the Sharifian kingdom, and I propose to devote the rest of my time to a brief account of the curious jumble of ancient and modern institutions which made up the administration of King Husain. To understand his character properly it is necessary to realize that, until he

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returned to Mecca as Grand Sharif in 1908 at the age of nearly sixty, his life had been passed in alternate spells of existence among the Badawin tribes of the Hijaz and of honourable exile amid the luxuries of Constantinople. In his knowledge of the Badawin he stood unrivalled, and he believed in dealing with them on the principle of the mailed fist, but a curious strain of niggardliness in him reduced his Badawin administration to futility. In this respect Ibn Sa'ud has succeeded where he has failed, for no one realizes like the Wahhabi Sultan that the only way to control these turbulent and predatory tribes is to strike them, seldom, but suddenly and without sparing, and then to receive them back into favour with gifts and honours as if nothing had happened. It is the most remarkable fact about Ibn Sa'ud that all those who have at one time or another during his reign of a quarter of a century incurred his severest displeasure are to be numbered among his most honoured counsellors. And it is equally remarkable about King Husain that not only has he never succeeded in conciliating an enemy, but has seen all his best friends depart one after another to the enemy's camp. In his fall he was alone and deserted, while the Wahhabi commander who captured Mecca was only seven years before an officer in the Sharifian army, who left the King's service in disgust for an unmerited affront.

And in dealing with his administrative officials and the merchant populations of his towns he was not less unsuccessful than in dealing with the Badawin, and for the same reason. The corrupt practices of officialdom at Constantinople had created in him a conviction that all officials are essentially and innately corrupt, and in dealing with them he brought his niggardliness into play. While in India and other Oriental countries British experience has tended towards the conclusion that the standard of honesty in subordinate officials rises in direct ratio with the standard of their pay, King Husain adopted the principle that as his officials would be corrupt in any case, it was useless to pay them at all out of the State treasury. The consequence of such a policy may be better left to the imagination, but one direct result of it was that when the crisis came there was practically no army in existence to defend the Hijaz from the Wahhabis. The present army at Jidda has been recruited *de novo* since last October by King 'Ali, to whom also is due the fact that Madina has not fallen. He was governor of that district during his father's reign, and did not neglect to pay an army to defend it.

And King Husain pursued somewhat similar methods with the civilian population of his towns. He acted on the assumption that all sensible men evade the payment of taxation if they possibly can, and that the greater part of the taxes paid are dissipated by official corruption. He therefore resorted frequently to the expedient of a capital levy on the merchants of Jidda and Mecca, and so frequently

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did he do so that he brought the commercial development of those towns almost to a standstill. Many merchants simply left the country in disgust, and those who remained perforce restricted their business to an absolute minimum until reminded by a period of imprisonment that a merchant's duty to the community was to make as much money as he could for the King to raid periodically.

But it was not so much the fact that they were fleeced by the King that the merchants complained of as the fact that the money so procured was not spent on the betterment of conditions in the Hijaz. Their whole outlook being a commercial one, they realized the urgent need of education in the country, but their idea of education differed from King Husain's as widely as the poles. They wanted practical education to prepare their children for business and the other activities of the modern world. Restricted until the war to Arabic and Turkish as the sole languages included in the educational curriculum, they demanded the inclusion of Hindustani, French, and particularly English. King Husain abolished the teaching of Turkish, which was practically a second mother-tongue of the Arabs and is regularly used by them for conversation not intended for the understanding of strangers, but he considered Arabic the sole fit medium for all education, and many of the leading citizens of Jidda have to send their sons to Syria, Egypt, and India to get the knowledge of foreign languages essential to a commercial life. And they demanded also the teaching of book-keeping, general history and geography, science and other modern subjects; but King Husain was a strong believer in a purely classical education, and the classical teaching of the Hijaz schools has a strongly Quranic flavour—logic and grammar and jurisprudence, theology, interpretation of the Quran, and so forth.

But King Husain himself was an enthusiastic student of the art of despotic government, and he believed that the only proper use of the funds of the State was for the betterment of the administrative machine, whose mainspring was himself. He realized the advantages likely to accrue from modern scientific methods to an absolute despotism, and he was lavish in expenditure on what is perhaps the best system of wireless communication to be found in any of the more backward countries. Here he, of course, had the advantage of the work done during the war by the Turks, to say nothing of the trained personnel left behind by them. At Madina and Ma'an there were first-rate and fully equipped wireless installations capable of covering the whole area of the country, while at Jidda and 'Aqaba there were subsidiary installations, which were duly multiplied at Yanbu', Tabuk, Qunfida, and other places, and on the four ships which constitute the Hijaz Navy. At Mecca itself the King was in telephonic communication with Jidda, whence he was able to communicate with the outer world by the Red Sea cable or with the various parts of his own territories by wireless. By this system he was

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enabled to maintain personal control over all his district and provincial governors, and those who failed to keep him informed of every detail within their ken were easily brought to book.

I have already mentioned the Hijaz Navy, and it is perhaps unnecessary to say more about it than that it was a luxury without much practical advantage. Nevertheless it cost a good deal of money to maintain, and its ships were mainly used for the purpose of carrying troops from one part of the country to another and for carrying distinguished persons with their retainers. The King himself only used these ships on two occasions, once on his grand tour of 1923-24, which brought him to 'Aqaba and in due course to Trans-Jordan, and the second time when last year he went into exile after his abdication.

The third branch of his administration on which he spent a great deal of money to little purpose was the Hijaz Air Force. It would be difficult to say how many aeroplanes in all have been purchased by the Hijaz Government, or how many of them have come to an untimely end. It is a fact, however, that they have never achieved any useful purpose whatever, and the Wahhabi force besieging Jidda seems to be supremely contemptuous of the coming and going of aeroplanes over their heads. The great shortcoming of the Hijaz air service was its almost total lack of repairing facilities and spare parts. King Husain would gladly pay thousands of pounds to a foreign firm for aeroplanes supplied, but when his Russian pilots and mechanics pointed out that the machines could not be maintained in serviceable condition without spare parts and constant overhaul, he sent them about their business convinced that they too were in league to cheat him. Two of these Russians have lost their lives in the recent operations against the Wahhabis. The first, Bobroff by name, was ordered to proceed to Taïf without being warned that that town had already fallen. On landing on the aerodrome he was welcomed by a Wahhabi fusillade and was killed. The other, Sherikoff, was sent with two observers and a cargo of home-made bombs to create havoc among the Wahhabis, but it seems that one of the bombs exploded before they reached the scene of action and all the occupants of the machine were killed.

For all his navy and air force and his efficient scheme of wireless communication King Husain never achieved even the semblance of efficient administration, and this is scarcely to be wondered at seeing that he set himself to rear the structure of a modern state on thoroughly unsuitable soil without paying the slightest attention to its foundations. A corrupt administration and a primitive system of education were scarcely calculated to fit the country for the higher flights of modern civilization. The complete absence of personal security owing to the concentration of the government in the King's person and the lack of an army to defend the country from external aggression were further elements of weakness. His great mistake was to begin from the

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top instead of from the bottom, and to attempt, with a view to impressing the world, the impossible task of grafting the latest achievements of the twentieth century on to a body politic which has all the characteristics of the age of the patriarchs and on to a country in which trial by the ordeal of fire is still a recognized method of settling disputes and domestic slavery is accepted without question as part of the natural order of things.

Tabuk, a station on the Hijaz Railway some distance south of Ma'an, is a recognized centre for the trial by ordeal of fire. There are other localities in the Hijaz in which persons versed in this method of settling disputes reside, but perhaps the best-known seat of the practice is at Al 'Arish, a station on the Sinai Railway just within the Egyptian frontier. The office of judge is, of course, an hereditary prerogative of the families concerned and is handed down from sire to son. The ordeal by fire is presumably a very ancient institution, and in Arabia, I imagine, comes down in unbroken descent from pagan times. The process is probably not familiar to you, and I must confess I have never seen it in operation; but I may be pardoned for describing it briefly on the authority of King Husain, who, while admitting its inacceptability according to the canons of Islam, is nevertheless a believer in its efficacy. He promised to arrange for a practical demonstration for my benefit, but in the excitement of the Califate development, to which I have referred, he did not fulfil his promise. The process is known by the Arabs as *Malass*, or "licking," because, when the disputants in a case agree to settle it by this ordeal, they appear by appointment before the officiating judge, whose necessary equipment is only a fire and a poker or skewer of iron. This instrument being warmed to a white heat, the judge administers the requisite oath to the party concerned and then passes the white-hot poker over his tongue. If he has spoken the truth the poker leaves no trace, and if he has lied he is duly convicted by a sore tongue. The principle of the ordeal is simple enough. The parties are supposed to be in the invisible presence of their Creator, who knows the truth, and he who speaks the truth has nothing to fear. Hence his organs function normally and the natural spittle on the tongue is sufficient to defy the brand. The liar, of course, is dry-throated and dry-tongued with fear and is easily convicted.

As for domestic slavery, it is still one of the burning questions of the time. It is a century ago since the civilized world definitely set its face against slavery and put an end to it in the more accessible areas under its direct control. More than that, it concerted measures to prevent it as far as possible by intercepting cargoes of slaves passing over the high seas, but its efforts cannot be said to have met with more than partial success. Slavery, it must be admitted, still persists in Arabia as a normal institution, and slaves still come from the only source which has always supplied them to the Arab markets—namely Africa,

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which is divided from Arabia by the width of the Red Sea. Cargoes of slaves still cross the Red Sea, which with its reefs and creeks is difficult to patrol effectively, and the annual pilgrimage constitutes another source of supply which is practically impossible to control. Africans proceeding on foot to Mecca may be kidnapped by the Badawin and sold, while parents rendered destitute by the pilgrimage cannot be prevented from selling the children accompanying them to get the price of return tickets to their homes. To inconvenient questions on the other side they reply simply that the children have died. The whole problem is a very difficult one, and I am inclined to think that the traffic in slaves cannot be stopped altogether so long as there are purchasers any more than the traffic in drugs can be absolutely prevented while there are consumers. Restrictions in such matters tend to be an incentive to the dealer by raising the prices of the commodity in which he deals, but the range of slave prices in Arabia would not seem to suggest that the vigilance of the civilized world has produced any marked shortage in the market. At Jidda and Mecca, for instance, the price of slaves varies from £30 to £80, according to quality, the higher prices being charged for sturdy negroes from the Sudan, while the feeble health and impaired lives of the Abyssinian variety affect the value of slaves from that country. I was told at Jidda that ordinarily the slave-cargoes land on the Yaman coast, where the sea is less broad and spanned by archipelagoes of little islands where the dhows can take shelter against bad weather and patrols. The pick of the market is therefore bought up in the Yaman, while the Hijaz only receives the residue. Slaves who are ill-treated by their masters or are unhappy can always secure emancipation by taking refuge at any of the European consulates at Jidda, and Mr. Bullard, the present British Consul, has always attended to this part of his duties with unflagging zeal; but, after all, the number of slaves who seek release in this manner is but small compared with the slave population of Arabia. And one frequently hears of cases, particularly of women who have been set free by their owners as a reward for faithful service, and who, marrying men of their own race settled in the Hijaz, have every reason to complain of the household drudgery which is their lot to the end of their days in comparison with their former comfortable service in the houses of the rich.

At that let me leave the subject and my account, which for want of time has necessarily been a mere sketch, of the recent history and present conditions of the Hijaz. In dealing with such a country one has to remember that it is a country of which the European world gets only occasional glimpses through the medium of passing visitors. Burkhardt has left us an excellent account of conditions as they were in the early part of last century, and it was not till the fifties that we get another detailed account of the country from the pen of Richard

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Burton, who came down from Madina along Wadi Fatima. In the seventies we have Keane, who performed the pilgrimage as a servant of an Indian potentate and discovered living in Mecca a mysterious Englishwoman who was apparently kidnapped during the Indian Mutiny, and, having accepted the Muhammadan religion, visited and remained in Mecca. In the seventies we again have Burton and his detailed accounts of the northern Hijaz or the land of Midian, as well as Doughty, who emulated Burkhardt's discovery of Petra by discovering the ruins of Madaïn Salih, and after two years of wandering in Arabia visited Taïf and Jidda. In the eighties the eminent French traveller, Charles Huber, was murdered by his Badawin escort at Rabigh and was buried in the European cemetery at Jidda. And some years before the war we have another pilgrim in Wavell. Then came the war with its great opportunity of study of the country, of which no man took advantage to better account than Lawrence, though, for some reason best known to himself, he has not yet seen his way to publishing an account without which the history of the Hijaz must be regarded as incomplete. Of all those who have contributed to our knowledge of the country Burkhardt, Burton, and Doughty stand out by themselves, with Lawrence to join their number when he tells his story. Doughty and Lawrence are happily still alive. Burkhardt, who was of Swiss nationality, was buried at Cairo, and his neglected grave evoked the criticism of Burton, who commented somewhat caustically on the comparative failure of a movement which had shortly before been initiated to procure funds for the adequate maintenance of the "discoverer of Petra's humble grave." By the irony of fate his own grave at Mortlake has already begun to occasion anxiety among those who are concerned for the adequate perpetuation of the memory of our national heroes. Monuments of stone are by no means imperishable if not properly looked after, and they cannot be looked after without expenditure. The least I can do on such an occasion as this is to suggest that Burton's fame is already sufficiently established to justify the classing of his last resting-place as a monument of national and historical interest and importance. It deserves to be kept in an adequate state of repair for the benefit of posterity, and in suggesting that the British Government should give the matter its consideration I have the support of an interesting parallel. When Charles Huber was murdered in the Hijaz in 1884 the French Government was not slow to recognize his services to science and exploration by erecting over his grave at Jidda a simple and effective tombstone of granite at the national expense. And that monument is looked after by the French Government and is one of the very few monuments in the European cemetery at Jidda which has survived the ravages of time. The other tombs look rather as if they had been subjected to some sort of bombardment, and I am not sure that that is not the case, though, of course, the bombardment was accidental.

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And in view of possible further bombardment by the Wahhabis the ancient Javanese custodian of the cemetery has taken the precaution of preparing in the cemetery a dug-out for his temporary occupation, which will doubtless in due course serve someone else as a grave. This gentleman is paid his wages of about £4 per month by the British, French, and Italian Governments in alternate years, and it might, perhaps, be suggested that the British Government might set apart the equivalent of his wages for one or two years, when they fall upon the French or Italian Exchequers, to be funded for the maintenance in perpetuity of the grave of one than whom no Englishman has done more to make his countrymen acquainted with the birthplace of a creed which occupies a high position in point of importance among the creeds of the British Empire.

In the discussion following the lecture Dr. Hogarth said that while it was undoubtedly the case that very much of the fame of Burton amongst the general public was due to his pilgrimage to Mecca, that venture was intended to be but the prelude to the greater enterprise of crossing Arabia and of reaching the Southern Provinces of Nejd. Burton's first idea was to go through the pilgrimage and become a Moslem in the true sense of the word; he professed to be a Moslem up to the day of his death. He believed the pilgrimage would furnish him with sufficient prestige to enable him to travel eastwards in much greater safety than if he had not undertaken the Haj. He was a young man at the time, but on inquiry he found that to pass through Central Arabia to the South was a very different proposition to undertaking the comparatively easy and safe pilgrimage route. It would mean venturing among very fanatical tribes of the interior. Therefore, instead of continuing the journey from Mecca he returned and wrote his famous book, which caught the public fancy and stereotyped his fame as a pilgrim. The lecturer had enumerated various causes for the decay of the kingdom of the Hijaz. For himself Dr. Hogarth did not regard the Hijaz as any more dead even in the political sense than it had been for the last thousand years and more. This was not the first time it had been seized by the tribes of the interior. Such a seizure took place in the tenth century and also again a hundred years ago. It would not surprise him to find a Sharifial family again in power before many years were over. But he agreed with the lecturer that the Hijaz Railway would prove to have inflicted a very serious blow on the prosperity of the Hijaz. This prosperity rested solely and simply upon the pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina. The railway was opened in 1904, and he thought it would be useful if reliable statistics could be obtained to indicate how far the pilgrimage had been affected numerically. While the Sultan Abdul Hamid built the railway for strategic purposes, he appealed for and received, on

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*religious g*rounds, the financial support of the Islamic world. But the railway had taken away so much of the labour and what might be described as the other-worldliness of the venture of the pilgrimage that it had tended to deprive it of the great merit it had in Moslem eyes. It was not surprising that by the time the railway reached Madina there was strong opposition on the part of the tribesmen to the contemplated extension to Mecca, which would mean the loss to them of the lucrative trade in camel transport. The opposition so far succeeded that the line was not extended to Mecca, which still retained something of that other-worldliness that had been taken away from the sister city. It would have greatly interested Burton to know what the effect of the building of the line would be, more particularly upon the pilgrimage from Turkey. It had been the custom for many years to send out advance agents to India, Turkistan, Turkey, and other Moslem countries to whip up pilgrims. He would like to know what their success had been in recent years, and whether they were received with the honours formerly bestowed upon them in various countries, and notably in Asiatic Turkey. Upon the basis of figures showing the numbers and nationality of the pilgrims a judgment could be formed whether the Haj was likely to be maintained in the future. Neither Mecca nor Madina had or were likely to have a prosperous economic existence apart from the pilgrimage, and if this was not maintained they would relapse into Arab townships of no importance.

Referring to the expressions of regret by the lecturer that Lawrence had not given to the world the results of his explorations, Dr. Hogarth said that as a matter of fact there was in existence a comprehensive record by Lawrence. A very few copies of the record were in existence, and there was good reason to anticipate that in a short time the book would be published privately in a limited edition. It should be published, at any rate, not later than next year.

Lord Raglan said a few words, and Mr. Penzer, co-founder and secretary of the Burton Memorial Fund, spoke from the practical standpoint. There were two points he wished particularly to call attention to: firstly, the deplorable condition of Burton's mausoleum at the Mortlake cemetery, and secondly the fact, generally unknown, that Burton's library and relics of his travels were divided between the Kensington Central Library and the Camberwell Library.

Although Lady Burton left a large sum to be spent in preserving the mausoleum from any chances of decay, and actually bought up all surrounding ground, by some mismanagement not only had fresh graves sprung up in close proximity to the tomb, but both the outside and inside of the mausoleum itself were in a terrible condition. At the present moment there was a tree slowly growing towards the top of the tomb which would do serious damage if not cut down in time.

With regard to Burton's library, owing to the fact that Lady

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Burton's sister, Mrs. Fitzgerald, conceived the idea of burning his books, Miss Plowman (Lady Burton's secretary), with the help of Mr. Herbert Jones, Librarian of the Central Library, Kensington, managed to get the books out of the house and convey them to the library. Unfortunately, there was no room for them all, and for a time no library or institution could be found where such a room was vacant. Finally, however, space was found at the Camberwell Library, and so all Lady Burton's books and the Burton relics were conveyed thither.

Thus to this day the collections were divided and practically unknown to anyone. As it would be Burton's dearest wish for his library to be used by students and scholars of the East, it seemed a thousand pities that no effort could be made to unite these two collections and possibly place them in some public institution such as the British Museum, or failing that the Royal Anthropological Institute, of which Burton was a founder.

Mr. Penzer pointed out that the value of the collection laid not alone in the fact that the books belonged to Burton, but that it contained many highly important works such as Doughty's "Arabia Deserta," which are largely annotated in Burton's hand throughout. Apart from this, there are several MSS. which had not yet been published, including an important Hindustani version of the Hitopadeśa recension of "Pilpay's Fables."

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THE EXCAVATIONS AT UR, 1924-25

A MEETING of the Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, S.W., on May 22, Lord Peel in the chair, when a very interesting and valuable lecture was given by Mr. Leonard Woolley on the results of last season's work of the archæological expedition sent out to Ur by the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, of which Mr. Woolley is the leader. It is very much regretted that the lecture, which was illustrated by excellent slides, cannot be given in full.

After giving a description of the progress made during the year, the discovery of the foundations of the Ziggurat, the finding of an arch dated 1400 B.C., the oldest known example of this form of architecture being used above ground, the finding of a great hoard of tablets of about 2000 B.C., and of a museum of antiquities attached to the Convent built by Nabonidus, and, most important of all the finds, a colossal *stela* of Ur-Engur, the founder of the Third Dynasty, Mr. Woolley said that enough had now been discovered to prove the immense value of the work, and to show what was yet to be done. The difficulty lay in finding the money necessary to carry on. The funds at the disposal of the British Museum were not sufficient, and though the help given by the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania was very great, they were compelled to ask for help from people interested in the subject. The residents in Mesopotamia had given most generously; but the expenses were necessarily heavy, and it would be a very great loss if the excavations, which so far had proved of such value, could not be thoroughly carried out.

Sir FREDERIC KENYON said he would like to take this opportunity of congratulating Mr. Woolley, and of thanking him on behalf of the British Museum for the excellent work he had carried on during the winter. It was now six years since the series of campaigns had commenced on the ruins of Ur, and they had been attended by very great success. The reason of starting the excavations there had been to try and trace back as far as possible the history of the very earliest civilizations, and though it was impossible to say where this was to be found, is was evident that in the valleys of Mesopotamia valuable results would be obtained by excavating sites known to date back to the dawn of history as we knew it.

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There was another excellent reason for going there: we had taken the country, and it would have been a scandal if we had allowed the chance so given to escape us. In 1918 Captain R. Campbell Thompson, one of the most eminent of British Assyriologists, was acting as an Intelligence Officer in Mesopotamia, and the task of making the preliminary survey and diggings was entrusted to him; the following year Dr. Hall took up the work, and, since he could no longer be spared from the British Museum, Mr. Woolley went out to carry it on.

"A good deal has now been done; this year we have gone back to 2300 B.C., but in the earlier campaigns at Tel el-Obeid we have had the lion heads of bronze and the bull friezes, which carry us a millennium farther back. In digging, of course, one cannot command success; digging merely to get 'museum objects' and leaving many things unexplored is not to be thought of, and we are sure now and then to get a fallow year." But so far we have had great success, Mr. Woolley has had good luck as well as good skill, and though we should have had no right to complain if he had found nothing of first-rate importance, but had merely amplified what had been done already, he has found quantities of tablets and minor works of art, and the most remarkable *stela* ever discovered in Iraq. Moreover, the way in which they were found shows that there is still more to be discovered, and we hope to send yet another expedition and to get still farther back.

And now let me take this opportunity of emphasizing the note on which Mr. Woolley ended his lecture. The British Museum could not have found anything like the necessary amount of money without the generous collaboration of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and it is in the true spirit of collaboration that Dr. Gordon has joined in the work. But even then it would not have been possible to go on without the very liberal assistance of certain generous friends of the Museum, Mr. Reckitt (who has promised to help us again when we arrange the next expedition), Sir Arnold Wilson and the English residents in Baghdad. Let me beg all who are here to strengthen our hands for further excavations; it is true that there is no limit to the possibilities of the work, but the British Museum cannot provide enough funds, and they must find friends who will contribute.

Before I sit down I should like to thank Mr. Woolley, not only for his skill as an archæologist, but also for the admirably clear way in which he has reconstructed for us the history brought to light by the discoveries which he has made and of which he has given us such a delightful account this afternoon. (Applause.)

Mr. SIDNEY SMITH said he would like to add his appreciation of the lecture and his thanks to Mr. Woolley for the fascinating history he had shown them; the early civilization of Babylonia was being slowly made out through these excavations; we knew now what these people, living about 2000 B.C. could do in copper and mosaic work, we knew

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something of their buildings and decorative work, and the audience would be able to see for themselves the wonderful *stela* which Mr. Woolley had discovered. The varied civilization of Babylonia could now be followed century by century, but much remained to be done, and he wished he could impress upon the members of the Central Asian Society the importance of the work and the unique opportunity that they now had for fresh discoveries if only the necessary funds could be found. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN in thanking Mr. Woolley on behalf of the Society, said that he felt a work of such interest and importance would not be stopped for lack of funds, and while wishing Mr. Woolley every success, he much hoped that he would give them again next year the great pleasure of hearing of the progress of the excavations. (Applause.)

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ANNUAL DINNER

THE annual dinner of the Central Asian Society was held in the Edward VII. Rooms, Hotel Victoria, on June 30, with Lord Peel, Chairman of the Society, in the chair. The attendance numbered nearly 250, and the special guests of the evening were the Right Hon. the Earl of Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, and the Right Hon. L. C. Amery, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Earl of BIRKENHEAD, proposing the toast of the Central Asian Society, said that he received with great pleasure the invitation to be present that evening and to make a few observations. He confessed that the title of the Society occasioned him some slight confusion. His knowledge of geography was perhaps general rather than particular, and if he were asked to indicate by the drawing of a circle which part of Europe or of Africa was central, or what part of any other continent was central, he would find himself in some considerable doubt whether he could discharge the task with a tolerable degree of accuracy. As he was suffering from this disadvantage, he took the opportunity to consult Lord Lamington, and asked him what was the particular part of the world associated with Central Asia. With perhaps a little more vagueness than was his custom in the House of Lords, and giving force to his meaning by a gesture, he replied: "East Africa and places of that kind." (Laughter.) It seemed to him that this reply was not very helpful, and therefore he was thrown back upon his own resources. They all knew that that part of the world numbering 320 millions for which he had some responsibility had been interested, and continued to be interested, in Central Asia, and that many members of their Society had served in that country. He could not doubt that the habit of continuing through the Society associations which were the result of long residence in India, in China, and in other Asiatic countries, was helpful. That night they were reproducing those associations in a most agreeable form, and one that was characteristic of the habits of the English people. Many of those present, men and women alike, had consecrated and devoted the best years of their life to service abroad, and here he was not confined by considerations of geography, for whether they had lived in the Middle East, in India, or in the Far East, their careers had the same element of sacrifice and service. There was something magnetic in the adoption of a career in the East which drew men and women, partly because it was different from the life lived by

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their relatives and friends who spent their whole time in these sober islands.

It was said once by him who was regarded, and justly regarded, as the English poet of our day:

> "East is East, and West is West,
> And never the twain shall meet."

In one sense those lines might be a paradox and in another a commonplace. It was perfectly true that there were in Eastern mentality traces and tendencies which never could be discovered among persons of Western origin, and which could hardly be completely apprehended even by those who spent their whole lives in the East. But on the other side, there had been contact for many generations between East and West which had brought a realization that the East could contribute something to the West which it did not possess, and that the West, with its scientific resources, its inventive genius, its long tradition of statecraft, could contribute that of which the storied East had never dreamt.

It seemed to him, however, that we were approaching to-day a period in which we should have to re-examine the whole basis of the relationship of the East to the West. If one looked to-day over the Eastern countries of the world, one saw something of our greater Western rapidity and of our accelerating fermentation of political ideas being transferred to the East, where they had about reached a point which the West, to its misfortune, had achieved long ago. The new wine had been placed in old bottles and it went to the heads of those who liked it. (Laughter.) For his part he was amongst those who had had the satisfaction of indicating their dislike of it in the past. If they looked round the East to-day, they observed that in China—and he had the authority of Lord Lamington for affirming that China was a nation—the young men were unaccountably neglecting the study of the wisdom and learning of Confucius, to which, so far as he was concerned, they might have been left in exclusive enjoyment. (Laughter.) Instead of reading Confucius they were reading articles in the *Daily Express* (laughter), and the result, so far as he could ascertain, was that the university students of China, instead of imbibing the doctrines of those hoary-headed sages of the past, were at this moment throwing themselves into armed crusades against the foreign "devils." He would draw the attention of the Colonial Secretary—who had been an academic figure of great distinction—to the fact that throughout the world the principal enemies of the British nation were the student classes. Whether they took Egypt or India or China, it was always the students who were most certain that the British Empire was not only doomed but damned, and that they had been happily appointed to be the instruments of its immediate execution. He could not himself profess

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to explain this circumstance, but it might not be unrelated to what he had been told was in India a not entirely uncommon circumstance. One could see in the large towns over the door of a hairdresser's establishment the name of the proprietor followed by the words, as a recommendation for his professional skill, "Calcutta B.A. failed." Presumably that was a qualification which made the profession of a hairdresser more flourishing than otherwise it would be. (Laughter.) These reflections of his were somewhat general, though he held that they were not entirely unfriendly in character to the East. They might very usefully ask themselves what was to be the future development of the relations between the East and the West.

A vigorous, if undisciplined and intemperate, potentate informed the world some fifteen years ago, and was never tired of the theme, that the future would necessarily disclose an immense and incalculable conflict of the yellow races of the world with the Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, and Latin elements of the world. He was not able on that occasion to examine even the bases which led the then Emperor William to come to this conclusion, which he might or might not have sincerely held. But unquestionably, when one devoted thought to the study of the problems of the relations of East and West, one did well to give close attention to what was taking place to-day in China. At this moment they had there a country with an immense population, which for a longer period than he suspected many of those present could very readily define had been in a condition of civil war. It was a country in which Great Britain had immense commercial interests. At the present time it was the happy hunting ground of those Bolshevik elements which were making their principal effort the destruction of the British Empire in the East. The part which had to be played in the extrication of the present dilemma in China, by ourselves, by the United States, by Japan, and by other great Powers would, he hoped, receive the most careful attention of the many members of the Central Asian Society who by virtue of their training and experience were familiar with the factors of this great problem.

He felt he ought on this occasion to make a very few observations upon the subject of the country with the welfare of which he was specially charged. A population of 320 millions in India was under the protection of our Parliament, and thus Great Britain was called upon to sustain an exclusive responsibility for the protection of a very considerable proportion of the total population of the world. (Cheers.) In facing those problems they must never close their eyes to the realities of a situation which might easily be rendered dangerous either by the eyes of blindness or the language of optimism. The fundamental fact of the Indian situation was that we went there centuries ago composing, if he might put the case paradoxically, by the sharp edge of the sword differences which would have submerged and destroyed the

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ancient civilization of the sub-continent. We went there upon that basis, and we hold our trust by that charter. It was as true to say to-day, in the year 1925, that if we left India to-morrow it would be submerged by the same anarchical and murderous disturbances as those which devastated it in the days when the names of Clive and Warren Hastings became illustrious. (Loud cheers.)

There was not, in his judgment, reason for supposing that any man entitled to speak as representing for the time our trusteeship for India, whether he belonged to the Labour Party, the Liberal Party, or the Conservative Party, would find himself in a position in which it would be possible for him to liquidate the obligations which were imposed upon us both by history and by honour. (Cheers). He knew in this connection appreciatively that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who was Prime Minister of this country last year, and was exposed to influences which neither he nor his colleague the Colonial Secretary had to meet, spoke plain and manful words which might have come from the lips of a Conservative Prime Minister. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Ramsay MacDonald spoke of the irrational and dangerous claims which were made by many elements in Indian politics.

Their chairman, Lord Peel, had borne with great distinction for two years the burden which he (Lord Birkenhead) now discharged, and the problems now facing the Indian authorities were at least as familiar to the chairman, and perhaps more so, than to himself. He could assure Lord Peel that nothing but good could result from the existence of a Society like this, which brought to bear an instructed and experienced outlook upon the problems of civilizations wholly different from their own. He did not call attention to the difference in a spirit of claim to superiority to Asia, with its history, its architecture, its art, and its ancient philosophy. That man would be rash and ignorant who claimed any superiority for our own architecture or civilization. They were there to make no such claim. The object of the Society, if he apprehended rightly, was to promote greater harmony, greater sympathy, and greater understanding between East and West, in the assurance that increased harmony, sympathy, and understanding could be of enormous advantage to those in public life who had not the experience derived from long years of residence in Asia. Speaking on behalf of the great Indian dependency, he acknowledged with great thankfulness the kindness of their invitation to him to be present and to speak as representing in the Imperial Government many millions who were of Asian birth and Asian outlook, and yet whose fate it had been to be associated with ourselves for generations, and who, in his judgment, would continue, to their own advantage, to be so associated. He gave the toast of the Society, coupled with the name of Lord Peel. (Loud cheers.)

Viscount PEEL, in responding, first made reference to the great loss the Society had sustained by the death of the very distinguished man who was for many years their president, the Marquis Curzon. Many

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present would remember that he attended the last annual dinner of the Society, and addressed to them a magnificent speech, which showed that the enthusiasm and interest he had displayed in Eastern problems throughout his life had been maintained to the end. He mentioned that beside other distinguished guests, they had with them two American gentlemen—Mr. Putnam, who had done so much to effect recognition in the United States of the copyright of British authors, and Mr. Everett, a very distinguished lawyer, who had the further claim on their regard if not of being educated, at least of spending some period of his life at the University of Cambridge. (Cheers.)

Speaking on behalf of the Society, he wished to say that they had been most grateful that they had been able to induce Lord Birkenhead to address them that evening. The Secretary of State for India had shown great versatility during his career. He was a very great Lord Chancellor, and was now Secretary of State for India. He (the speaker) had been looking through Lord Curzon's monumental work on Indian government lately published, but had not been able to discover an instance in which the converse transfer had taken place, and a Secretary for India had subsequently become Lord Chancellor, but he hoped that such a precedent might be set. (Laughter.) One of the problems to which Lord Birkenhead addressed himself was that of the name of the Society. His great intellect could scarcely cope with the problem why it was called the Central Asian Society. He must tell Lord Birkenhead that the question had exercised for a long time other minds than his. (Laughter.) He must also say that they did not confine their attention to countries which could strictly be regarded as in the centre of Asia. For this course they had good precedent. Such conquerors as Timur and Jengis Khan had started from the high uplands of Central Asia, and carried their arms and such civilization as they had not only into other parts of Asia, but also into Europe. The Society was following this precedent, and he hoped with rather better manners than those of the conquerors he had mentioned. (Laughter.) Lord Birkenhead seemed surprised that the Society had any concern with East Africa, but here again they had good precedent, remembering that Cambyses conquered Egypt; so Egypt as well as East Africa was a part of their appanage.

In addition to receiving the papers of men of distinction as officials, travellers, soldiers, statesmen, administrators, and discoverers, they were also archæologists, for among the papers recently read to them had been a learned exposition of the useful researches being carried on in Ur of the Chaldees, the birthplace of Abraham. They also studied the religions of Asia, and they were well aware that it was from that continent that all the great religions of the world sprung. But even in Asia he feared there was some religious scepticism. He remembered some few years ago when the Emir Ali Hassan was visiting this

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country and lunched with him, the talk turned upon the Mount Everest Expedition. The Emir asked him what the English thought they were going to get from the attempt to scale Everest. He replied: "I will give you the explanation of the Tibetan porters of the expedition. They said to its leader: 'We know why you want to reach the summit; it is to get nearer to the Divine.'" The Arab potentate replied, looking at him closely: "Yes; but now tell me the real reason." (Laughter and cheers.) So he did his best in the very feeble Arabic at his command, which bore no comparison with the fluent Arabic with which Mr. Amery could address assemblies in Iraq. (Laughter.)

The Society paid close attention to the effect of Western thought and influence on Eastern civilization. They wanted to know how it was that India seemed so anxious to absorb and improve upon those parliamentary institutions which somehow seemed to have lost their popularity throughout the whole of Southern Europe. (Laughter.) They might be under the impression that there were two Secretaries of State present that evening, but as a matter of fact they had with them three Secretaries of State, for Mr. Amery, while retaining the Secretaryship of State for the Colonies, had lately been made Secretary of State for the Dominions. (Cheers.) He did not know in which manifestation or incarnation (they were familiar with these matters in Asia) Mr. Amery would appear before them that evening.

Some of them might wonder what the exact relations of the Secretary of State for the Dominions to Asia might be, and in this connection it was sufficient to mention the Singapore Base. (Laughter.) In the capacity of Secretary of State for the Colonies Mr. Amery was interested in Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong, and particularly in the Bolshevist activities in the latter colony and at the Treaty ports. But he appeared before them in still another incarnation, for he was the Minister responsible for the mandated territories—that wonderful political discovery revealed by the Treaty of Versailles. He had responsibility in respect to Iraq and to Palestine. In the former he was called upon to try to relieve the anxieties of the British taxpayer and at the same time to introduce something like British order into the finances of that country. In Palestine he was called upon to seek to reconcile the differences of the two great branches of the Semitic races. They had had Secretaries of State for the Colonies in the past who not only did not go to any of the dominions for which they were responsible, but who found some difficulty in discovering their exact location upon the map. Mr. Amery would be able to tell them where every one of those dominions were. (Laughter and cheers). He had visited most of them, and recently, forsaking the old familiar ways of travel, the rolling steamboat and the shaking train, he had gone by air both to Palestine and Mesopotamia, where he addressed

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the fortunate inhabitants in fluent Arabic. (Laughter.) He would now propose the toast of their distinguished guests, coupled with the name of the Secretary of State for the Dominions, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the Minister responsible for the Mandated Territories. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. AMERY, who was heartily received, said that if he went over all the ground suggested in the speech of their Chairman, they would have an all-night sitting. Lord Peel had spoken of the remarkable versatility of his colleague, Lord Birkenhead, but he would rather speak about his modesty. He had said nothing about a certain expedition into the heart of Asia Minor which they took together nearly thirty years ago, or of the fortitude of his comrade and of the many sufferings they both heroically endured until they emerged at Constantinople primed with an immense mass of information which Lord Birkenhead had not yet given to the world, but which he could produce in the form of a work of six or seven volumes in a very short time. He (Mr. Amery) would tell them of only one incident to illustrate the desperate perils they encountered. Once, benighted in the wild mountains of Southern Asia Minor, they in their extremity at last discovered a hut occupied by some villainous-looking brigands. The only accommodation available was on the floor of the hut, and exhausted by their long journey they sank into a deep sleep. But he was awakened soon after by the low-pitched conversation of their hosts sitting round the fire and discussing something which seemed to be of tremendous importance. He heard one of them say: "I think we had better kill the little one first." (Loud laughter.) While anxiously fumbling for his revolver, and indulging in indignant reflections on the unfairness of this preference, he gathered from further remarks that it was only a question as to which chicken was to be sacrificed for the breakfast of the visitors. (Laughter.)

Since those adventurous days he had occasionally visited Eastern lands, and only the other day he was able to obtain a bird's-eye glimpse of the Middle East. It was literally a bird's-eye view, thanks to the help received from the Air Force. After a picturesque description of the varying phases of life and scenery observable from the air during the journey, and more particularly of the clearness with which traces of the ancient history of the country could be seen from above, Mr. Amery said that he could do no more on that occasion than to give them a few of the chief impressions which he derived from that short tour. One of the first was that of the wonderful efficiency of the Air Service, and its value in the protection and control of a great open and undeveloped country. When Mr. Churchill decided in 1921 to entrust the whole of the defence of Iraq to the Air Force, and to make a vast reduction in the armed forces occupying that country, he was running a tremendous risk. At that time we were still at war with Turkey; we had to face

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the possibility not only of a Turkish invasion of the frontier, but also of attack all along our right flank, and of a general rising behind us in a country which only a few months before had been in open rebellion and which, though reduced to peace, had never been disarmed. We were confronted with difficulty in facing this situation, but even more difficult would it have been to withdraw, for that would at once have invited an advance of the Turkish forces and the Kurds on our front, and revived insurrection in our rear. To stay where we were, despite the difficulties and dangers, was on the whole the easiest and safest course.

The result had been the efficient protection and peace of the whole of that vast country, with the exception of perhaps a few inaccessible valleys in the highlands. The country was more completely at peace than it had ever been since the days of Harun al Rashid. To-day as taxpayers we were reaping the fruits of that policy. In 1921 we were spending in Iraq nearly £21,000,000 a year for the upkeeping of a great force, which included 33 battalions of infantry, 6 cavalry regiments, and 15 or 16 batteries of artillery. To-day we were spending less than £4,000,000 on 8 squadrons of the Air Force and 4 battalions of infantry, with a few local troops, and he hoped that even that force could be still further reduced when the frontier question had been finally settled by the League of Nations. (Cheers.) We should soon be in a position in which Iraq would be able to find the cost of purely local defences, and any imperial money spent in the country would be spent not so much on Iraq, but only in Iraq in connection with the general purposes of our imperial defence organization. He did not think that any person who had not been in Iraq could understand what a splendid training-ground it was for the Air Force. In his judgment, for all-round efficiency the Air Force in that country could not be equalled in the world. (Loud cheers.)

A second thing that impressed him even more deeply than the work of the Air Force was the splendid work done by the British in the years since the war in creating out of the chaos which the country had known for centuries the framework of a good administration. This had been accomplished not by the easy methods of direct authority, but by the method of enlisting the support and co-operation of the people of the country themselves. The principle on which we had worked ever since Mr. Churchill took over the affairs of the Middle East had been to encourage and co-operate with the national sentiment of the country. It had its own Arab Government with its own King, its own constitution, its own administration, subject only, in return for the support we were giving, to accepting a certain measure of advice and guidance from the British High Commissioner on matters vital to the welfare of the country, and to the help in the district local administration of a certain number of British advisers. That policy had been

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a real success. It had not been, as so many of them had feared, a mere pretence of responsible government, a mere façade, from behind which British officials settled everything. It had been a real co-operation and partnership, to which the Arabs had contributed something of great value. At headquarters there were men with such profound knowledge of the Eastern mind as Sir Percy Cox, whom he was glad to see there that night (cheers), and Sir Henry Dobbs. They had succeeded in inspiring both King Feisal and his ministers with complete confidence in the sincerity of the British Government in wishing to build up a healthy and prosperous Arab State. In the districts nothing struck him so much as the real spirit of comradeship between the Iraqi district officers and the British officers who were appointed to assist and advise them. He noted with great pleasure that the British officers habitually bore testimony to the great sense, loyalty, and goodwill of their Iraqi colleagues, and to the resulting smoothness of the working of the machinery of government. This achievement was due to years of strenuous, patient, and sympathetic effort on the part of a little band of devoted Englishmen, of whom very little had been heard in this country, and who had received even less recognition than attention, of whose work we could well be proud. (Cheers.) The work was exactly of the same kind as that which was done in the early days in Egypt. He only wished that there was someone to-day with the power of expression and the gift of description which Lord Milner had as a young man to describe in a detailed volume the work of England in Iraq during and since the war. He would like to give them one sentence from the speech of Lord Curzon at their dinner a year ago: "Believe me, no Englishman can offer greater service to his country than to devote himself to the re-establishment in Asia of that influence which has built up our strength and our reputation in the world." That was what their fellow-countrymen had done in Iraq in the face of great difficulties and with very little recognition during the last four or five years.

Another impression he formed was that in Iraq, though the financial situation might be difficult, there was every reason to anticipate that the country, once the richest and most powerful in the world, could be brought back by its own government and with the co-operation we could give to something of its past greatness. But there was one thing essential there, and that was to get rid of existing uncertainties. Any uncertainty as to the frontier should be removed by the decisions of the League of Nations. As regards any uncertainty that might seem to attach to future relations with this country, he had no doubt that we could before long arrive at a satisfactory permanent arrangement. We were in Iraq now not under mandate, but under a treaty of co-operation, which was effected only for a short period of years because it would have been impossible for us three years ago to make sure

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of the co-operation to which he had referred. All he need say on the matter of a fresh agreement was that it must be on the basis of not requiring the people of the country to sacrifice their legitimate aspirations, nor requiring the people of this country to sacrifice hard-won revenue. He believed an arrangement could be made for a system of co-operation by which both Iraq and the British Empire would be gainers.

He would like to answer the question of those who asked what saw the justification of this country in being there at all, and devoting itself to the hard toil of the work of reconstruction. We had more than one justification. He could say with perfect truth that he believed that before many years were past this country would see there, in actual commercial development, a very reasonable and indeed substantial return for what it had done for Iraq. He was convinced that the whole of the Middle East was about to go through a period of great development, and if this country had given a lead there and acquired a position in the trade of Iraq, it would gain not a little from the subsequent trade development of adjoining countries.

He could give another reason as a justification of our work in Iraq. This was from the point of view of the defensive communications of the British Empire both in future railway developments and still more in the development of air communication. There were very great advantages in having, at so central a point for future world communications as Iraq would be, a strong, prosperous, and friendly government which looked to the British Empire as a protector and an ally. (Cheers.) But he thought the main justification was even stronger than those to which he had alluded. We could not either with decency or with honour have withdrawn after the war and left chaos and ruin in a country which we had succoured in the war and liberated from the Turkish yoke. The obligation to remain was embodied in more than one definite pledge during the war and was confirmed by humanity and by our treaty obligations—obligations not suddenly and thoughtlessly undertaken. Our connection with the country, our special position in the Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia went back at least two centuries, and just as in India, as Lord Birkenhead had told them, we began two hundred years ago to bring peace and order out of chaos, and the responsibility thus incurred had been maintained, so we had similar obligations in respect to Iraq. What might be the ultimate result of that responsibility, what great advantages it might or might not bring, no one could say with certainty. What we could say assuredly was that we should be false to our whole traditions if we threw up our hands and abandoned those who had placed their confidence in us. To quote again the speech of Lord Curzon last year, which perhaps gained the greater importance from his being no longer with us, "we must not take our hands from the plough."

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The Toast of the Chairman.

Lord Birkenhead said they ought not to part without drinking the health of their Chairman. The Secretary of State for the Colonies had told them something of the story of their travels in Asia Minor. He had made no allusion to it himself since in his judgment Asia Minor could not be described as a part of Central Asia. There was, however, one incident which Mr. Amery had not recalled. When they reached Smyrna and took boat they found themselves on a pilgrim vessel with very inadequate sanitary accommodation. When the vessel stopped at some island it occurred to them to take the opportunity to bathe. The pilgrims were amazed to think that any man should plunge into water voluntarily and when under no compulsion to do so. They stood gaping at the sight, and he heard one of them say: "Well, at any rate the big one is not so very dirty." (Loud laughter.)

They were all grateful to Lord Peel for the sustained and informed interest he took in the affairs of the Society. For himself he wished to say how grateful he was for the friendly help and counsel Lord Peel had given him in the anxieties of his office, many of which he had inherited from the Chairman's régime. (Laughter.)

Lord Peel in reply said that Lord Birkenhead had broken the rules of the Society in proposing the health of the Chairman. He noted for future guidance that the Secretary for India had laid down the rule that Asia Minor was not part of Central Asia. He must rule out of order papers dealing with that interesting part of the world. Lord Birkenhead had alluded to the difficulties piled up for him when he (the speaker) was Secretary for India; but he was quite certain that these were nothing to the problems, difficulties and responsibilities which he would accumulate for his successor.

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REVIEWS

India as I Knew It—1885-1925. By Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Constable. 1925. 18s.

It is well that at this critical period in the history of India the British public should be told the plain truth about our great dependency by those who know. This was done last year in a remarkable book, "The Lost Dominion." Here it is done again in a still more remarkable book. The author declares his main purpose to be "to emphasize the responsibility of the people and Parliament of Great Britain for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, and to show where that responsibility is being lost sight of or inadequately discharged."

Sir Michael O'Dwyer refers to the earlier volume, and in his concluding chapter gives a denial to the assumption that India is a "Lost Dominion." The note of hopefulness in which he concludes his survey of the mischief wrought by politicians in India and in England is reassuring.

The book may be treated as in three parts, the early chapters dealing with the life and work of an Indian civil servant in such a variety of responsible posts as to give him experience of, and insight into, conditions in almost every part of the Indian Empire.

The following chapters tell of the administration of the Punjab during the war, the various revolutionary conspiracies, and the Punjab rebellion of 1919. The concluding part of the book is a severe criticism of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, and an exposure of their results in weakening the British administration in India.

The writer begins with an account of his early years, showing how he derived from his upbringing in rural Ireland, and from his family traditions, an instinctive sympathy with the agriculturists who form the vast majority of the population of India, and with the martial races of the Punjab. There are interesting remarks about the influence that the movement for self-government in Ireland has had upon that in India, and showing how mistaken are the analogies that have been drawn between the two.

In recalling his Oxford days the writer dwells upon the difficulty of recruitment for the Indian services under present conditions, "as rash political experiments have made those conditions so altered that British officials find it difficult to serve there with honour and self-respect."

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However, in the closing pages of the book the belief is expressed that the weakening of British administration is only a post-war phase. It is hoped that this view may encourage candidates of the right stamp to come forward.

A chapter is devoted to each phase of the author's varied Indian career—as a young official in the Western Punjab, as Settlement Officer in Gujranwala, and in Rajputana; on the North-West Frontier in stormy times, as Resident at Hyderabad, and as Agent to the Governor-General in Central India.

In each case a vivid picture is drawn of life and conditions in the particular part of India by one who had great opportunities and knew how to use them. These chapters are written in a humorous vein, with a wealth of racy anecdote, sporting reminiscences, and stories of personal adventure, that makes them fascinating reading.

The appointment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer to be Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab opens the second part of the book. Five chapters deal with the seditious and revolutionary movements among Muhammadans, Hindus, and Sikhs before and during the war. The connected history of these events tells much that is new to the general public, and, with the subsequent chapters on Punjab internal administration and the Punjab rebellion of 1919, reveals the magnitude and complexity of the tasks involved in the administration of the Punjab in such critical times. The British Empire has good reason to be thankful that a man was there whose shoulders were broad enough to carry the burden.

For dramatic interest the occurrences related surpass any fiction, nor can one say which is the most romantic—the Pan-Islamic movement with the "Silk Letter" plot, the world-wide machinations of the arch-seditionists, Har Dayal and Mahendra Pertap, or the Sikh-Ghadr conspiracy with the landing from the *Komagata Maru*. The unravelling of these plots and the hunting down of the criminals are striking evidence of the efficiency of the Criminal Investigation Department and the staunchness of the Punjab police. That these seditious movements were foreign to the real spirit of the people is proved by the magnificent and sustained war effort of the Punjab. The Lieut.-Governor tells it with justifiable pride, and quotes his enthusiastic message of acknowledgment to the province he loved and served so well. An interesting statistical summary in the closing chapter of the book shows by how far the Punjab surpassed all other parts in sacrifice for the Empire.

Perhaps the most thrilling chapter of the book is the one on the Punjab rebellion of 1919. A graphic description is given of each of the various outbreaks incited by Gandhi's "non-violent" propaganda. Few realized at the time how great was the peril to the Empire, and how narrowly incalculable disaster was averted by the resolute action of a handful of British officials headed by Sir M. O'Dwyer himself. The

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writer maintains that General Dyer's action at the Jhalianwala Bagh was justified by the greatness of the crisis as well as by the previous instructions from the Central Government itself, and the writer reproaches the Government with having shown practical approval of Dyer until long afterwards, when he was "thrown to the wolves" as a weak concession to the clamour of politicians. Under the heading "British Justice" the recent libel case, O'Dwyer *v.* Nair, is reviewed, in order to show that the acts of Sir M. O'Dwyer and of General Dyer, which were condemned by the Government, were justified when submitted to the unbiassed judgment of a British court of justice. A telling comparison is made between the Punjab and Malabar rebellions to show that in the latter case the weak-kneed policy of concession and compromise led to far worse results than the firm suppression exercised in the former.

So we pass to the concluding part, the main theme of which is searching criticism and condemnation of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

The writer expresses himself in favour of wise reform commensurate with the slow political development of the country and that will "promote the welfare and advancement of the Indian masses." He holds that this object will not be effected by the Montagu scheme, that the principle of diarchy is unworkable, and that the scheme is a concession to extremist politicians neither representative of, nor sympathetic with, the mass of the people whose interests the British Government is bound in honour to protect. Sir M. O'Dwyer writes with unsparing forcefulness, having the subject too much at heart for anything but the plainest words.

This book ranks high in the records of Indian administrators, and deserves to be studied by all who have the interests of the Empire at heart.

It is regrettable that the otherwise clear maps are marred by the omission of such names as Kabul from the general map, and Lahore of all places from that of the Punjab, also by mistakes in spelling and differences from the spellings in the text.

J. K. T.

THE HEART OF THE MIDDLE EAST. By Richard Coke. London: Thornton Butterworth, Ltd. 18s.

The future of the Mandatory State of Iraq, or Mesopotamia, which is the country described in this book as the "Heart of the Middle East," is at the present time a matter of great interest. In common possibly with other sympathetic observers Mr. Coke fears that, for financial reasons or through the lack of a comprehensive grasp of the facts, the British may fail to give complete and sufficient support to this new-born State while it is still in a raw and unfledged condition or may

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even relinquish prematurely their attitude of tutelary supervision. This book has therefore been written in the hope of stimulating the interest of the general reader in this complicated problem. The author aims at presenting, as far as possible, an impartial and unbiassed exposition of the principal factors which affect the immediate reasons for a continuance of British control and interest in the country.

Starting with a short account of the fate of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia in the very dawn of history, the narrative is carried right through to 1924, when Sir Percy Cox, the creator of the new Iraq State, gave up his charge in Baghdad. It shows how this unfortunate but naturally wealthy country, situated as it is on the highway between the Mediterranean and the East, hemmed in on the south by the hardy and virile people dwelling in the inaccessible deserts of Arabia—that land of mystery—and on the north by the equally hardy inhabitants of the uplands of Central Asia, has ever formed a cockpit for contending hordes of warriors. Its final and complete ruin occurred in the thirteenth century at the time of the invasion of the Mongols, who ruthlessly destroyed the canal system, on which the economic prosperity of the country had been built up literally through thousands of years. From this act of wanton destruction the country has never recovered, nor could recovery be expected under the listless and apathetic rule of the Turk during the last six centuries. Can it be that Great Britain will succeed in giving sufficient moral and material assistance to this young State to enable her to place her feet firmly on the road to a slow recovery of her past glories, a recovery which the undiminished natural wealth and resources of this fertile and richly-endowed land still render possible in process of time? Or will England, exhausted physically and financially by the struggles of the Great War, prove incapable of executing this enormous and self-imposed task? If she fails, the country must inevitably lapse into a state of semi-barbarism unless, as will surely happen, the previous Turkish rulers are recalled.

Mr. Coke has done a great service in bringing this important and difficult problem before the general reader in an illuminating, popular and lucid form. The book is not overburdened with detail, is enlivened with much anecdote, and is easily read. In a natural enthusiasm for his subject the author at times makes statements which are somewhat in exaggeration of the facts, but these do not annul the value or general usefulness of the work.

For instance, while everyone will agree that England, both from the point of view of her own interests as well as of her honour, had no alternative other than to shoulder the burden of responsibility which had been thrust upon her in consequence of the events of the Great War in that particular country, still few will accept the statement that "Great Britain has been slowly conquering Mesopotamia for many years, and having at last accomplished the conquest she is in honour

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bound to accept the consequences of her action." Were this statement true, it might with equal truth be asserted that we have been slowly conquering many other lands into which trading relations have carried our representatives. Where, then, could we stop?

Again, Mesopotamia is referred to in more than one passage as "the cradle of mankind." The "Encyclopædia Britannica," whose authority Mr. Coke acknowledges in other matters, points out that there are many theories with regard to the cradle of the human race, but that the weight of evidence is in favour of Indo-Malaysia and not of Mesopotamia. Nor can it be agreed, as the author asserts, that to the Arab we "owe the foundation of modern mathematical study." It is true that the mediæval Arabian invented our system of numeration and developed Algebra, but the foundation of modern mathematics is far older than the Arab, and is justly to be accredited to the Greeks, who originated the science of mathematics, working on pre-existing fragmentary lines of thought derived from the Egyptians and Phœnicians.

After the world-wide experiences in the Great War of 1914-18 it is also surely a mistake to assert that the disturbances in Mesopotamia in 1920 involved "one of the most difficult campaigns in which the British Army has been engaged in modern times."

In an account of the events during the Great War we also find the statement that the futile and costly attacks on Townshend's garrison in Kut at the end of 1915 were due to the interference of Field-Marshal von der Goltz. In justice to the Field-Marshal it must be pointed out that the very reverse was the case. As soon as von der Goltz reached Baghdad at the end of 1915, he hurried on to the scene of operations at Kut. Riding boldly on to the battlefield, accompanied by his staff, he at once discovered from personal observation that Nureddin Bey was not dealing, as he imagined, with the remnants of Townshend's army which had been unable to retreat, but with the whole of the force which had voluntarily decided to take up a position there and await reinforcements. Von der Goltz promptly ordered all further attacks to cease. Such as were undertaken after that day were in direct opposition to his orders. From the British side we have a curious confirmation of this personal reconnaissance by von der Goltz. General Townshend has related how he observed a party of mounted officers riding on to the battlefield well within range of his guns. He recognized the Field-Marshal through his field-glasses, and from a sense of chivalry towards a brave and long-respected veteran of the art of war, he forbad his guns to open fire. Von der Goltz's Staff Officer has described how on this occasion he felt particularly anxious for the safety of his chief. He has probably never realized that this safety was perhaps due to the chivalry of an equally gallant opponent.

The concluding chapters of the book are devoted to a careful

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study of the working of the modern Iraq State. They reveal clearly the enormous progress that has already been made, and give a forecast of the hopes for the future. Political, administrative, social, educational and industrial conditions are all reviewed. The lack of money is, as usual, the chief impediment to greater and faster progress, but this difficulty can be overcome by patient and economical administration. Greater stress might with justice have been laid on the recuperative and productive qualities of the wonderful soil of Iraq, where the alluvial stratum is so rich and deep in the middle and lower reaches of the rivers that the difficulty is to find a stone, and where a few feet below the surface the soil is often impregnated with oil. If the experiment of introducing the cotton plant into Mesopotamia proves successful—and there seems to be every hope of eventual success—the potentialities of this land as a cotton-producing area are greater than those of Egypt and the Sudan combined, provided, of course, that money is found for a restoration of a system of irrigation which, as the author explains, must have been in full operation nearly six thousand years ago.

Mr. Coke is not impressed with the rate of progress so far made under the British régime in the matter of internal communications, which he compares unfavourably with those in Palestine. He seems unduly pessimistic on this subject. The opening of the Baghdad-Beyrout motor route under an energetic management has already made a great transformation in the communications of the country. Further developments are already planned and shortly expected. The country already looks West, instead of East as heretofore, for its main line of communications. The possibilities of aviation developments in the near future are increasing. These will add greatly to the importance of the country. Before the discovery of the Cape route to the East Iraq acquired much wealth through her position on the sole highway between the Mediterranean and the East. It is quite conceivable that aviation will restore to her once more the proud position of which she was robbed some centuries ago. With the vast interests of the British Empire in the East, it is more than important that this possible future highway should not fall into hostile hands, and that it should be peopled by a rich, prosperous, and friendly nation. The friendliness of the people to the British Empire will depend on the disinterestedness and whole-heartedness of the aid, material and moral, which can be given to this country in her present hour of hope and need. Sacrifices will be necessary, but will be amply repaid in the contentment of the people and their consequent belief in the advantages to be gained from a close alliance with the British Commonwealth of nations.

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ASIATIC ART IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (Sculpture and Pictorial Art). By Laurence Binyon, Officer in charge of the Oriental Drawings and Paintings at the British Museum. Thick paper cover, $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$. 75 pp. and 44 plates. G. van Oest, publisher, Paris and Brussels. Three guineas.

The French edition of this fine work forms Volume VI. of the "Collection Ars Asiatica," published by G. van Oest et Cie. Volume I. was on the Chinese paintings at the Musée Cornuschi, Paris.

Mr. Binyon explains that owing to the superabundance of material, he has confined the scope of this volume to sculpture and painting, and no one is more capable of dealing with these subjects. His "Painting in the Far East" is a classic.

The history of the formation and growth of the collections of Oriental art in the British Museum, the notes to the different classes, and the detailed descriptions of each plate are admirably written, and form a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the art of the Far East.

The British Museum had long been possessed of a collection of Indian sculpture, but the collection of paintings was only begun by the acquisition, in 1881, of the works brought to England by William Anderson, a pioneer of the study of Japanese art, who lived for six years in Japan, and the author of the British Museum Catalogue of Chinese and Japanese Paintings, published in 1886, and of the well-known "Pictorial Arts of Japan."

In 1897 Sir Wollaston Franks bequeathed to the Museum his Chinese pictures; in 1910 the greater portion of the collection made by Frau Wegener in China was acquired; in 1913 the collection of Arthur Morrison, author of "The Painters of Japan," was presented by Sir William Gwynne-Evans. In addition many gifts and purchases have enriched the collections in the Museum, where, unfortunately, only a few pictures are exhibited owing to lack of space. The reviewer in *The Times Literary Supplement* aptly writes, following Mr. Binyon's remarks at the commencement of the book: "Turning over the pages of this sumptuous volume, one ponders wistfully on what a museum devoted to Oriental art would be like that should hold not only the masterpieces which Mr. Binyon has selected with such loving care, but the various specimens preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum; for we Londoners do not realize that, owing to our past wealth and energy in trade and travel, we own a mass of Eastern treasure unrivalled in range and bulk by that of any other centre in Europe."

Oriental art is now so well known and appreciated and so many works have been written on the subject that a disquisition on its essential qualities and any comparison with Western or European art would be unnecessary here. The book under review commences with the history of the formation of the collections in the Museum, followed

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by notes on each of the separate schools of sculpture and paintings, with an account of the way in which the collections have grown. The examples are divided into the following sections:

Indian sculpture, represented by pictures of ten objects, stone and bronze, dating from the seventh century B.C. to the tenth and fourteenth centuries A.D.

Sculpture of Siam, Burma, Tibet.—No illustrations of this section are given.

Chinese and Japanese sculpture, represented by pictures of twelve objects—figures, animals, bowls, etc.—in stone, bronze, wood and pottery, including the familiar pottery figurines from tombs of the T'ang dynasty. Plate XII., marble lion, Ming dynasty, is finely modelled.

Bactrian art is represented by the illustration of a gryphon (lion) found in Afghanistan, and presumably *c.* the second century B.C.

Chinese paintings are represented by reproductions of twenty pictures. The section of examples from about four hundred in the Museum collection must have been difficult; several of those reproduced have been previously published in works by Messrs. Binyon, Giles, Waley, and others.

The author considers the long roll illustrating "Admonitions of the Instructress to the Ladies of the Court," by or after Ku K'ai-chih, *c.* 344 to *c.* 406 A.D., as the most important painting in the collection, and two portions from the roll are illustrated (Plate XIV.). The entire roll reproduced in colour-woodcut is published by the Museum. Specimens of the numerous works of the T'ang era, discovered by Sir Aurel Stein at Tun-huang in 1908, are given, and the author writes of a large painting of a Buddhist Paradise: "Of the silk paintings found at Tun-huang this is the finest, as it is also the largest in size [about 6 feet 9 inches × 4 feet 6 inches]. What at first impresses most in the picture is the glowing beauty of the colour, with its strange and subtle harmonies. . . ."

The admirable paintings, "Two Geese" (Plate XX.) and "Lotus, Heron and Kingfisher" (Plate XXI.), are given, and the author's note says of the latter picture: "This painting, like the last ["Two Geese"], combines delicacy with breadth in an extraordinary degree. As design the lotus plant is monumental; yet how sensitive is the line in every detail!"

Illustrations of several paintings in ink include the masterly works "Wild Geese and Rushes" (Plate XXV.), by Lin Liang, one of the greatest artists of the Ming period, and "Winter" (Plate XXVI.), by Shēng Mou, fourteenth century.

Japanese paintings are represented by twenty-two pictures, and, as in the section of Chinese paintings, a selection from the three thousand five hundred and eighty pictures in the Museum must have been very

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difficult; but the examples given show the beauty of design and indicate the brilliancy of colour so attractive to Western connoisseurs.

Plate XXVIII., "Amida Buddha descending from Heaven," attributed to Yeshin Sōzo, 942-1017, is a beautiful example of the early Buddhist art of Japan "in its depth of feeling, its majestic serenity, and delicacy of execution."

Plate XXXII., "Daruma," by Sōami, fifteenth century, Plate XXXIII., "The Chinese Poet Tu Fu," by Unkoku Tōzan, sixteenth century, and Plate XXXV., "The Rishi Shōriken crossing the Sea on a Sword," by Kanō Motonʻobu, 1477-1559, are fine examples of bold and vigorous brush work so characteristic of Japanese painting.

The exquisite and poetical landscapes of Sesson, sixteenth century, and Kanō Tanyu, 1602-1674, are represented on Plate XXXIV., and the brilliant colouring and powerful drawing of the Kanō schools are represented by reproductions from pictures by Kanō Yeitoku, 1543-1590, "Bridge and Willow at Night" (Plate XXXVI.).

"The Great Decorators," thus called by Mr. Binyon in "Painting in the Far East," are represented by Sōtatsu, early seventeenth century, "Descent of the Thunder God on the Palace of the Fujiwara" (Plate XXXVII.), by Kōyetsu, 1555-1637, "Fragment of a Screen-painting" and "Coloured Stones, Berries, and Pine Shoots" (Plate XXXVIII.); and by Kōrin, 1637-1716, who continued the gorgeous colouring and the superbly decorative and original style of Sōtatsu and Kōyetsu. Plate XXXIX., "Young Pine and Acacia," is by Hoitsu, 1761-1828, who revived the Kōrin style in an original manner and purity of colour.

The well-known painters of the Ukiyoye school—Mori Sosen, 1747-1821, famous for pictures of monkeys and deer, Hokusai, 1760-1849, and Hiroshige, 1797-1858, more popularly known from their numerous colour prints—are represented by pictures and drawings reproduced on Plates XL. and XLI.

Tibetan painting is represented by a reproduction of a painting in distemper on linen (Plate XLII.), "Avalokitesrara seated on a Lotus," obtained at Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein, and probably the earliest Tibetan painting known.

Korean painting is represented by "A Family Group," sixteenth century (Plate XLIII.), and a note to the picture says: "The personages and costumes in this picture are Korean, and presumably the paintings also. Pale blue and grey, black, white and gold, with a few touches of red, make up a harmony of colour recalling some of the early Italian frescoes."

Persian paintings are represented by twenty-one reproductions, mostly from the exquisite and minute paintings to be found in manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Plate L., "The Ascent of the Prophet to Heaven," is thus described: "This glorious page, blazing with crimson, gold, and white and orange, and deep lapis-

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lazuli, this is called by Martin 'the most magnificent painting ever produced in Persia.' If, as religious art, we cannot place this above, or even on a level with, the early masterpieces in China and Japan, still in its sense of cosmic movement and ethereal ecstasy it has, perhaps, no parallel in Persian art. . . ."

Indian paintings are represented by seventeen reproductions of pictures and books; all are characterized by delicacy of line and richness of colour, and date from the sixteenth century.

Two Siamese and one Burmese picture complete the sixty-four plates which are in collotype, and give fair impressions of the objects and pictures; but it is regrettable that there are no colour plates. It is impossible to judge of the beauty of so many of the paintings by the black and white illustrations.

The production of this valuable work—paper, type, and printing—is admirable. J. O.

GUIDE-CATALOGUE DU MUSÉE GUIMET: LES COLLECTIONS BOUDDHIQUES (Exposé Historique et Iconographique); INDE CENTRALE ET GANDHÂRA, TURKESTAN, CHINE SEPTENTRIONALE, TIBET. Par J. Hackin, Conservateur du Musée Guimet. Paper cover, 9″ × 5¾″. 175 pp. G. van Oest et Cie, Editeurs, Paris et Bruxelles. 1923.

The Buddhist religion claims 500 million adherents as compared with 327 million Christians and 155 million Muhammadans.

The founder of the family of Goutama was the son of Sudhadhana, chief of the Sakya tribe (born *c.* 543 B.C., died *c.* 412 B.C.), and is variously named Siddhartha, Sakyamuni, etc., but universally known as Buddha.

M. Guimet says in the 1880 catalogue that the essence of the religion consists of the renascence of the soul in various phases of existence, so that it becomes sufficiently pure to enter into Nirvâna, a place of celestial beatitude and complete happiness, though some Buddhists claim that Nirvâna is only a state of the soul.

Profound meditation, mastery of passions, prayer, mortification of the flesh, and solitude are recommended, naturally leading to monastic and mendicant life, which is thereby developed in the Buddhist to a greater degree than all other religions. The supreme Buddha, being deeply plunged in divine meditation, is served by numerous disciples, Dhyâna-Buddhas, who inspire and direct terrestrial Buddhas. Below these come the Bodhisattvas, who have nearly attained perfection and are destined to become Buddhas in their last existence. It is to the Bodhisattvas that worshippers address their prayers for safety, good fortune, good health, and crops.

Monsieur J. Hackin's erudite work is devoted to the study of the

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Buddhistic religion as illustrated by the exhibits in the Guimet Museum at Paris, which was formed by M. Emile Guimet of Lyons, and opened in 1878. M. Guimet visited the Far East on an official mission, and the object of the museum was not only for the exhibition of art objects, but to create interest in the religions of the Far East. M. Guimet, in his catalogue of 1880, divides the museum into three parts:

1. Library of Eastern and European works, chiefly religious.
2. A museum containing the gods of India, China, Japan, Egypt, Rome, and Greece.
3. A school of Oriental languages.

M. Hackin's work is a great deal more than a catalogue; it contains an immense amount of research and information relating to Buddha and the numerous deities connected with the Buddhist religion.

The book commences with the legend of Buddha and tenets of the religion, proceeding to the earliest forms of the Indian monuments beginning with the reign of the Emperor Asoka (274-237 B.C.), and a chapter on examples of Greco-Indian art.

The second part of the book is devoted to Turkistan, whose art is illustrated by frescoes and paintings which are described in much detail.

The third part relates to Buddhist China. The extraordinary sculptures carved in the solid rock at Yünkang (Shansi province) and Lungmên (Honan province), fifth and sixth centuries, are described. The sculptures are mostly of Buddhist images, one at Yünkang being 36 feet high. M. Edouard Chavannes was the first explorer to express, in 1902, the archæological importance of these marvellous works.

The fourth part deals with Tibetan articles, principally bronzes and pictures, which are described in detail.

A list is given of the books in the museum library, and there is a glossary-index, which might have been made more complete.

Twenty-four excellent photo-print plates accompany the text.

J. O.

HAJJI BABA IN ENGLAND. By James Morier. World's Classics Series. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925. Cloth, 2s.; leather, 3s. 6d.

Nearly two years ago we noticed in the "World's Classics" Series a reprint of James Morier's delightful book "Hajji Baba of Ispahan." We now welcome the appearance in the same series of its sequel "Hajji Baba in England."

Though the story is perhaps of less outstanding merit than its predecessor, the adventures of the hero as a member of the suite of a Persian Ambassador to England towards the end of the reign of George III. are always diverting, and the shrewd remarks of Hajji and

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his companions regarding the manners and customs of our countrymen may still serve and bring home to us the wide gulf which separates Oriental from Western ideas. J. A. D.

Two South Arabian Inscriptions. Edited by Professor Margoliouth Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 2s.

Professor Margoliouth has lately communicated to the British Academy two South Arabian Inscriptions which he has edited from rubbings taken from stones that "form part of a large collection of South Arabian statuettes, etc., belonging to a Parsee gentleman at Aden." The first is a Sabæan inscription recording the warlike exploits of Il-sharaḥ Yaḥḍub and his brother in the first century of our era. The second is a tablet of Yaṣduqil Far'm Sharaḥ'at, King of Ausān. Four alabaster statues representing different rulers of Ausān are also reproduced and depict very striking physiognomies of unusual type.

The inscriptions themselves are short and not complete, but thanks to Professor Margoliouth's interpretations and inferences they may be said to constitute a distinct addition to our very fragmentary knowledge of the history of Southern Arabia.

It would be very interesting to know more of the other inscribed stones the "Parsee gentleman at Aden" has collected and of the "number of seals, gold ornaments and other small articles" which accompanied them. Curiosity is aroused, as ever, only to be baulked, and it is to be hoped that in time a complete record of them may appear. H. A. M.

The Wandering Scholar. By David G. Hogarth. Oxford: Humphrey Milford. 1925. 8s. 6d.

Dr. Hogarth has signalized his accession to the Presidency of the Royal Geographical Society by publishing the best chapters of his two former books of archæological travel in the Near East—"A Wandering Scholar in the Levant" and "Accidents of an Antiquary's Life"—in a single volume as "The Wandering Scholar." There is, of course, little to say of the new "conflate" book to those who are acquainted with its two originals, but that in it they will find all their old favourite chapters, for both those books contained chapters which those who are familiar with Turkey, Greece, and Egypt, and of course more especially those who have been engaged in archæological work in those countries, read with pleasure when they first appeared, and read again with undiminished pleasure now. But those who have not already known them are recommended to read the present book at once. The humours of the Near East have always appealed to Dr. Hogarth, and the humorous touch appears in nearly all these records of his adventures. But to those who should think that archæological travel in the Near East is nothing but a joke the necessary corrective is not slow in coming.

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Sleepless nights in a flea-ridden Turkish khan or on the floor of a bug-infested Greek καφενεῖον, complicated sometimes with the misery of fever; nightmare rides with fever on one, shivering beneath coat or capote in pouring rain or fierce light and heat; insect-bitten "siestas" from ten to four, protected only by the thin barrier of a tent from the blaze of Shamash in his fury on the open Mesopotamian desert in May—these are no joke. Yet the unconscious absurdities of some sorry moth-eaten Turk with his "enfin nous sommes civilisés"; the sordid attempts of an odoriferous Arab to get ever more and more *flūs* out of his employer or blacken to him the character of his next-door neighbour; the challenge of a pathetically ridiculous Greek, on the ridge of Taygetus, to combat with one in the pankration (no less) of his ancestors—these will, in spite of miseries, provoke a laughter which mollifies rage: the smile of hilarity turns aside the whip of calamity. Yet, lest some should seek the adventure of the pankratiast within the covers of this book, let me hasten to add that he is my adventure, not Dr. Hogarth's, unless he has perchance himself met the heroic Pappadakis of Langadha (and St. Louis, U.S.A.), and received the self-same challenge. I can parallel his picture of the pasha and his *harīm* on the rolling and pitching Scotch steamer, and the saving of the principal wife from a watery grave by the Scotch mate, by the spectacle of the *harīm* of another Turk (it was twenty years ago) being hauled out one by one from the cabin of a Greek steamer, and slung out shrieking, with ropes round their waists, like horses, to hang suspended and then be dumped, with a succession of thuds, on the bottom of a Candiote lighter, which now rose unwieldily almost to the level of the steamer's bridge as she rolled towards it and now fell deeply as her baring keel rolled away in the heavy swell of a Cretan "norther." Dr. Hogarth can beat most of us with his absurd experience recounted here in "Nile Fens," the laughable adventure of the Spier, the Serpent Slayer, and the Invisible Man. And several merry tales will reward the reader of this book to show that the ever-present miseries of Near Eastern travel, for which the *bandobast* of India does not exist (unless one is a Cook's tourist, and then one sees nothing worth seeing), have their minor compensations. And of their major compensations, of important discoveries and awe-inspiring experiences, Dr. Hogarth also tells us much. For instance, his description of his discovery of the archaic treasure of Artemis at Ephesus and of the wonderful storms and flood which he witnessed at Zakro in Crete. This last is a really fine piece of descriptive writing. Dr. Hogarth, for all that occasionally he turns a rather scholastic phrase for variety's sake, is a master of the *mot juste* and of vivid description. The life of an archæologist, while by no means so eternally delightful as the fair questioner of the dinner-table may imagine, is not without its thrills (which may be pleasurable or not at the moment), and not by any means without its positive pleasures, of amusement, and, much more, of accomplishment. H. R. Hall.

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APPENDIX

EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA*

By H. B. Morse, LL.D.

At Versailles, in 1919, the Chinese delegates demanded the abrogation of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, as being a derogation from her sovereign status. The claim was rejected; but in 1921 it was again preferred at the Washington Conference. There the claim was admitted to the extent of recognizing that the privilege is a derogation from China's sovereign status and a Commission has been appointed to proceed to China and examine into the further assertion that the administration of justice in that country has so far improved that foreign jurisdiction may with safety be abolished. The same claim has now been made for the Turkish dominions (April, 1923), and it is advisable to see how the privilege was acquired in China, and what it is.

From the earliest times peregrinating traders have claimed the privilege of carrying with them the law to which they had been born: the Phœnician traders along the coasts of the Mediterranean, the Greek traders following in their steps, and the Arab traders voyaging to China in the seventh and eighth centuries of our era. Foreign conquering invaders have generally left the conquered in the full enjoyment of the law to which they had been accustomed: the Frank in Gaul, the Norman in England, and the various Kitan, Nuchen, Mongol, and Manchu invaders and conquerers of China. In A.D. 824 the Constitution imposed by Lothair on the city of Rome provided that each resident was required to designate the code—Roman, Frankish, or Lombard—under which he wished to live and be judged; the Roman might elect to be hanged for murder, and the Frank to be allowed to compound for it by payment of weregeld.

For traders the privilege endured to a late period. In his Carta Mercatoria of 1303 Edward III. of England granted to foreign traders the right to have suits, by or against them, tried by a jury of six citizens of London and six merchants from the same town as the foreigner party to the suit. In 1199 Venice obtained a capitulation from the Emperor at Constantinople granting extraterritoriality to her traders, and in 1207 a treaty in the same terms was negotiated between Venice and France; in 1304 Geona obtained at Constantinople a similar *privilegium aurea bulla nostra munitum.*

* This article was published in Vol. X., Part II. of the *Journal*. This number is now out of print, and republication has been considered advisable.

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The States of Europe abandoned this practice between themselves as, in each case, the Government came to be based on law and not on the will of the governors; the law of the place then became paramount, and it was not to be set aside for the benefit of a foreign trader. But when European traders came into relations in the Levant with Asiatic rulers, their respective laws were found to be incompatible: no Venetian or Genoese would willingly, or could in reason be expected to, submit himself to Moslem law, based on the Koran, and no Moslem could obey a law whose chief exponent was the Pope. The Saracens at Alexandria entered into an extraterritorial arrangement with Pisa in 1554; and at Constantinople the Turks took over the same procedure from the Greek Empire which they displaced, maintaining it in force until October 1, 1914.

The Europeans coming to China found a vast and well-organized empire, with a reputation for unconquered strength. The first comers, the Portuguese, had had no trade with the Levant and no experience of extraterritoriality; nor had the next comers, the Spanish; nor, as an independent State, had the next, the Hollanders; and none of these claimed the privilege in China. The English had had a grant of extraterritoriality in the Levant since 1583, and the French since 1535; but coming to China, the one in 1637, the other in 1660, they both followed the example of the earlier comers.

The absence of extraterritorial protection created no difficulty in matters of trade during the whole of the factory period, which ended in 1842. The Chinese have never in the past brought their own civil cases into court, but, having experience and a wholesome dread of the action of their own magistrates, they have invariably settled them in their gilds. The foreign merchants trading at Canton were in the hands of their "security" merchant, a member of the Co-Hong, or Gild-Merchant, of Canton; if a dispute arose between the two, it was settled amicably, or when that was not found possible, the settlement was subject to the dictation of the security merchant. This method worked smoothly, and the foreign traders, engaged in a profitable trade, accepted the situation as a necessary evil, quite dwarfed by the extortion to which they were subjected.

It was the execution of the criminal law which drew their attention to the need of further protection. Against the foreign merchants there was not one charge brought during the whole of the factory period; but their trade was carried in ships manned by heavy crews, and at Whampoa (the anchorage, ten miles below Canton) there would at times be thousands of sailors, full of life, rejoicing in the touch of land after many weary months of the sea, and bent on pleasure. Bloody murder might have been expected on many occasions; but during a period of two centuries, from 1637 to 1833, only sixteen cases of violence are recorded committed by foreigners, and during the same

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period five cases of murderous assault by Chinese on foreigners. The death penalty was inflicted on four foreigners only for the cases in which they were implicated; but those four brought home to the responsible authorities the necessity for the protection of their own laws. One (an Englishman) had been tried by the Portuguese court at Macao and acquitted, but was retried by the Chinese and executed; one Frenchman killed a Portuguese in self-defence, but was tried by the Chinese and executed; one, English, was executed as being the gunner on the ship *Lady Hughes* from which a salute had accidentally killed a Chinese; one, American, on the ship *Emily*, had dropped an earthern jar which struck on the head of a woman in a boat and caused her to be drowned, for which he was executed.

The Chinese criminal law had been codified very clearly, and is accessible by Staunton's translation of the Tatsing Leuli. The law of homicide may be summarized as follows:

1. Wilful and premeditated murder is punishable by beheading.
2. For homicide during an affray, though without any express desire to kill, or killing another on suspicion of theft, or being accessory to a murder, the penalty is strangulation.
3. Persons who kill or wound another purely by accident (in such way that no previous warning could have been given) may redeem themselves from punishment by paying a fine to the family of the person killed or wounded. The legal amount of this fine, fixed by the Code, was Tls. 12.42 (£4 2s. 9d.).
4. Killing in lawful self-defence is justifiable, and not punishable.

To this law, if justly administered, little objection could be made except on one point; but that was vital. Chinese law judged solely by the result. If a life was lost (except when judged by the court to have been by pure accident) the law took a life in payment. The Chinese carried this to an extreme, and in several recorded cases they demanded a number of lives equal to the number lost, in order to satisfy public opinion among the fellow-villagers of the dead.

The nations of the West adopted a different principle. With them it was the intention which was important. In England (during the period of the factory days at Canton) any attempt at premeditated murder, even if neither death or wound followed, was punishable by death. By two laws of 1828 and 1837, attempts which did not result in wounds were removed from the category of murder; and in 1861, for the first time, was the death of the victim made a necessary factor. The English (the most numerous element among the merchants and in the shipping) insisted on the necessity of proving intention and premeditation; and, after the surrender of the gunner of the *Lady*

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Hughes in 1784, refused to surrender any more accused persons for trial in a Chinese court.

The spirit of the Chinese judges was another factor which had to be taken into account. In their opinion, foreigners had no proper understanding of the principles of reason. A truly civilized people, such as were the Chinese, must understand that "reason is never so feeble that it must needs be reinforced by might"; whereas, during three centuries of common relations, foreigners had shown a facile inclination to resort to force whenever any impediment arose to prevent the attainment of their end. The Chinese then, confident in their monoply of reason, confident also in the unshaken strength of their universal Empire, held an innate conviction that, *prima facie*, their countrymen, belonging to a civilized race, must be in the right as against those of a rude and unlettered stock. These judges, too, belonged to a class of officials who were notoriously the most corrupt of any then existing in the world; who, even a century later, had made no advance in the direction in which the rest of the nations were moving, to integrity and impartialty in their public officers; who were always ready to prostitute their official position for the sake of gain or for racial prejudice.

Another element was the certainty that torture would be applied to any person under trial in a Chinese court. Torture was not unknown to the nations then represented at Canton, but its use had long before been discarded in the West. Of the three most numerous nationalities, the Americans had never known it, except as applied to them by the Red Indians; the Dutch had abandoned it in their legal procedure; and it was not in common use in England after the time of Elizabeth, or in Scotland after James I. and VI. In England it endured longest to break down the obstinacy of accused persons who "stood mute," refusing to plead; in 1658 Major Strangeways, standing mute, was pressed to death in about ten minutes, "iron being laid on him as much as he could bear and more"; in 1726 one Burnwater, accused of murder and standing mute, was pressed for an hour and three-quarters with 4 cwt. of iron, and then consented to plead; in 1772 it was enacted that standing mute should be taken as equivalent to a plea of guilty, and in 1827 as a plea of not guilty. For extracting evidence from witnesses torture has not been been applied for more than three centuries in the more advanced nations of the West; and in England and America an accused person is further protected by being exempted from interrogation, and by the legal presumption that he is innocent until the prosecution has proved him guilty.

In China, the foreigners found, the theory was the same as in the West, but in practice the prisoner was presumed to be guilty until he was clearly proved to be innocent; and his trial was for the purpose of publicly establishing the charge and determining the penalty. In the case of the American ship *Emily*, in 1821, the magistrate conducted

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a first trial on board; he heard the evidence for the prosecution, refused to allow that evidence to be interpreted, refused to hear argument or testimony for the defence, and adjudged the accused guilty. After this mockery of a trial and farce of a judicial decision, the accused was put in irons on board ship, but was not surrendered. The trade of all flags had been stopped, and the stoppage continued; and, a week later, the prisoner was surrendered. He was taken into the city, tried again (no one from the ship or the foreign community being present), was again adjudged guilty, was executed by strangulation, and his body returned to the *Emily*, all within twenty-four hours.

China, it was further found, was governed on the doctrine of responsibility; for every unlawful act, someone must be found to accept responsibility—the act of God, *force majeure*, circumstances over which one had no control, were excuses not recognized in Chinese law. Among the Chinese the father is held responsible for every act committed by any member of his family; the whole village for any act committed within it; the magistrate for the detection and punishment of any crime in his district; Governor and Viceroy for the maintenance of order in their jurisdiction. This responsibility is personal; a village elder might be executed (or, perhaps, tortured and ruined in purse) for a murder committed by some person unknown; a Viceroy might be cashiered (or, perhaps, left in his office humiliated by the deprivation of his honours and titles) for failure to suppress brigandage.

The same doctrine of responsibility was applied to the foreigners. In one case (British ship *Neptune*, 1807) fifty-two sailors of the crew were involved in a riotous affray in which one Chinese lost his life. Every effort was made during two months to fix the personal responsibility; twice were investigations conducted on board, but the guilty person could not be found; the supercargo was held personally responsible for producing the guilty man; the responsibility was transferred to the English Headman (the President of the Select Committee of the Honourable East India Company); during the whole of these two months all the English trade was stopped; and finally the Chinese accepted one sailor as guilty of "accidental homicide" (penalty 12.42 taels = £4 2s. 9d.). and trade was re-opened.

In every case that occurred the foreigners contended that the charge should have been one of accidental homicide or of killing in self-defence; while in every case the Chinese held that it was killing in an affray, with or without intent, the penalty for which was strangulation. The English surrendered none of their accused after 1784; but, in several later cases, offered to send their men as prisoners to England, there to be tried and punished according to English law.

The Americans had at that time in their own country laws which were much less ferocious than those of other Western nations; but, in their dealings with the Chinese, they accepted the Chinese stand-

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point to a date much later than the others. In the case of the *Emily*, in 1821, they declared to the Chinese authorities: "We are bound to submit to your laws while we are in your waters; be they ever so unjust, we will not resist them." This was their public policy; but their personal feelings as expressed in their private correspondence, were the same as those of the English.

The idea of granting extraterritorial jurisdiction to the foreigners was not at first repugnant to the Chinese. In 1867, at Amoy, a sailor of the *London*, being drunk, broke into the Custom House and committed a robbery, involving under Chinese law the penalty of death; all that the authorities demanded was that "a due punishment might be given to him by ourselves according as, in our opinion, y^e^ crime meritted; w^ch^ was inflicted in Publick view ashoare by 100 Stripes w^th^ a Catt of nine Tails & Pickle, to their satisfaction."

In 1729 the supercargoes of four of the English Company's ships, bargaining for admittance to the port of Canton, demanded "that we desire there may be no Punch houses erected at Wampo, that so all quarrells between our Sailors and the Chinese may be prevented, and that we may not at Canton be accountable for any such accidents, it being impossible for us to be answerable for them at such a distance; and that if any of our people should be found to be the Aggressors in any Broils between them and the Chinese, that we ourselves only shall inflict such punishments upon them as they shall deserve and according to the Laws of our Country."

This was extraterritoriality, granted at haphazard, but never acted on for over a hundred years.

The English fought with China the war which was ended by the treaty of Nanking in 1842. In this treaty, imposed on China after her defeat at all points, any terms might have been inflicted; but Lord Palmerston, in his instructions, had directed his plenipotentiary that, if the Chinese Government were willing to cede an island [Hongkong or Chusan] to serve as an entrepôt for the trade, then only the national questions, and not those concerning trade, should be definitely settled. Accordingly the treaty provided for the cession of Hongkong, the opening of five staple ports, the appointment of Consuls, a money indemnity, the abolition of monopoly, a uniform and moderate tariff, and equality between the officials of corresponding rank of the two nations; but it made no stipulation for jurisdiction by British courts over British subjects. This was secured by the General Regulations for Trade published in 1843, in which it was declared that "regarding the punishment of English criminals, the English Government will enact the laws necessary to attain that end, and the Consul will be empowered to put them in force; and regarding the punishment of Chinese criminals, these will be tried and punished by their own laws."

The American policy had been to accept Chinese jurisdiction over

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American citizens; but Mr. Caleb Cushing, Commissioner of the United States to negotiate a treaty, found good reasons for abandoning this attitude of acquiescence. There had been several attacks by Cantonese rowdies on foreigners in the grounds of the foreign factories. On June 16, 1844, a party of Americans was attacked, and they were driven to defend themselves; and, in the affray, a Chinese was killed. The Chinese soldier guard gave no protection; and the Viceroy Kiying, a Manchu, declaring that the Cantonese were a turbulent people, warned Mr. Cushing that they would probably demand a life for a life. They did so demand, but Mr. Cushing refused to submit the case to Chinese jurisdiction; and he convened a jury of six Americans, who found that those implicated in the affray had acted strictly in self-defence. During the same period an American was killed by Chinese soldiers, and in this case Mr. Cushing left the offenders to the jurisdiction of the Chinese authorities.

In the American Treaty of 1844, signed two weeks after this affray, the procedure in criminal cases was declared somewhat more explicitly, but in similar terms to that laid down in the British Trade Regulations; but in his instructions to Consuls, Mr. Cushing declared categorically: "In my opinion, the rule which obtained in favour of Europeans and Americans in the Mohammedan countries of Asia is to be applied to China. Americans are entitled to the protection and subject to the jurisdiction of the officers of their Government." This policy he maintained in later years in his considered opinions as Attorney-General of the United States.

The French Treaty of 1844 was very precise in its assertion of criminal jurisdiction, declaring in addition: "Il en sera de même en toute circonstance analogue et non prévue dans la présente convention, le principe étant que, pour la répression des crimes et délits commis par eux dans les cinq ports, les Français seront constamment régis par la loi française."

Extraterritoriality was now fully established in criminal cases. The need for it in civil cases had, as has been stated, not been felt during the factory period at Canton; but, with the abolition of the monopoly of the Co-Hong, foreign merchants of all nations and of all classes were brought into direct relations with Chinese merchants of all classes. The monopoly had come to an end, but the Chinese merchants continued to work together in their gilds, while the foreigners, always individualistic and self-dependent, were as a flock of sheep in the presence of the united Chinese. Protection in civil cases was felt to be necessary, but the foreign merchants had not yet put into concrete form the best way of supplying their need, when the plenipotentiaries of four Powers (England, France, America, and Russia) negotiated their treaties of 1858. All these treaties provided clearly for consular jurisdiction in criminal cases, but, for civil cases, only provided for the

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recovery of debts through the courts of the debtor; the French Treaty, however, repeated word for word the clause in the Treaty of 1844:

"Il en sera de même en toute circonstance," etc.

Extraterritoriality in civil cases, to the full extent of present-day practice, grew up through the weakness of China, and the inability of her officials to execute the functions of their offices. Through the first half of the nineteenth century sporadic risings had been of frequent occurrence in almost all of the provinces, loosening the bonds of obedience to the law, spreading everywhere a feeling of unrest, and interfering seriously with the ordinary emoluments of the officials; and, by 1850, there existed throughout the whole empire a condition almost amounting to anarchy. Order was not maintained, justice was not rendered, the officials were held in contempt; and these last were driven to expedients, beyond those customary, to supplement their emoluments which had been seriously curtailed. Then arose the Taiping rebellion. Starting in the poor and mountainous province of Kwangsi, the rebels marched north through Hunan, conquering, devastating, and increasing their forces, as they advanced; and, by the end of 1852, they made good their footing on the Yangtze, by the capture of the triune cities Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang. They pushed down the Yangtze, and, on March 19, 1853, took by assault the former capital of the empire, Nanking, having overrun and devastated the major part of six provinces, while other risings gained their footing in other provinces. In the summer of 1853 not one of the eighteen provinces of China proper was free of rebels, and many—even the majority—were dominated by them. The Manchu resident garrisons were massacred to a man, and woman, and child; the Chinese armies were saved by timely withdrawal, the officials saved themselves by flight, and millions of civilian refugees streamed to places which, they hoped, would provide shelter from the devastating hordes, some thousands even as far as Shanghai.

Piracy, of the sea and of the river-ways, is endemic among the Chinese; and during this period sea piracy was rampant along the coast. The authorities, civil and military, were quite incapable of dealing with it, and such check as was imposed on it was imposed by the ships of the British Navy. In 1847 H.M. brig *Scout* brought into Amoy three pirate junks. In 1849 Commander J. C. D. Hay, with 3 ships, the largest mounting 16 guns, destroyed a piratical fleet of 23 junks, carrying 12 to 18 guns each and manned by 1,800 men; in the same year, with 3 ships, he destroyed 58 out of a fleet of 64 pirate junks, carrying 1,224 guns and manned by 3,150 men; and in March, 1850, with one ship, he destroyed a fleet of 13 pirate junks: these three actions were all in Cantonese waters. In 1855 H.M. brig *Bittern*, 12 guns, destroyed on the Chekiang coast a pirate fleet of 23 junks, carrying nearly 200 guns and manned by 1,200 men, the

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Bittern's loss being 2 killed and 15 wounded.* During these years the Chinese authorities were in a constant state of friction with foreign interests ; even in May, 1858, when England and China were openly at war, and during the days when the allied British and French forces were taking the Taku forts by assault, H.M.S. *Surprise* destroyed a large piratical fleet at Lintin ; and all these operations, including that in 1858, besides many others of less importance, were undertaken at the request of the Chinese authorities, and were carried out with the co-operation, ineffective though it was, of Chinese government ships. During all these years the burden of protecting British merchants and shipping was thrown entirely on the British authorities and the British Navy, and was never assumed by the Chinese authorities.

If any foreign Power was to undertake the duty incumbent on the Chinese, it was obviously England, since the greater part of the trade was British. In 1855 there were resident in Hongkong and the five Treaty ports of China 1,038 adult male civilians, of whom 377 were at Hongkong, 334 at Canton, and 243 at Shanghai ; and this total of 1,038 was divided among 111 English firms, 45 British Indian, 23 American, and 31 of all other nationalities. The proportion of the trade may be gauged by the export trade of Shanghai in 1853, when the total value of all exports was 24,000,000 dollars ; of this sum, 14,500,000 dollars was the value of shipments by English merchants in British ships, 8,500,000 dollars by American merchants in American ships, and 1,000,000 dollars under all other flags.

These particulars serve to illustrate the extent of the foreign trading interests, and the impotence of the Chinese officials at the time, September 7, 1853, when the administrative city of Shanghai, protected though it was by strong walls, was seized by surprise by a body of Triad rebels, claiming affiliation with, but not recognized by, the Taipings at Nanking. The next day they made an irruption into the foreign settlement, sacking and burning the Custom House which dealt with the foreign trade ; but thereafter, for seventeen months, they remained besieged by tens of thousands of Chinese troops, but continuing to hold the city against all assaults. Of the territorial and fiscal officials, some were killed when the city was taken, and others escaped to the foreign settlement, finding there a refuge under the protection of the extraterritoriality enjoyed by the foreign residents.

The foreigners were confronted by a difficult problem. For many years they had not obtained the protection which it was the duty of the Chinese Government to give them ; and, after the events of the two days, it was obvious that the Chinese authorities could not offer any resistance to the rebels. On the other hand, the Government had for

* To commemorate this action a memorial window in memory of Lieutenant (Vice-Admiral) Vansittart was erected in the Parish Church of Bisham-on-Thames by public subscription of the foreign residents of Shanghai and Ningpo.

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twenty years been in a state of acute conflict with the foreign interests, and this conflict had been temporarily alleviated, on paper but not in fact, by the Treaties of 1842 and 1844; and the foreign interests, while giving a personal refuge in their settlement to the dispossessed officials, could not agree to their exercising their functions, collecting their revenue, and conducting military operations, under the protection of foreign guns, foreign prestige, and foreign privilege. The foreign Powers in general were at the moment represented by merchant Consuls—Portugal, the Netherlands, Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen, Prussia, Denmark, and Siam by English merchants, Spain by a Portuguese, Sweden and Norway, Russia, and the United States by an American (the first official United States Consul arrived in February, 1854); the French (official) Consul had national interests of very small importance; and it fell to the British Consul, Mr. Rutherford Alcock, to take the lead in all matters of common public interest.

Mr. Alcock was a man of marked personality. After a period of distinguished service with the British Legion in Spain, he was appointed one of the first Consuls to China under the Treaty of 1842. At Amoy in 1844, and again at Shanghai in 1854, he upheld the right of the Consul to protect from molestation Chinese subjects in foreign employment; in 1845 he re-established British prestige, which had been impaired, at Foochow; in 1848 at Shanghai, on an occasion in which he conceived that the Chinese authorities had been neglectful of their duty of protecting foreign life, he boldly, with one gun-brig, declared war against the Chinese Government; and, on many occasions, he had shown that he was not afraid to assume responsibility in a time when the monthly mail was slow and telegraphic communication did not exist.

The three foreign Envoys declared for a strict neutrality between the Imperial Government and the rebels—the British and American after the fall of Nanking, and the French after the seizure of Shanghai —but the neutrality was declared to be conditioned by the necessity of directly defending any threatened foreign interest when directly attacked. Under this declaration, Mr. Alcock induced his two colleagues, Consuls of the two Treaty Powers, to join with him in asserting the neutrality of the foreign settlement in the struggle between the rebels within the city and the Imperial authorities and forces outside.

This neutrality produced a threefold effect. While the rebels in the city were hemmed in on three sides by the besieging troops, and on the fourth, the northern side, by the neutral foreign territory, they were at the same time protected from all assaults on that northern side, from which the Imperial troops were excluded. This exclusion was not pleasing to these troops, who found there a degree

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of personal safety not obtainable elsewhere; and in the Battle of Muddy Flat, on April 4, 1854, some ten thousand of them, who had drifted in, were forcibly expelled from their coign of safety by a force of 200 sailors from the British and American ships of war, and 200 merchants of Shanghai. The city was evacuated by the rebels in February, 1855, but the neutrality of the foreign settlement was still maintained. In August, 1860, on the days on which the allied British and French forces were engaged in the assault on the Imperial forts at Taku, other British and French troops were manning the walls of the Imperial city of Shanghai and defending it from an assault in force by a Taiping army; and, in 1862, the two Allies undertook to protect Shanghai and to keep clear of rebels the territory within a radius of thirty miles around it—a duty which, even at that date, the Imperial forces were quite incapable of performing. It is not too much to say that, without this declaration of neutrality, and without this foreign military intervention, the seaport of Shanghai would have been taken by the Taiping army and the course of history changed.

A second effect was that the Chinese Government was debarred from collecting its Customs duties from the foreign trade of Shanghai. The Consuls tried one expedient after another to enable it to obtain this revenue, by some method which would not involve, on the one hand, the entry of armed Chinese guards into the foreign settlement, and, on the other, the giving of armed foreign protection to the Chinese officials engaged in the collection; but in the end it was found expedient, in July, 1854, to introduce a system of mixed Chinese and foreign control of the Customs—leading ultimately to the creation of the Inspectorate-General of customs, the development of which owed so much to the genius of Sir Robert Hart.

A third effect was that the Consuls were driven to assume jurisdiction over the Chinese resident within the limits of the foreign settlement. In 1852 this territory comprised about 250 acres along the river-front, occupied by the houses and offices of the foreign merchants, and back of this about 400 acres, conceded later and intended primarily for purposes of recreation; within this square mile there were no Chinese resident, except the house and office servants of the foreign merchants. On the fall of Nanking many thousands of refugees fled to the only apparent place of safety, Shanghai; the disturbed state of the vicinity after the seizure of the city drove other thousands to the same refuge; and by the end of 1853 there were over fifty thousand, some with scanty means, some with none, all squatting in the open spaces of the foreign settlement. Year after year more thousands flocked in, and in 1860 the fall of Soochow and the consequent expansion of the area of Taiping domination drove in many myriads more, until, by the end of 1862, there were over a million and a half of Chinese refugees resident in the area reserved for foreigners,

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finding there under the foreign flags the protection denied them under their own. Policing, sanitation, protection, and feeding had to be provided for this host, and the task, unwelcome though it was, was undertaken with Western thoroughness by the small community of English and American merchants.

Authority, however, did not lie with the merchants. Many attempts were made to throw the burden of police jurisdiction on the Chinese officials; but there was the double difficulty, that Chinese armed guards could not be admitted to the foreign settlement, and that there were no funds available unless the Chinese could be allowed to exercise the taxing power within the foreign limits. The mercantile community then evolved the plan of making Shanghai a "free city," independent of all Chinese jurisdiction, and existing under the joint protectorate of the three Treaty Powers; but they were promptly called to order by the three Envoys at Peking, who reminded them that "the (English) Concession at Shanghai was neither a transfer nor a lease to the (British) Crown . . . and the land so acquired remains Chinese territory."

With the enormous Chinese population to be administered, some authority had, however, to be exercised, and the task was undertaken by the official Consuls, the British and the American, for what was afterwards the "International Settlement," and the French for his own. They dealt with all ordinary police cases, and the penalties inflicted were fines of moderate amount or imprisonment for a few days; criminals requiring severer punishment were sentenced to be handed over to their own authorities, involving expulsion from the foreign settlement. Mixed civil suits were commonly settled by Gild action or by friendly arbitration, as they had been in the factory days at Canton; but when they came before any Court, it was before a Consular Court. One such case occurred at Hankow as late as May, 1864, when the Oriental Bank brought suit before the British Consul against two Chinese for enforcement of a contract; judgment was given for the plaintiff in the sum of 68,232 taels (£22,000). The Chinese defendants probably regarded the suit as an arbitration, and paid the sum awarded.

After the suppression of the Taiping rebellion in 1864, the foreign authorities at Shanghai took early steps to restore to the Chinese officials their proper jurisdiction over their own subjects; but they had, at the same time, to safeguard the extraterritorial status acquired for the foreign settlement. They accordingly moved the Taotai to establish a Mixed Court for the trial of charges or suits, in which there was a foreign interest, brought against Chinese resident in the foreign settlement, or taking shelter there. The rules were amplified in 1869, and from time to time since, the latest amendment being in 1903; and they are based on the principle laid down in the British Convention of

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Chefoo, 1876, that "cases are tried by the official of the defendant's nationality . . . the law administered will be the law of the nationality of the officer trying the case"—but always with the further proviso that nothing shall be done to impair the extraterritorial status of the settlement.

The Mixed Court is a Chinese Court, presided over by a Chinese official, who is the deputy of the magistrate of the district of which Shanghai is the administrative centre; and this official, with the rank of sub-magistrate, is assisted in his administration of justice by an assessor deputed by one of the foreign Consulates. Appeals lie to the Taotai, sitting jointly with a member of the judicial committee of the Consular body; and irreconcilable disagreement between the Mixed Court sub-magistrate and the foreign assessor is referred to the diplomatic arm, becoming the subject of correspondence and conference between the Taotai and the senior Consul or the Consul directly concerned. (The appellations of the officials under the Empire are used in this account; their names and their functions have been changed under the Republic, and it is probable that they will again be changed, and not once only.)

We are now in a position to study the working in practice of extraterritoriality at the port at which it has been most fully developed—Shanghai.

The foreigner charged with a criminal offence against a Chinese, whatever the residence of either, is charged before his own Consul at the nearest Treaty port (British and American at Shanghai before special Courts not subject to Consular control), and tried and sentenced according to the laws of his own land (British by the law as in London, Americans by common law supplemented by statute law applicable to the District of Columbia). The Chinese have the right to send a delegate to listen to the trial, but have not customarily availed themselves of the privilege.

The Chinese, not resident in the foreign settlement, charged with a criminal offence against a foreigner, is charged, on the application of the Consul to the Taotai, before the magistrate of the district in which he lives, and is tried and sentenced according to Chinese law. The Consul has the right to send a delegate to listen to the trial, and if he dissents from the decision of the magistrate, his report becomes the basis of diplomatic correspondence between the foreign legation and the Chinese Government; in cases of murder, especially of missionaries in the interior, this right has invariably been exercised.

Civil suits brought by Chinese against all foreigners, and by foreigners against Chinese residents outside the foreign settlement, are subject to the same procedure.

Criminal charges (including all police cases) and civil suits, brought by a foreigner against a Chinese resident in the foreign settlement, are

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brought before the Mixed Court. The foreign assessor is supplied in rotation by the three Consulates—British, American, and (until 1917) German—having adequate staffs with a competent knowledge of the Chinese law and language; but any case in which a foreigner of other nationality is interested as complainant or plaintiff is postponed to await the presence of an assessor from the Consulate of the plaintiff's nationality. The assessor intervenes actively in this Court, assuming the functions of a puisné judge. In case of need, he imposes his judgment on the sub-magistrate, head of the Court; and, in case of disagreement, he may refuse to accept the decision of the latter. This Court decides all cases which may be settled by damages, fine, imprisonment, or the ordinary Chinese punishments of the cangue and the bamboo (flogging); but serious cases, for which, by Chinese law, the penalty is death, the cage, or banishment to the frontier, are remitted to the magistrate of the district for trial and ultimate decision; but in such cases it is the duty of the assessor to assure himself that the charge actually before the Court is fully substantiated, and is not the cloak for ulterior designs on the life and liberty of the accused.

Suits brought by Chinese, whether officials or private persons, against Chinese resident in the foreign settlement are brought before the Mixed Court. These present a real difficulty. No foreign interest has any desire to intervene in purely Chinese cases; but the foreigners hold that the extraterritorial status of the foreign settlement must and shall be maintained, and that this is impossible with two rival and incompatible jurisdictions covering the same field. In these cases the foreign assessor assures himself that the charge before the Court is fully substantiated, and is without ulterior motive; but he does not otherwise interfere with the decision.

At Shanghai the French have always followed a particularist policy, and have refused to consolidate their interest with those of the general mercantile community; there are two settlements, the French under solely French control, and the International under the control of all nations, including the French: and there are two Mixed Courts, one for each section. In criminal cases, the Chinese accused is brought before the Mixed Court of that settlement in which the crime was committed. In mixed civil suits, if the plaintiff is French, the case comes before the French Mixed Court; if a foreigner (not French), it comes before the International Mixed Court. If the Chinese defendant resides in the other settlement, he is brought, by a regulated procedure, to the Court having jurisdiction. Suits between Chinese are brought before the Mixed Court of the settlement in which the defendant resides.

While every foreigner is amenable to the jurisdiction of the officials and the law of his own nationality, certain corporate bodies, notably

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the Shanghai (International) Municipal Council, are not subject to the jurisdiction of any one nation. Suit may be brought against them, under the general principles of equity, before the Court of Consuls, composed of three members of the Consular body, elected annually by their colleagues.

This is extraterritoriality as practised in China, and specifically at Shanghai. It has been considered a necessary condition, if foreigners were to live and trade in China; and it has been a convenience to Chinese who, from 1853 on to 1923, have found at Shanghai, under foreign privilege, a shelter from rebels or from their own Government. It is not the object of this paper to consider whether the privilege should be abrogated or modified, or whether it should be retained; but it may serve a useful purpose to examine the points which must be borne in mind when the question comes up for consideration.

First, what is murder? The laws of Western nations require that to justify the death penalty proof of premeditation and intention to kill is essential; Chinese law prescribes the death penalty also for homicide during an affray, even when there is no intention to kill. How can these be reconciled? It would not be sufficient to change the Chinese law, since that is based on Chinese public opinion. No Chinese judge would be bold enough to brave the opinion of his countrymen by refusing to adjudge the death penalty if a Chinese life had been lost; and if the foreigner, charged with murder, were acquitted, the fellow-villagers of the slain man could be trusted to raise a riot, with its concomitant homicide and arson.

Suborned and perjured testimony is met in Western countries by cross-examination, but Anglo-Indians know the difficulty of applying this method to the East. In Eastern countries any evidence required is produced, even to the dead body of a victim still living; it has often happened that a body produced as that of a man murdered by violence has shown on medical examination no sign of external injury. In the East, when the Oriental judge suspects, or wishes to elicit, that evidence is false, torture is the method.

The accused, too, is tortured. The presumtion is that he is guilty until he proves his innocence, and a refusal to confess his guilt is treated as contumacy and obstruction of justice. Moreover, by Chinese law an accused may not be condemned save on his confession of his guilt.

Chinese officials have always been corrupt; the best of them in the sense that Surintendant Fouquet was corrupt, while the worst may be likened to Verres in Sicily. The element common to Europe in the past and China in the present is that no suitor might win his just cause nor claimant obtain his just dues without feeing heavily the official who should decide, and all his subordinates. The Foreign Offices of Western nations will require to be well assured, beyond the adoption

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of a new constitution, that the Republic has improved on the methods of the Empire before they will consent to entrust the interest of their nationals to Chinese officials.

Under the Empire the judicial and administrative functions were combined in one official, while the constitution of the Republic has severed them, and provides for an independent judiciary. This is an improvement, but it remains to be seen if the severance will, automatically and without strenuous effort, secure the impartiality and the independence which are essential to the proper performance of the judicial function. The judges will still retain their feeling that their Chinese civilization is of a higher type than that of any of the Western nations; they will still be psychologically incapable of offending the public opinion of their countrymen; and they will still entertain the universal Oriental notion that the salary of an office is only a stepping-stone to its actual emoluments. If China should succeed in the great task of reforming its judiciary, and of securing an upright and unbiased Bench, the result will be weak judges; the profits of public office in China are so vast, and those who will consent to accept a judgeship will be the failures in public life.

There is no doubt that China suffers from some remediable abuses of extraterritoriality, abuses more common from the action of protected subject of the British Empire than of natives of the United Kingdom. To the extent to which these can be remedied China has every claim to our consideration, but before she can claim the abstract restitution of her sovereign rights, before she can obtain the abrogation of extra-territorial privilege, she must convince the nations enjoying that privilege that she has risen to their level, in practice as well as in theory; and she must remember that extraterritoriality, honestly and impartially administered, is a safeguard to China herself, protecting her from coercion for alleged maladministration.

Postscript (August, 1925).

This paper on "Extraterritoriality in China" was written six years ago; and in writing it I wrote as an historian, giving an account of the undeniable and immutable facts on which the privilege is based, and not as a publicist arguing for or against the abrogation of the capitulations. It was for this reason that no reference was made to the assumption by the Municipal Council of the administration of the Mixed Court. This occurred in October, 1911, when all the Chinese officials of the Court fled from their posts, and when neither the body of Consuls nor the Municipal Council were willing to recognize any of the Chinese factions warring for control of the Customs revenue and the administration of justice. This usurpation was only intended to be temporary, but the foreign control of this Chinese Court has continued,

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although for some years past the Chinese civil authorities have been asking for its surrender. The foreign merchants have, in fact, obtained that "free city" status which they claimed for Shanghai in 1862, and which was then denied them (see my "International Relations of the Chinese Empire," vol. ii., p. 124). In this connection I would quote from a despatch from Sir Frederick Bruce (H.M. Minister at Peking) to Mr. Medhurst of September 8, 1862:

"It is my duty to remind you that the Chinese Government has never formally abandoned its rights over its own subjects, nor has Her Majesty's Government ever claimed or expressed any desire to exercise a protectorate over them. The only case in which, consistently with the principles laid down for the guidance of Her Majesty's authorities in this country, the Consul has a right to interfere is where the Chinese is in the employ of a British firm, and where there is reason for believing that the arrest of the Chinese servant is an outrage through him on his employer. But it is the interest of the British subject, and not the Chinaman, which is protected. I do not understand what interest Her Majesty's Government has in lending itself to a system which is unjustifiable in principle, which would be attended with endless embarrassment and responsibility, and which the Chinese Government would never submit to willingly. Great Britain has no interest except in providing a secure place for British trading establishments; and whatever inconveniences may arise from the conversion of the Settlement into a Chinese town, I do not think that Her Majesty's Government will be induced to seek a remedy for them by extending its jurisdiction over a large section of the Chinese population. Because we protect Shanghai from falling a prey to a horde of brigands, it does not follow that we are prepared to interfere with the natural relation of the Chinese to their own Government."

The three B.'s—the three foreign Ministers Plenipotentiary then in Peking (Sir F. Bruce, Mr. Anson Burlingame, and M. de Bourboulon)—and the three Powers involved were in accord on this declaration of policy.—H. B. M.

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Abbott, Bt. Lieut.-Colonel R. S., M.C., Q.V.O. Corps of Guides, I.A.
Barry, Captain G. H., R.A.M.C.
Brancker, Air Vice-Marshal Sir Sefton, K.C.B., etc.
Brierly, Colonel G. T., C.M.G., D.S.O.
Bromilow, Major D. G., D.S.O.
Butterworth, Mrs. Thornton.
Campbell, Ewen, Sudan Political Service.
Cawdor, The Earl.
Close, Miss Etta.
Coldstream, W., I.C.S. (retd.).
Cooper, Lieutenant H. J., R.A S.C.
Fisher, Captain F.A.B., 8th Gurkha Rifles.
Fox Strangways, Captain V.
Fraser-Tytler, Captain W. K., M.C., 25th Cavalry, I.A.
Grant, Colonel R. D., V.C., 10th Gurkha Rifles, I.A.
Growden, Captain W. E. N., Iraq Police.
Holmes, Colonel R. B W., C.B.E.
Humphreys, Colonel E. T., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.
Hunter, Lieut.-Colonel J. S. Dalzell, Indian Political Dept.
Johnston-Saint, Captain J. P., I.A. (retd.).
Luke, H. J.
Mackenzie, Dr. Melville.
Maclaren, A. I.
Marshall, F. W.
Monckton, T. C., R.F.A., Iraq.
Morgan, E. B.
Nance, Major W. F., I.A.
Noyes, Major C. D., M.C., 1/7 Rajput Regiment, I.A.
Park, James Loder.
Plumer, Field-Marshal Lord, G.C.B., etc.
Pocock, Hugh.
Prendergast, Major N., D.S.O., M.C., Q.V.O. Corps of Guides, I.A.
Prideaux, F. W. A., O.B.E.
Ravenshaw, Colonel C., I.A. (retd.).
Renton, Captain J. M. L., Iraq Levies.
Rich, Captain E. P., Q.V.O. Corps of Guides, I.A.
Ross, Sir E. Denison, Director, School of Oriental Studies.
Saunders, Colonel N., D.S.O., I.A.
Schomberg, Lieut.-Colonel R., Seaforth Highlanders.
Shelton, Captain R. C. M., Inniskilling Dragoons.
Smith, Lieut.-Colonel Ian M., D.S.O, M.C.
Teague, Captain R. J. D., 2/2 Bombay Pioneers.
Wheatley, H. H., O.B.E., M.C.
Wilson-Haffenden, Captain J. R., (R.A.R. of O.) Nigeria.

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CORRECTED TO MARCH 3, 1925

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1924. **Hon. Treasurer:** SIR E. PENTON, K.B.E.

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LIST OF MEMBERS

The names marked with an asterisk are of those who have served on the Council. The names in capitals are those of present Members of Council. Names in italics are those of Councillors resident in India. The names marked with a dagger are those of original Members.

A

1924. Abboud, Ahmed Bey, P.O. Box 2051, Cairo.
1921. Acland, Captain P. Dyke, attd. Aviation Dept., Vickers Ltd., Vickers' House, Broadway, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1922. Acworth, Captain J. P., 9/12 (F.F.) Regt., I.A., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
1921. Ahmed Bey Hassanein, F.R.G.S., Cairo.
1916. Ainscough, Thomas M., O.B.E., H. M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India, Post Box 683, 11, Clive Street, Calcutta.
1925. Airey, J. L., R.A.F., c/o Air Headquarters, Baghdad.
1923. Alban, E. H. C., c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank, Baghdad; Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1919. Alexander, Y. Patrick, F.R.G.S., 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.1.; Imperial Service College, Windsor.
1920. Allchin, Geoffrey C., Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Allenby, Field-Marshal the Rt. Hon. the Viscount, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., Cairo, Egypt.
1921. Altham, Lieut.-General Sir E. A., K.C.B., C.M.G., Prior's Barton, Winchester.
1924. Amory, J. H., Knightsbridge Court, Tiverton.
1924. Anderson, Lieut.-Colonel B. E., D.S.O., 6th Royal Battalion F.F. Rifles, Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1924. Andrews, Roy Chapman, Leader of the 3rd American Asiatic Expedition to Mongolia, 2, Kung Hsien Hutung, Peking.
1921. Antonius, George, Department of Education, Jerusalem.
1922. Armitage-Smith, Sidney A., C.B., 13, Sussex Place, N.W. 1.
1923. Armstrong, Captain F. H. C., O.B.E., Leverton, Boston, Lincs.
1924. Arnold, The Right Hon. Lord, 12, North Square, N.W. 11.
1924. Arnold, Sir Thomas, C.I.E., 19, Gloucester Walk, W. 8.
1924. Aston, C. C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1920. Austin, A. P. M., The Treasury, Tanga, Tanganyika Territory.

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B

1908. *Baddeley, J. F.
1910. Bailey, Major F. M., C.I.E., 7, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, N.B.
1924. Bailey, W. H., M.D., 47, E. Leinster Square, W. 2.
1914. Baillie, J. R., 1, Akenside Road, Hampstead, N.W.
1923. Balfe, Miss, Ladies' Athenæum Club, 17, Stratford Place, W.1.
1920. Balfour, Lt.-Col. F. C. C., C.I.E., M.C., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W 1.
1920. Ballard, Mrs. C. R., Hadham Mill, Much Hadham, Herts.
1922. Bampton, Major J. H. H., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Bampton, R. E. Fitz-Symons, Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.
1920. Banerjee, Gauranga Nath, M.A., Ph.D., B.L. (Professor of Ancient History, Calcutta University), 107/1, Mechua Bazar Street, Calcutta.
1918. Banks, Mrs. M. M., 16, Hornton Court, W. 8.
1923. Banks, R. Mitchell, K.C., M.P., House of Commons, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1921. Bannister, T. H. C., Stanmore Hall, Stanmore.
1924. Barke, Lieut.-Colonel C.R., D.S.O., 3rd Battalion Iraq Levies, Levy H.Q., Mosul.
1905. Barnes, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., 29, Campden House Court, W. 8.
1922. Barnes, Sir George Stapylton, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Foxholm, Cobham, Surrey.
1921. Barnett, Mrs. L., 8, Royal Crescent, W. 11.
1922. Barnham, Henry D., C.M.G., Brooklands, Wray Park Road, Reigate.
40 1922. Barrett, Field-Marshal Sir A. A., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., A.D.C.Gen., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, W. 1.
1924. Barrett, Major C. C. J., C.S.I., C.I.E., Assistant Resident, Aden.
1921. Barrington-Ward, F. T., K.C., 8, Green Street, Park Lane, W. 1.
1913. *Barrow, General Sir Edmund, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Artillery Mansions, S.W. 1. M. of C.
1922. Barrow, Lieut.-General Sir George, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Commander of the Legion of Honour, H.Q. Eastern Command, India.
1920. Barstow, Captain A. E., M.C., 15th Sikhs, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Bartlett, Captain P. E., Indo-European Telegraph Department, Persian Section, Tehran.
1925. Barton, Captain L. E., Political Dept. Govt. of India.
1920. Base, Edward H.
1924. Bassett, F. L., Chemical Adviser to Iraq Government, Shipley, Sussex.
1919. Bateman, H. G., F.R.G.S., Kobe, Japan.
1922. Bax-Ironside, Sir Henry, K.C.M.G., C.B., 23, Grosvenor Place, S.W. 1.

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1923. Bayley, Lieut.-Colonel E. C., C.I.E., O.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Beale, Captain C. T., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Beattie, Dr. J. Hamilton, United University Club, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Beatty, Colonel Commandant G. A. H., C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., A.D.C., 1st Cavalry Brigade, Risalpur, N.-W.F.P., India.
1923. Beckley, Major P. A., D.S.O., R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Belgrave, C. Dalrymple, Junior Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1923. Bell, Major A. H., D.S.O., O.B.E., R.E., Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Bell, B. H., Law Courts, Khartoum, Sudan.
1921. Bell, Sir Charles, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Bell, Miss Gertrude, C.B.E., c/o Secretariat of the High Commissioner, Baghdad, Iraq.
1922. Bell, H. T. Montague, Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1; "Near East," 167, Strand, W.C. 2.
1907. Benn, Colonel R. A. E., C.I.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, King's Branch, P.O. Box 48, Bombay.
1921. Bennett, Captain S. G., M.C., 8, St. Albans Crescent, Bournemouth.
1922. Bennett, John G.
1921. Bentinck, Major A. W. D., Coldstream Guards, 53, Green Street, Park Lane, W.
1924. Bentinck, Mrs. Cavendish, 22, Little Welbeck Street, W. 1.
1923. Berry, Major E. S., O.B.E., Divisional Adviser, Baqubah, Iraq.
1923. Beveridge, Mrs., 53, Campden House Road, W. 8.
1924. Bickers, M. H. T., Dy. Inspector-General of Posts, Baghdad.
1922. Biggane, P.
1910. Bigg-Wither, Lt.-Col. F., I.A., c/o Messrs. N. Scott and Co., Post Box 103, Rangoon.
1921. Bingham, Captain D'Arcy, 109th Infantry, I.A., c/o Lloyd's Bank (King's Branch), Bombay.
1921. Birch, Lt.-Col. J. M., D.S.O., 20, Bina Gardens, S.W. 5.
1924. Bird, A. E. C., Bush House, Aldwych.
1922. Birdwood, Field Marshal Sir W. R., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., D.S.O., A.D.C.Gen., c/o National Bank of India, Bishopsgate, E.C. 2.
1925. Birkenhead, The Rt. Hon. the Earl of, Secretary of State for India, India Office, Whitehall.
1920. Blacker, Major L. V. S., O.B.E., Queen Victoria's Own Corps of Guides, Junior Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1922. Blackett, Captain A. T., Palestine Gendarmerie, Ludd, Palestine.
1924. Blackwood, Miss, Forum Club, S.W. 1.

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1923. Blomfield, Captain H. M., Dept. of Overseas Trade, 35, Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1919. Bone, H. Peters, 5, Hamilton Mansions, King's Gardens, Hove, Sussex.
1921. *Bonham-Carter, Sir Edgar, K.C.M.G., C.I.E., 5, Hyde Park Square, W. 2.
1923. Booker, Captain William, Royal Fusiliers, c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1924. Borland, Captain J. Mc. I., C.B., D.S.O., R.N.R., c/o P. and O. Co., 122, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
1922. Borrie, Dr. D. F., O.B.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W. Director Civil Hospital, Basra, Iraq.
Bosanquet, Sir O. V., K.C.I.E., 1, Vicarage Gardens, Kensington, W. 8.
1921. Bourdillon, B. H., C.M.G., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1922. Bourke, D. R. S., I.F.S., Adviser, Forest Dept., Bangkok.
1924. Bovill, Major W. J., O.B.E., I.A., c/o Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1921. Bowman, H. E., C.B.E., Director of Education, Jerusalem.
1921. Braham, Major G. N., O.B.E., M.C., c/o A.P.O.C., Abadan, Persian Gulf.
1922. Brasher, C. G., 23, Victoria Square, Clifton, Bristol.
1920. Bray, Major F. E., M.C., 21, Evelyn Gardens, S.W. 7.
1920. Bray, Major N. N. E., O.B.E., M.C., Political Dept., Govt. of India, c/o Political Secretary, India Office, S.W. 1.
1924. Bremner, Major H. N. K., c/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
1921. Bridcut, Lieut.-Col. S. H., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St, James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Bridges, Lieut.-Colonel E. J. (late 14th Hussars), Great-bridge House, Romsey, Hants.
1922. Brock, Wing-Commander H. Le M., Royal Air Force, Bryntirion, Stanstead Road, Caterham.
100 1925. Brooke, Group Captain K. G., C.M.G., Royal Air Force, c/o Air Ministry, W.C. 2.
1920. Bros, Major H. Alwyn, Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Browne, Claude M., 10, Queensberry Place, S.W. 7.
1921. Browne, Lieut.-Colonel H. H. Gordon, D.S.O., Thornbury House, Kidlington, Oxon.
1924. Browne, Lieut.-Colonel J. G., C.M.G., D.S.O., 14th Hussars, Levy H.Q., Mosul, Iraq.
1924. Browne, Major-General J. P., C.B., D.S.O., 23, Dorset Square, N.W.
1924. Browne, Mrs., 23, Dorset Square, N.W.
1922. Brown, Mrs. Wynyard, Cooper's Hill Farm, Eversley, Surrey.
1924. Brownrigg, Lieut.-Colonel W. D. S., D.S.O., Sherwood Foresters, General Staff, War Office, S.W. 1.
†Bruce, Brig.-Gen. C. D., C.B.E., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1924. Bruce Hay, Colonel C. J., C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., H.Q., Southern Command, Poona, India.

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1922. Brunskill, Captain B. A. S., M.C., 39th Garhwal Rifles, Lansdowne, India.
1920. Brunskill, Major G. S., M.C., 18, Talbot Square, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1924. Bryant, A., 28b, North Audley Street, W. 1.
1920. Buchanan, Sir G. C., K.C.I.E., Kt., 310, St. James's Court, S.W.
†Buchanan, W. A., The Cottage, Knebworth, Herts.
1921. Buchanan, Mrs, 32, Elsworthy Road, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1921. Bunbury, Captain N. L. St. P., 1/13th F.F. Rifles, Staff College, Quetta.
1919. *Bunsen, The Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de, Bart., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., 43, Ennismore Gardens, S.W. 7. Vice-President.
1919. Burdwan, The Hon. Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., T.O.M., Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of, The Palace, Bardwan, Bengal, India.
120 1921. Burn, Major A. H., C.I.E., O.B.E., 6/13 Royal F.F. Rifles (Scinde). United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1924. Burn, Major H. Pelham, 3 Cranley Gardens, S.W. 7.
1921. Burn-Murdoch, Major I., O.B.E., Umbala, U.P., India.
1920. Busk, H. Gould, F.G.S., Old Vicarage House, Milford, Hants.
1922. Buss, Squadron Leader K. C., R.A.F., Air Headquarters, British Forces in Iraq, Baghdad.
1925. Burton, Captain L. E., I.A., Political Department, Assistant Commissioner, Hangu, N.-W.F.P., India.
1921. Butler, F. H. C., South End, St. Cross, Winchester.
1921. Buxton, Dr. P. Alfred, c/o Govt. Hospital, Apia, Western Samoa.

C

1924. Cade, Captain C. M. D., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Cadogan, Lieut.-Commander Francis, R.N. (ret.), Hatherop Castle, Fairford, Glos.
1922. Calder, N., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Cameron, Major G. S., M.C., "Fernside," St. Fillans, Perthshire.
1922. Campbell, Captain W. F. C., I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1924. Campbell, Major W. E D., 17th Q.V.O. Poona Horse, Bannu, N.-W.F.P., India.
†Carey, A. D., I.C.S., Hotel National, Montreux.
1920. Carey, Lieut.-Col. A. B., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E.
1919. *Carnock, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3. Vice-President.
1922. Carnock, The Lady, 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1922. Carroll, Colonel F. Fitzgerald, D.S.O., A.M.S., Headquarters, Northern Command, Rawalpindi, India.
1924. Carter, Lieut.-Colonel J. H. C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

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1921. Carver, Captain F. E., O.B.E., c/o Messrs. Carver Bros., Alexandria, Egypt.
1921. Castells, Captain E., 6th Gurkha Rifles, Highcliffe, Miskin Road, Dartford.
1920. Chakravati, Professor Nilmani, M.A., 18, Sitaram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
1921. Chamier, Captain A., O.B.E., c/o Eastern Rubber Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1921. Champain, Brig.-Gen. H. Bateman, C.B., Oak Lodge, Ham Common, Surrey.
1922. Channer, Captain G. O. de R., 7th Gurkha Rifles, Quetta, Baluchistan.
1921. Chapman, Captain A. J. B., I.A.R.O., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, 72, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.
1921. Chardin, F. W., 20, Empress Avenue, Woodford Green, Essex.
1924. Chauncey, Miss A., M.B.E., 40, Hertford Street, W.
1921. Chelmsford, The Rt. Hon. Viscount, G.M.S.I, G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.B.E., etc., 116, Eaton Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Chesney, G. M., Deane Lodge, Kingsgate Road, Winchester.
1920. Childs, W. J., Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1903. *Chirol, Sir Valentine, Kt., 34, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1920. Chitty, Captain C., 24, East Heath Road, Hampstead, N.W.
1918. Christie, Miss A., 7, Stewart's House, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1920. Christie, Miss E. R., F.R.G.S., Cowden Castle, Dollar, N.B.
1923. Christie, Captain L. D., Durie, Leven, Fifeshire.
1925. Clark, Sir W. O., I.C.S. (ret.), 2, Barkston Gardens, Earl's Court, S.W. 5.
1920. Clayton, Brig.-Gen. Sir Gilbert F., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., Government House, Jerusalem; United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Clayton, Captain J. N., R.G.A., Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1923. Clegg, S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1919. Coales, Oliver R., H.B.M. Consul-General, Shanghai, China; R. Societies Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1920 Cobbe, Gen. Sir A. S., V.C., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1; 3, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
1925. Coffey, Captain J. P., M.B.E., Ministry of Defence, Baghdad 14, Glazbury Road, Baron's Court, W.
1923. Coghill, Captain Sir Patrick, Bart., R.F.A., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1924. Cohen, W. S., Amersfort, Berkhamstead.
1920. Cole, Major J. J. B., F.R.G.S., Rifle Brigade, Travellers' Club, Pall Mall.
1923. Collas, Major F. J., O.B.E., M.C., R.F.A. (ret.), St. Heliers, Jersey.
1918. Collis, Mrs., 17, Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park, W. 6.
1921. Colvin, Mrs., 38, The Ridgeway, Wimbledon, S.W.

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1920. Connal-Rowan, Major J. F. Meiklewood, Gargunnock, Stirlingshire; Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Cooke, Captain R. S., Dalnottarhill, Old Kilpatrick, N.B.
1922. Cooper, Captain E. S. Storey, M.C., c/o Eastern Bank, Ltd., Bombay.
1922. Cooper, Mrs. Bruce, Craigellachie, Burley, Hants.
1923. Cooper, W. H., 18, Finchley Way, Finchley.
1924. Cope, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W.
1923. Corbyn, E. N., Singa, Fung Province, Sudan; United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W. 1.
1923. Cornwall, Lieut.-Colonel H. J. M., C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Cornwallis, Col. Kinahan, C.B.E., D.S.O., F.R.G.S., Adviser to the Ministry of Interior, Baghdad; Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Costello, Brig.-General E. W., V.C., C.M.G., D.S.O., 4, Rose Crescent, Cambridge.
180 1919. Cowell, Mrs. M., c/o Barclay's Bank, Saxmundham.
1908. Cox, Major-General Sir Percy Z., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Whitehall Court, S.W.
1923. Crane, Charles R., Century Club, New York, U.S.A.
1920. Craufurd, Lt.-Commander C., R.N., c/o National Bank of India, Aden.
1925. Crawford, Wing Commander S. R., O.B.E., T.D., R.A.F., 171, Ashley Gardens, S.W. 1.
1921. Cree, Thomas D., O.B.E., Beyt Cree, Carbery Avenue, Bournemouth.
1914. Crewdson, Major W. T. O., R.F.A., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W. 1.
1923. Croft, William Dawson, India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Cronyn, Lieutenant St. John, R.N., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1924. Cumming, Sir John, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., 52, West Heath Drive, N.W. 11.
1907. Cuningham, Sir William J., K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Cunliffe-Owen, Lieut.-Colonel F., C.M.G., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Cust, Captain L. G. A., R.A., The Governate, Jerusalem.
1925. Cutting, Heyward, 542, Fifth Avenue, New York.

D

1925. Dalton, Lieut. D. F., I.A., 6, Greville Road, Richmond, Surrey.
1921. Daly, Captain T. Denis, Royal Welch Fusiliers, Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1924. Dane, Sir Louis, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., 24, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
1908. Daukes, Major C. T., C.I.E., Political Department, Government of India, Loralai, Baluchistan, India.
1923. Davidson, Miss Flora M., C.E.Z. Mission, Peshawar City, India.

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1923. Davidson, N. G., Government House, Khartoum.
1923. Davies, Miss E. B., 29, Francis Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1921. Davies, J. Fisher, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1918. Davis, Mrs., 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1906. Davis, W. S., Coglan House, Longhope, Glos.
1925. Davison, Captain H. T., 3/1 Punjab Regt. (attached Iraq Army), c/o Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1920. Deedes, Sir Wyndham H., C.M.G., D.S.O., Oxford House, Bethnal Green.
1922. Dew, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1924. Dewing, Major R. H., D.S.O., M.C., R.E., Brompton Barracks, Chatham.
1919. Digby, Bassett, F.R.G.S., The Old Tannery House, Rickmansworth, Herts.
1922. Ditchburn, Major A. H., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1906. Dobbs, Sir H. R. C., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1925. Dodge, Lieut.-Colonel J., 26, Connaught Square, W. 2.
1903. *Donoughmore, The Earl of, 5, Chesterfield Gardens, W. 1.
1910. Douglas, Lieut.-Colonel H. A., The Vicarage, Langton Green, near Tunbridge Wells.
1920. Douglas, Major-Gen. J A., C.M.G., C.I.E., Ashmore Lodge, Cold Ash, near Newbury, Berks.
1922. Dowson, V. H. W., c/o Messrs. Hills Bros. Co., Basra.
1923. Drake Brockman, Brig.-General D. H., C.M.G., c/o Lloyds Bank, Winchester.
1921. Drower, Mrs. E. M., Credit Lyonnais Bank, 14, Cockspur Street, S.W. 1.
1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W. 8.
1925. Drury, E. J., Hertford.
1921. Duggan, C. E., 9, Elsworthy Terrace, N.W. 3.
1921. Duncan, J. A. L., Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.
1924. Dunlop, Dr. W., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.; Royal Hospital, Baghdad.
1920. Dunsterville, Col. K. S., C.B., Artillery House, Knaresborough Place, S.W. 5.
1920. Dunsterville, Major-Gen. L. C., C.B., c/o Union Bank of Scotland, Cornhill, E.C.
1923. Durnford, Lieut.-Commander John, R.N., Hartley Wespall House, Basingstoke, Hants.
1920. Dyer, Brig.-General R. E. H., C.B., Elmsleigh, Bassett, Hants.

E

1922. Eadie, Major J. I., D.S.O., 97th Infantry, I.A., Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1925. Eastwood, Austin, British Cotton-Growing Association, Baghdad.

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1921. Edmonds, Major C. J., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1; c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1920. Egerton, Lieut.-Gen. Sir R. G., K.C.B., K.C.I.E., 43, Cheyne Court, S.W. 3. Hon. Secretary.
1925. Eldrid, E. M., Mapledean, Linkfield Lane, Redhill.
1923. Ellis, Captain C. H., O.B.E., British Consulate, Berlin.
†Elphinstone, Lord, Carlton Club, 94, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Elsmie, Major-General A. M. S., 27, Woodville Gardens, Ealing, W. 5.
1922. Emmerson, Captain C. A., R.A.M.C., Staff Quarter Q, Chelsea Barracks, S.W. 3.
1920. Empson, C., The White House, Fulford, York.
1925. Eskell, Sir Sassoon, K.B.E., Baghdad.

F

1923. Faber, George, 1-3, Mortimer Street, W. 1.
1920. Fardell, Mrs. H. A., 16, Brechin Place, S.W. 7.
240 1925. Farquharson, Miss M. M., Bank Buildings, 16, St. James's Street, S.W.
1922. Farrell, W. Jerome, M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Farrer, Hon. C. C., 100, Palace Gardens Terrace, Kensington, W. 8.
1924. Fisher, Frank, c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank, 26, Throgmorton Street, E.C.
1919. FitzHugh, Capt. J. C., D.S.O., M.V.O., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Flaxman, H. T. M., O.B.E., Assistant District Commissioner, Omdurman, Sudan.
1924. Foote, Flying Officer H. W., c/o Air Headquarters, Baghdad.
1916. Forbes, Sir George Stuart, K.C.S.I., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Forbes, Mrs. Muriel, Campbellpur, Punjab, India.
1920. Fowle, Major T. C., I.A., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1920. Fraser, Captain D. de M. S., Political Dept. Govt. of India, The Residency, Indore.
1923. Fraser, Donald S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Fraser, E., 14, Chester Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Fraser, M. F. A., F.R.G.S., Beaufort, Knaphill, Nr. Woking.
†Frazer, Mrs., Ladies' Athenæum Club, 17, Stratford Place, W. 1.
1922. Fraser, Major W. A. K., D.S.O., M.C., British Legation, Kabul, Afghanistan.
1916. Fraser, Sir Stuart M., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Fraser, W. M., c/o Messrs. R. G. Shaw and Co., Winchester House, Old Broad Street, E. C.

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1921. Fremantle, Lieut.-Colonel F. E., T.D., O.B.E., M.P., Bedwell Park, Hatfield. M. of C.
1923. French, Bt.-Major B. R., D.S.O., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. French, J. C., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1923. French, Lieut.-Colonel W., D.S.O., M.C., Caledonian Club, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Frew, Rev. Dr. Robert, D.D., National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.
1921. Frost, Lieut.-Colonel F. D., C.B.E., M.C., I.A., 46, Napier Road, Allahabad, U.P., India.
1920. Fuller, N. B., M.B.E., Cavendish Club, 119, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1923. Furse, Major R. D., D.S.O., 18, Hanover Terrace, W. 11.

G

1908. Gabriel, Lieut.-Colonel Vivian, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.V.O., T.D., Marlborough Club, 52, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Gaisford St. Lawrence, Captain C., Scots Greys, Risalpur, N.-W.F.P., India.
1919. Garbett, C. C., C.M.G., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1919. Gaulter, Mrs., 152, Earl's Court Road, S.W. 5.
1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1920. Geden, Rev. A. S., Royapettah, Harpenden, Herts.
1924. Gibson, J. P., c/o India Office, S.W.
1922. Gillman, Major-General Sir Webb, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., R.F.A., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1922. Goldie, Major Henry, c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, Alexandria.
1919. Goold-Adams, Col. Sir H. E. F., K.B.E., C.M.G., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Gorbold, Captain Roland, F.R.G.S., 168, Hollis Avenue, Braintree, Mass., U.S.A.
1920. Gordon, Lieut.-Col. P. J., O.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Gore, Major F. L., 113th Infantry, I.A., Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1923. Gough, Major The Viscount, M.C., 9, Upper Belgrave Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Gourlay, W. R., C.I.E., 23, Old Court Mansions, W. 8.
1922. Govan, Mrs. D. M., 6°, Bickenhall Mansions, W. 1.
1920. Gowan, Captain C. H., M.C., 13th Hussars, Cavalry Club, Piccadilly.
1923. Graham, Captain Alan Crosland, Clwyd Hall, Ruthin, N. Wales; Cavendish Club, 119, Piccadilly, W.
1920. Graham, Colonel R. J. D., Dunalastair, North Inch, Perth.
1923. Graham, Lieut.-Colonel, J. D., C.I.E., I.M.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

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1921. Grant, Sir A. Hamilton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Brooks's Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Gray, Lawrence, c/o Irrigation Directorate, Baghdad.
1922. Greatwood, H. E., 123rd Outram Rifles, I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome and Co., Bombay.
1923. Greenhouse, Major F. S., Pikes' Hill Avenue, Lyndhurst, Hants.
1920. Gregson, Lieut.-Col. E. G., C.M.G., C.I.E., Buncrana, Rake, Liss, Hants.
1919. Grey, Lieut.-Col. W. George, Solars, Chiddingfold, Surrey.
1923. Gribbon, Colonel W. H., C.B., C.M.G., 2nd Battalion King's Own Royal Regt., Rangoon.
1920. Griffin, Captain A. C., O.B.E., R.E., Deputy Director of Railways, Iraq Railway Directorate, Baghdad.
1921. Grove White, Major M. FitzG., D.S.O., O.B.E, R.E., War Office, S.W.
1923. Groves, J. P. K., East Hoathley Rectory, Halland, Sussex.
1924. Gubbay, M. M., C.S.I., C.I.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Gumbley, Douglas W., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

H

1920. Hadow, Major H. R., 15th Sikhs, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1923. Hadow, D. S., I. G. Police, Srinagar, Kashmir.
300 1922. Haig, Lieut.-Colonel Sir T. W., K.C.I.E., C.B., 37, Trinity College, Dublin.
1924. Hailes, Major W. H., 9th Jats, I. A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1925. Hale, Frederick, Imperial Bank of Persia, 33-36, King William Street, E.C.
1920. Hall, Captain A. H., O.B.E., Annfield, Rothesay, Scotland.
1922. Hall, H. R., D.Litt., F.S.A., British Museum, Bloomsbury, W.C.
1922. Hallinan, Captain T. J., R.A.M.C., 77, Southside, Clapham Common, S.W.
1924. Halsey, Sir Lawrence, K.B.E., Gooserye Farm, Worplesdon.
1923. Hamdi Bey Baban, Baghdad, Iraq.
1923. Hamilton, Captain John Claude, R.N., c/o Admiralty, S.W. 1.
1923. Hamilton, J. A. de C., M.C., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Harapvasad, Mahamohopadhyaya, Shastri, C.I.E., F.A.S.B., 44, Nilket Road, Dacca.
1924. Harding, H. J., British Consular Service in China, British Consulate, Tengyueh.
1920. *Hardinge, The Rt. Hon. Sir A., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Coldharbour, West Hoathley, Sussex.
1924. Hardy, Major-General T. H., C.B., I.A. (ret.), 32, Stanhope Gardens, Queen's Gate, S.W.

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1918. Harford, Frederic Dundas, C.V.O., 49, Egerton Gardens, S.W. 3.
1921. Harker, O. Allan, Indian Police, 18, Portsea Place, W. 2.
1921. Harris, F. J., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Harris, Captain L. J., O.B.E., c/o Director of Works, Jerusalem.
1924. Hart, H. G., 63, St. James's Street, S.W.
1920. Haughton, Lieut.-Colonel H. L., 36th Sikhs, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
320 1921. Hauser, Captain S. B., "Gleniffer," Weston-super-Mare, Somerset.
1923. Hawker, Brig.-General C. J., C.M.G., C.B.E., 8, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
1920. Hay, Captain W. R., Assistant Commissioner, Bannu, N.-W.F.P., India.
1922. Haycraft, Sir Thomas Wagstaffe, Chief Justice, Jerusalem, Palestine.
1920. Headley, R. H., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1923. Headley, The Lord, M.I.C.E.I., Ivy Lodge, St. Margaret's, Twickenham.
1924. Heale, Major R. J. W., Political Department, Government of India, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1923. Heath, Miss I. V., 21, Victoria Park, Dover.
1920. Hendley, Major-Gen. H., C.S.I., Hon. Surgeon to H.M. the King, Caxton, near Cambridge.
1922. Henry, Colonel Sir W. D., C.I.E., V.D., 6°, Bickenhall Mansions, W. 1.
1923. Henty, Miss, 62, Inverness Terrace, W. 2.
1924. Higgins, Air Vice-Marshal J. F. A., C.B., D.S.O., 72, Palace Court, W. 8.
1921. Hiles, Major M., O.B.E., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1923. Hill, Sir Claude H. A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1924. Hill, Lieut.-Colonel E. F. J., D.S.O., M.C., R.E., King George's Own Sappers and Miners, Roorkee, U.P., India.
1919. Hill, H. Brian, F.R.G.S., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, Calcutta, India.
1923. Hilleary, Mrs., 2, Tregunter Road, S.W. 10.
1923. Hitchcock, F. C., East Surrey Regt., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1925. Hoare, The Right Hon. Sir Samuel, Air Ministry, Adastral House, Kingsway, W.C.
1924. Hobart, R. C., I.C.S., Fyzabad, U. P., India.
340 1922. Hogarth, D. G., C.M.G., D.Litt., 20, St. Giles, Oxford.
*†Holdich, Colonel Sir Thomas H., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., Parklands, Merrow, Surrey.
1924. Holland, Colonel L., D.S.O., Seaforth and Cameron Brigade, Inverness.
1921. Holt, Major A. L., M.B.E., M.C., R.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

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1922. Holt, Captain V., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1923. Holt, Mrs. A. L., New Victorian Club, 30A, Sackville Street, W. 1.
1923. Hooper, H. G. V., c/o Messrs. Hill Bros. Co., Basrah, Iraq.
1919. Hope, Miss T. M., Crix, Hatfield Peverel, Witham, Essex.
1921. Horridge, J., Haverholme, Bramhall, Cheshire.
1921. Hotson, J. E. B., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Post Box, 93, Bombay.
1920. Houstoun, G. L., The Farm, Kyrenia, Cyprus.
1914. Howard-Bury, Colonel C., M.P., Bath Club, Dover Street, W.
1923. Howell, A. B. B., M.B.E, Sudan Political Service, Khartoum, Sudan.
1908. Howell, E. B., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Athenæum Club, S.W. 1; Waziristan, N.-W.F.P., India.
1924. Howes, E. J., Renton, Beehive Lane, Chelmsford.
1921. Hughes, J. A., M.C., 67, Castletown Road, W. 14.
1923. Hume, Mrs. E. A., 9, St. Leonard's Terrace, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1922. Humphrys, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis H., K.B.E., C.I.E., H.B.M. Minister, Kabul, Afghanistan.
1921. Hunt, Captain J. M., 87th Punjabis, I.A., 17A, Lower Belgrave Street, S.W.
1921. Hunt, Captain W. E., Old Rectory Cottage, Bathampton, Bath.
360 1920. Hunter-Weston, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Aylmer, K.C.B., D.S.O., D.L., M.P., 2, Culford Gardens, S.W. 3; Hunterston, West Kilbride, Ayrshire.

I

1922. Inchcape of Strathnaver, The Right Hon. Viscount, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., 122, Leadenhall Street, E.C. 3.
1924. India, Army Headquarters, Simla.
1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1915. Ingram, Captain E. M. B., Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1922. Ingrams, W. H., Chake Chake, Pembu, Zanzibar.
1922. Ironside, Major-General Sir Edmund, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., The Staff College, Camberley.
1925. Ives, Charles St. John, Mailoor Estate, Kullakamby, Nilgiris, S. India.

J

1923. Jacks, T. L., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1924. Jackson, R. J., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Jacob, General Sir Claud W., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., G.H.Q., Northern Command, Rawalpindi, India.
1922. James, Lieut.-Colonel Hon. Cuthbert, C.B.E., M.P., 3, Ormonde Gate, Chelsea, S.W.
1924. Jaora, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Iftikhar Ali Khan, K.C.I.E., Nawab of Jaora, Central India.
†Jardine, Mrs., 25, Nevern Place, S.W. 5.

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1921. Jardine, R. F., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
*†Jardine, W. E., C.I.E., I.C.S., 25, Nevern Place, S.W. 5.
1924. Jeffery, G. H,, O.B.E., F.S.A., Curator of Ancient Monuments, Cyprus.
1920. Jeffreys, Major J. F. D., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Jelf, Arthur, Malayan C.S., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Jhalawar, H. H. Maharaj Rana Sri Bhawani Singh, Sahib Bahadur of, K.C.I.E., Jhalrapatan, Rajputana.
1924. Jones, D. E., Imperial Ottoman Bank, Baghdad.
1923. Joy, G. A., Port Vila, New Hebrides, Western Pacific.
1921. Joyce, Lieut.-Col. P. C., C.B.E., D.S.O., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

K

1920. Kay, Professor D. M., "Kildonan," St. Andrew's, Fife, N.B.
1924. Keeble, Mrs. Alexander, Mottingsden, Burwash, Sussex.
1920. Keeling, E. H., M.C., United University Club, 1, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.
1924. Keith Roach, Major E., Royal Societies Club, S.W.
1925. Kelly, Major C. H. Harvey, D.S.O., 10th Baluch: Regiment, Military Attaché, British Legation, Kabul.
1913. Kemp, Miss, 26, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
1923. Kemp, Miss Amy, 38, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1921. Kennett, Mrs. Barrington, Remenham, Wraysbury, Bucks.
1921. Kerr, Captain E. Teviott, I.A., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Kettlewell, Captain L., D.S.O., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1924. Khalidi, Ahmed Sameh ibn Sheikh al, Department of Education, Jerusalem.
1924. King, Colonel E. J., C.M.G., F.S.A., The Old House, Finchley.
†King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W. 7.
1922. Kirk, Captain F. C. de L., 1st. Batt. Norfolk Regiment, Bermuda.
1922. Kirkpatrick, Lieut.-General Sir George M., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1., G.O.C.-in-C., Western Command, Quetta, Baluchistan.
1923. Kitching, G. C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Knapton, A. G. H., Rope Hill, Lymington.
1923. Knight, Charles, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Knight, G. E. O., F.R.G.S., 6, Porteus Road, Paddington, W. 2.
1922. Knollys, Lieut.-Colonel Denis E., D.S.O., 19th Punjabis, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.

L

1921. Ladd, W. E., Post Box 39, Baghdad.
1921. Laidlaw, Lieut. R. F. E., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

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1920. Laithwaite, John G., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1922. Lake, Lieut.-Colonel M. C., Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
1923. Lake, Lieut.-General Sir Percy H. N., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1904.†*Lamington, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 11, Lowndes Street, S.W. 1
1923. Lammie, G., M.C., Royal Scots Fusiliers, 21, Queen's Crescent, Edinburgh.
1924. Lampson, Commander G. Locker, C.M.G., D.S.O.,, M.P., House of Commons, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1920. Lane, D. A., R.R. No. 1, St. Anne's, Ontario, Canada.
1921. Lane, Lieut.-Colonel W. B., C.I.E., C.B.E., I.M.S., 2, Reynold's Close, Hampstead Way, N.W. 11.
1924. Lawrence, Sir H. S., K.C.S.I., I.C.S., Bombay.
1921. Lee, W. H., Railways, Shuaibah, Iraq.
1920. Lees, Captain G. Martin, M.C., D.F.C., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Lee-Warner, Captain W. Hamilton, S.S.C.S., Singapore.
1925. Leigh, Lord, 31, Grosvenor Square, W.
1920. Léon, Henri M., Ph.D., LL.D., 8, Taviton Street, Gordon Square, W.C.
1921. Leslie, Lieut. L., Shropshire L.I., The Barracks, Shrewsbury.
420 1922. Lester, G. A., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1922. List, J. N., M.C., A.M.I.C.E., c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Sons, Ludgate Circus, E.C.
1921. Lloyd, Captain H. I., M.C., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Lloyd, Major C. G., C.I.E., M.C., Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1; The Abbey, Penally, Pem.
1908. *Lloyd, The Right. Hon. Sir George A., M.P., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., G.C.S.I., 24, Charles Street, W. 1. M. of C.
1912. Loch, Major P. G., I.A., Political Dept., Government of India, Srinagar, Kashmir.
1921. Loch, Lieut.-Colonel G. H., C.I.E., I.A. (retd.), United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1908. Lockhart, Lady, 187, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1920. Longrigg, Major S. H., Political Officer, Mesopotamia.
1918. Lovett, Major-General Beresford, C.B., C.S.I., Hillside, Harvey Road, Guildford.
1921. Lovett, Sir H. Verney, K.C.S.I., 11, Linton Road, Oxford.
1920. Lowis, H. R., Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.
1921. Lubbock, Brig.-General G., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E., Furze Hill, Marguretting, Essex.
1923. Luke, H. C., Government House, Sierra Leone.
1922. Lumby, Major A. F. Rawson, O.B.E., 69th Punjabis, Army Headquarters, Delhi, India.
1924. Lumsden, Peter, Baghdad.
1909. Lyall, Lieut.-Colonel, R.A., I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Lynch, Stephen, c/o Euphrates and Tigris S.N. Co., 3, Salter's Hall Court, E.C.

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1922. Lynden-Bell, Captain L. A., M.C., 2nd Seaforth Highlanders, Meerut, U.P., India.
1922. Lytton, H.E. the Earl of, Calcutta.

M

1909. *Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E., Les Vaux, St. Saviour's, Jersey, Channel Isles.
1923. McCallum, Major Duncan, 1st Batt. East Yorkshire Regiment, Alexandria.
1923. McCann, Captain A. G. H., I.A., 10/188 Madras Pioneers, Bangalore, S. India.
1922. M'Cleverty, Major P. H., 2/14 Punjab Regiment, I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1925. McConaghy, Miss M. B., Jaffa, Palestine.
1915. McCoy, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 67, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.
1922. Macdonald, Lieut.-Colonel F., I.A. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1923. McDonell, A. R., Royal Auto Club, Pall Mall, S.W, 1.
1925. MacGeagh, Colonel H. D. Foster, C.B.E., T.D., K.C., Conservative Club, S.W. 1.
1923. McGovern, W. M., Ph.D., c/o British Exploration Syndicate, 1-18, Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Circus, E.C. 4.
1921. McGrath, Lieut.-Colonel A. T., D.S.O., 28, Wilton Place, S.W.
1920. McGrath, Mrs. (Rosita Forbes), 28, Wilton Place, S.W.
1924. MacGregor, Flight-Lieut. A., D.F.C., c/o Messrs. M. Macgregor and Co., 3, Coates Crescent, Edinburgh.
1920. MacGregor, Lady, Hampton Court Palace, Hampton Court.
1924. MacGregor, R. M., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1922. Machray, Robert, 37, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W. 7.
1921. McIntyre, Captain H. M. J., I.A., c/o Lloyds Bank, Cox's Branch, Rawalpindi, N.-W.F.P., India.
1921. Mackarness, H. J. C., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Mackenzie, Lady M. M. Owen, 6, Chesham Street, S.W. 1. Brantham Court, Suffolk.
1923. Mackenzie, J. M., M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1923. Mackenzie, K., Government Bookshop, Dept. of Education, Baghdad.
1920. Mackie, J. B., Castle Cary, Somerset.
1921. Mackintosh, C. A. G., Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1; Gezira Gardens, Cairo.
1924. Maclaine, Major R. G., M.C., Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1922. MacMichael, H. A., c/o Civil Secretary, Khartoum.
1924. McMunn, Major-General Sir George, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., Naval and Military Club, 94, Picadilly, W.
1922. Maconochie, R. R., I.C.S., British Legation, Kabul.
1920. Macpherson, C. F., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Gray, Mackenzie and Co., Basra.

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1923. Macquoid, Brig.-General C. E. K., C.I.E., D.S.O., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1924. McRoberts, B. A. K., Zanzibar, E. Africa.
1924. Maffey, Sir John, K.C.V.O., C.S.I., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. M. of C.
1923. Makant, Mrs., Gilnow Lodge, Bolton, Lancs.
1903. *Malcolm, Major-General Sir Neill, K.C.B., D.S.O., Singapore, S.S. M. of C.
1921. Malleson, Major-General Sir Wilfrid, K.C.I.E., C.B., Foxhurst, Ashvale, Surrey.
1922. Mann, Alexander, 64, Lancaster Gate, W. 2.
1922. Mann, J. S., Hazeldene, South Hill, Bromley.
1920. Marling, Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., British Embassy, The Hague.
1920. Marrs, Major R., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Marshall, Justice J. E., Egyptian National Court of Appeal, Zamaleh, Gezira, Cairo.
1923. Martin, Lieut. R., Royal Irish Regiment, c/o Bank of Dublin, Ireland.
480 1920. Massy, Col. P. H., C.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall.
1923. Mather, Norman F. H., Malay C. S., Singapore.
1920. Mathieson, Wilfred, Minchinhampton, Glos.
1920. May, Major W. R. S., C.I.E., Conservative Club, S.W.
1912. Medlicott, Lieut.-Colonel H., Cavalry Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1923. Medlicott, J. H., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Mellor, Donald, 25, Dault Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W. 18.
1920. *Michell, Roland, C.M.G., 22, Lansdowne Crescent, W. 11.
1923. Millar, Captain A. B., 2/13 Frontier Force Rifles, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Bombay, India.
1920. Millard, W. S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.
1924. Miller, Miss M. M., 6, Sussex Place, W.
1922. Mills, E., Royal Societies' Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
1922. Milne, J. L., c/o Messrs. Shaw, Wallace and Co., Post Box 70, Calcutta.
1922. Milnes-Gaskell, The Lady Constance, 47, Pont Street, S.W.
1924. Mirza Muhammad, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., Basra.
1922. Moberly, Brig.-General F. J., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., p.c.s., Historical Section, Committee of Imperial Defence, 2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.
1920. Mocatta, Major V. E., O.B.E., 14th Hussars, 31, Great Cumberland Place, W.
1922. Moens, Colonel A. M., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., c/o India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1920. Molony, Wm. O'Sullivan, c/o League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.
1923. Monckton, Captain A. W., 12, The Beach, Walmer, Kent.
500 1921. *Monro, General Sir C. C., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., A.D.C.Gen., Gibraltar.

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1924. Montagu of Beaulieu, The Lord, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Beaulieu, Hants.
1920. Monteath, D. Taylor, O.B.E., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1921. Monteath, G., I.C.S., Buckerell Lodge, Honiton, Devon.
1922. Montgomery, Major-General Sir A. A., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Pitchford Hall, Shropshire.
1903. *Moon, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. 7. Vice-President.
1921. Moore, Captain J. H., Walton Grange, Swindon, Wilts.
1920. More, Major J. C., D.S.O., 51st Sikhs (F.F.), Political Agency, Kuwait, Persian Gulf.
1920. Morison, Sir Theodor, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Principal, Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
1922. Morland, Major W. E. T., D.S.O., M.C., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall.
1922. Morrison, A. B., c/o Messrs. Shaw, Wallace and Co., Bombay.
1923. Morshead, Major H. T., D.S.O., R.E., Survey of India, c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1925. Morton, Miss A. Anderson, 410, Elm Tree Mansions, N.W.
1921. Mousley, Captain E. O., R.F.A., Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Muir, Mrs., Whipp's Cross Hospital, Leytonstone, E. 11.
1920. Mules, Sir Chas., C.S.I., M.V.O., O.B.E., 29, Bramham Gardens, S.W. 5.
1920. Mumm, Arnold L., F.R.G.S., 112, Gloucester Terrace, W. 2.
1924. Munro, Air Commodore D., C.B., C.I.E., Air Ministry, Kingsway.
1921. Murphy, Lieut.-Colonel C. C. R., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.; 14, Norfolk Road, Littlehampton.
†Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W. 1.
520 1920. Murray, Major S. G. C., C.I.E., I.A., Agra, U.P., India.
1921. Muspratt, Colonel S. F., C.S.I., D.S.O., A.D.C., 12th Cavalry, I.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1924. Muzahim Beg Pachachi, Ministry of Works, Baghdad.
1915. Mylne, Miss Nina, Blenheim Cottage, Nuffield, Henley-on-Thames.
1916. Mysore, The Hon. the Resident, Bangalore, S. India.

N

1923. Nairn, Norman, Nairn Transport Co., Box 262, Beyrout.
1922. Nalder, L. F., C.B.E., C.I.E., Savile Club, 107, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Napier, Major A. Harper, I.M.S., Civil Surgeon, Muzufferpur, India.
1921. Nariman, R. K., M.I.C.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1925. Nashet, Sabih Beg, Karrada, Baghdad.

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1924. **Neilson**, E. F., Indian Police, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1924. **Nesbitt**, Major F. G. Beaumont, M.C., Grenadier Guards, 56, Rutland Gate, S.W.
1924. **Newstead**, W. Cameron, M.C., West Yorkshire Regiment.
1921. **Newton**, Mrs. Frances E., 156, Sloane Street, S.W. 1.
1922. **Nicolson**, Major the Hon. F. A., M.C., 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1922. **Nightingale**, Brig.-General M. R. W., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1923. **Noble**, Mrs.
1920. **Noel**, Major E., C.I.E., D.S.O. (Political Dept. Govt. of India), Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. **Noel**, Major J. B. L., c/o Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, S.W. 1.
1920. **Noone**, H. V. V., c/o Messrs. R. G. Shaw and Co., Winchester House, Old Broad Street, E.C. 3.
540 1921. **Norbury**, Major P. F., D.S.O., I.A., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. **Norris**, Rear-Admiral David, C.B., C.M.G., R.N., Semington, Sherborne.
1921. **Northcote**, D. S., 23, Royal Avenue, Chelsea.
1925. **Nour**, Thabet Abdu, Baghdad.
1924. **Nunn**, R. L. H., 138, Coleherne Court, S.W. 5.

O

1922. **Oatway**, Captain S. H., 93rd Burma Infantry, c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.
1923. **O'Callaghan**, T. P. M., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. **Ockelford**, C. E., 162, Cromwell Road, S.W. 7.
1921. **O'Connor**, Captain R. L., c/o Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1906. **O'Connor**, Lieut.-Colonel W. F. T., C.S.I., C.I.E., R.A., British Legation, Nepal, India.
1922. **Oddie**, Philip, M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. **O'Dwyer**, Sir Michael F., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., 26, Brechin Place, S.W. 7. Vice-President.
1923. **O'Leary**, Rev. de L., Christ Church Vicarage, Redfield, Bristol.
1921. **Olver**, Lieut.-Colonel A., C.B., C.M.G., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mill, Holt and Co., Whitehall Place, S.W.
1923. **Ormonde**, Charles, 10, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C. 4.
1920. *__Ormsby-Gore__, Hon. W. G. A., J.P., D.L., F.R.G.S., M.P., 5, Mansfield Street, Cavendish Square, W. 1.
1924. **Orred**, J. A., 37, Sloane Gardens, S.W.
1922. **Osmond**, Captain W. R. Fiddes, R.A., Judge Advocate General's Department, War Office; United University Club, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.
1921. **Outlaw**, Captain W. H., 40, Charles Street, Berkhamstead.
1923. **Owen**, Captain Fenwick, 16, Prince's Gardens, S.W. 1.

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P

1920. Parker, Lieut.-Col. A. C., D.S.O., Governor of Sinai Peninsula, Arîsh, Sinai.
1920. Parr, E. Robert, Black Birches, Hadnall, Shrewsbury.
1925. Paterson, Dr. J., Civil Surgeon, Mosul.
1908. Payne, Mrs. Wood, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.
1922. Peake Bey, Inspector-General of Gendarmerie, Amman, Transjordan.
1920. Pearce, Captain M. Channing, Montagu House, Ramsgate.
1921. Pedder, Captain G. R.
1921. Peek, Sir Wilfrid, Bart., D.S.O., 5, Eastcheap, E.C. 3.
1922. Peel, E. G. B., C.I.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1924. Peel, The Hon. Doris, 52, Grosvenor Street, W.
†Peel, The Right Hon. Viscount, G.B.E., 52, Grosvenor Street, W. 1. Chairman of Council.
1907. Pemberton, Col. E. St. Clair, R.E. (ret.), Pyrland Hall, Taunton.
*†Penton, Sir E., K.B.E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. 1. Hon. Treasurer.
†Perowne, Lieut.-Col. J. T. Woolrych, 32, Lowndes Square, S.W.
1924. Perry, Dr. Lionel B., c/o Director of Health, Baghdad.
1919. Philby, H. St. John, C.I.E., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Phillips, Miss L. B., 9, Rosslyn Mansions, S. Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1923. Phillips, Major W. A., O.B.E., 22, Hans Crescent, S.W. 1.
1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, N.W. 1.
1920. Pickthall, C. M., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Pickthall, Mrs. W. M., Ladies' Army and Navy Club, Burlington Gardens, W. 1.
*†Picot, Lieut.-Colonel H. P., Indian Army (ret.), 22, Rosary Gardens, S.W., Junior United Service Club, S.W.
1924. Pigot, Captain G., M.C., 1st Batt. Punjab Regiment, Junior United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Pitcairn, G. D., White Cottage, Amport, Andover.
1923. Pitkeathly, J. S., C.V.O., C.I.E., C.B.E., D.S.O., Simla, India.
1920. Platt, Sir T. Comyn, 47, Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.
1920. Popham, Lieut.-Colonel E. Leyborne, D.S.O., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Bombay.
1923. Postance, Captain J. F. A., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1925. Powell, Major-General Sir C. H., K.C.B., I.A. (ret.), The Lower House, Wickham.
1924. Press, Edward, c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, Alexandria.
1924. Preston, Lieut.-Colonel W. J. P., D.S.O., I.A. (ret.), 34, Carlyle Mansions, S.W.

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1922. **Price,** Brig.-Gen. C. H. Uvedale, C.B., D.S.O., I.A. (ret.), The Mount, Winterbourne, Nr. Bristol.
1921. **Prichard,** J., Judicial Department, Baghdad; Wick, Glamorganshire, Wales.
1924. **Prideaux,** Lieut.-Colonel F. B., British Residency, Bushire, Persian Gulf.
1921. **Prior,** Mrs. Upton, Eaton Grange, Cobham.

Q

1910. **Qaiyum,** Sir Abdul, Khan Bahadur Sahibzada, K.C.I.E., Abbottabad, India.
1924. **Queenborough,** The Lord, 39, Berkeley Square, W.

R

1924. **Radley,** Major H. P., M.C., 2nd Punjab Regiment, I.A. c/o Lloyd's Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1923. **Rae,** Major M. E., I.A., 9, Drummond Place, Edinburgh.
1923. **Raglan,** The Lord, 41, St. George's Road, S.W.
600 1921. **Ralston,** Lieut.-Colonel W. H., 47th Sikhs, c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.
1920. **Rawlinson,** General The Lord, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., Commander-in-Chief, India.
1923. **Raynor,** R., Tingewick Rectory, Buckingham.
1923. **Read,** A., M.B.E., 101, Leadenhall Street, E.C. 3.
1921. **Ready,** Major-General F. F., C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. **Redl,** Lieut.-Colonel E. A. F., C.M.G., C.I.E., The Sycamores, Newick, Sussex; Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1924. **Reed,** Flight-Lieut. G. S., C.B.E., Air Headquarters, British Force in Iraq, Baghdad.
1924. **Reid,** Miles B., 119, Church Street, S.W. 3.
1923. **Reilly,** Major B. R., Bombay Political Service, c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. **Relton,** T. L., Little Manor, Whyteleaf, Surrey.
1924. **Rennie,** E. A., M.V.O., British Legation, Helsingfors, Finland.
1924. **Rennie,** F. P., C.I.E., 58, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1920. **Reynardson,** Capt. H. Birch, 1st Oxford and Bucks L.I., 2, Devonshire Terrace, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1924. **Rice,** D. Talbot, Oddington House, Moreton in Marsh, Gloucestershire.
1922. **Richards,** Captain E. I. G., Army Educational Corps, School of Education, Wellington, S. India.
1912. **Richmond,** Mrs. Bruce, 3, Sumner Place, S.W.
1923. **Ridding,** Miss.
1922. **Ridge-Jones,** I., M.C., Health Directorate, Ministry of Interior, Baghdad.
1919. **Ridgeway,** Col. R. Kirby, V.C., C.B., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

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1904. Ridgeway, Rt. Hon. Sir West, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., LL.D., etc., 37, Threadneedle Street, E.C.

620 1921. Rivett-Carnac, Captain H. G., I.A., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1924. Robb, Squadron-Leader J. M., 30 Squadron R.A.F., Baghdad.

1923. Robert, Captain V. G., M.B.E., M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1924. Roberts, Lieut.-Colonel Sir James, C.I.E., I.M.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.

1921. Robertson, Field-Marshal Sir William R., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., D.S.O., etc., 88, Westbourne Terrace, W. 2.

1923. Robertson, Sir Benjamin, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

1920. Robinson, Major F. A., M.C., R.A.M.C., The Vicarage, Holme on Spalding Moor, Yorks.

1924. Robson, Lady, 26, Eaton Square, S.W.

1922. Roche, The Lady, Parkwell, Clewer Green, Berks.

1920. Rodd, Lieut.-Colonel W. J. P., D.S.O., R.A.O.C., Union Club, Malta.

1924. Rogers, Sidney H., The Red Cottage, Laleham, Middlesex.

*†Ronaldshay, The Right Hon. The Earl of, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Snelsmore House, Newbury. Vice-President.

1920. Rooker, S. K., M.C., Le Mailly, Versoix, Geneva.

1914. Rose, Archibald, C.I.E., Church Manor, Bishop's Stortford.

1924. Ross, George, 7, Recreation Road, Sydenham.

1922. Royds, Rear-Admiral Percy, C.B., C.M.G., R.N., 20, Chelsea Park Gardens, S.W. 3.

1921. Rundle, Captain C. A. Grant, M.C., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.

1925. Russell, J. G., c/o 30 Squadron R.A.F., Kirkuk.

1922. Ruthven, Colonel Hon. A. G. Hore, V.C., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Cavalry Club, Piccadilly, W.

1920. Rynd, Major F. F., D.S.O., R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

S

640 1924. Salvesen, Captain H. K., I.A., New College, Oxford.

1923. Samuel, Miss M. Sylvester, 19, Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.

†Sandbach, Major-General A. E., C.B., D.S.O., R.E. (ret.), Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.

1923. Sandeman Major D., Q. V. O. Corps of Guides, Peshawar, India.

1923. Sandison, Lieut.-Colonel J. F. W., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1925. Sassoon, Mrs. S. J., 51, Westbourne Terrace, W. 2.

1923. Saunders, G., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1923. Scarlett, Major Hon. P. G., M.C., War Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.

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1923. Schofield, Mrs. W. H., East Hill, Peterborough, New Hampshire, U.S.A.
1922. Scott, Lieut.-Colonel Norman, C.I.E., I.M.S. (ret.), c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.
1924. Sellers, H., Public Works Department, Baghdad.
1922. Seton, Sir Malcolm, K.C.B., 26, Upper Park Road, N.W. 3.
1920. Shakespear, Lieut.-Colonel J., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., 414, Clive Court, W. 9.
1920. Shakespear, Col. L. Waterfield, C.B., C.I.E., Sutton Cottage, Sutton Valence, Kent.
1923. Shakespear, Lieut.-Colonel W. F., I.A. (ret.), Auckland, New Zealand.
1921. Shepherd, Miss E., 122, Oakwood Court, W. 14.
1922. Sheppard, Sir William D., K.C.I.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Shuttleworth, Colonel Commandant D. I., C.B., C.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1919. Silberrad, C. A., I.C.S., Forest Side, Epping.
1920. Simpson, J. Alexr., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
660 1921. Simpson, B. Lenox, c/o British Legation, Peking, China.
1921. Sinclair, Major R., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1923. Sinderson, Dr. H. C., New General Hospital, Baghdad.
1923. Skinner, Major-General Sir P. Cyriac., K.B.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., "Thornton," Burke's Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
1924. Skliros, J., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1922. Skrine, Clarmont Perceval, I.C.S., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Skrine, F. H., C.S.I., 147, Victoria Street, S.W.
1920. Slater, Captain A., I.A.R.O., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Slater, Mrs. E. M., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, W. 1.
1925. Slater, S. H., C.M.G., C.I.E., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1924. Smart, Miss D., Naval and Military Hotel, Harrington Road, S.W. 7.
1920. Smith, A. L. F., M.V.O., Balliol College, Oxford.
1924. Smith, Lieut.-Colonel A. A., 11, King's Bench Walk, Inner Temple, E.C.
1923. Smith, W. Donald, 10, Buchanan Terrace, Paisley, Scotland.
1922. Snelling, Captain C. G., I.A., Indian Political Dept., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Spencer, Dr. Gordon, Royal Hospital, Baghdad.
1922. Spencer, Hugh, C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret.), 5, Clifton Gardens, W. 9.
1916. Spranger, John Alfred, 2nd. Lieut. R.E., 4, Via Michele, Florence, Italy.
1920. Stanham, Major H. F., R.A., Chieveley, Newbury.

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1923. Stanley, Captain Douglas Richard, 3/2 Bombay Pioneers, I.A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Bombay.
1921. Starkie, Mrs. Maud, 3, Aldford Street, Park Lane, W. 1.
1923. STAVELEY, Rear-Admiral C. M., C.B., C.M.G., R.N., United Service Club, S.W. M. of C.
1923. Steel, Colonel R. A., C.M.G., C.I.E., The Red House, Wateringbury, Maidstone.
1909. Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Superintendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, N.-W.F. Province, India; Stein Collection, British Museum, Bloomsbury.
1921. Stephen, Major F. W., M.C., Royal Societies Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1920. STEPHENSON, G. C., 99, Inverness Terrace, W. 2. M. of C. Hon. Sec.
1921. Stevenson, Lieut.-Colonel K. L., R.A.O.C., G.H.Q., Ordnance Depôt, York.
1920. Stewart, C. W., 3, Newburgh Road, Acton.
1923. Stewart, F. W., M.C., Koraput, Vizapatam, Madras.
1923. Stewart, S. F., C.I.E., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1923. Stilwell, J. G., Hilfield, Yateley, Hants.
1907. *Stokes, Colonel C. B., C.I.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Stone, Sir J. H., C.I.E., 39, Roland Gardens, S.W. 1.
1921. Storrs, Mrs. F. E., 65, Chester Square, S.W. 1.
1924. Strover, Major E. J., 20th Burma Rifles, I.A., The Staff College, Camberley.
1921. Sutton, Major-General H. C., C.B., C.M.G., Royal Hospital, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1921. Swan, L. M., c/o Ministry of Finance, Baghdad.
1920. Sydenham, The Rt. Hon. Lord, of Combe, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., etc., The Priory, Lamberhurst, Kent.
1920. Sykes, Lady, Sledmere, Malton.
*†Sykes, Miss Ella, 26, St. George's Court, S.W. 7.
1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., 29, Trevor Square, Knightsbridge, S.W. 7.
1904. Sykes, H. R., Lydham Manor, Bishop's Castle, Shropshire.
1907. Sykes, Brigadier-General Sir Percy M., K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

T

1921. Tainsh, Lieut.-Col. J. R., Railway Directorate, Baghdad.
1922. Talbot, Colonel F., 40, Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W. 7.
1920. Talbot, Colonel the Hon. G. Milo, C.B., Bifrons, Canterbury.
1903. Tanner, Miss, 8, Cavendish Place, Bath.
1920. Tatton, R. Grey, 2, Somers Place, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1924. Teague, Captain John, M.C., Air Headquarters, Baghdad.
1919. Teichman, Eric, C.I.E., Sitka, Chislehurst, Kent; British Legation, Peking, China.
1920. Temple, Lt.-Col. Sir Richard, Bart., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

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1922. **Tennant**, Hon. Mrs., St. Anne's Manor, Sutton, Loughborough.
1922. **Thomas**, Captain B. S., O.B.E., Muscat, Persian Gulf.
1905. **Thomas**, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. **Thomas**, Captain H. Prichard, O.B.E., 126th Baluchistan Regt., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. **Thomas**, Major E. C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. **Thomas**, Roger, Agricultural Directorate, Baghdad.
1924. **Thomas**, The Right Hon. H. J., House of Commons, S.W.1.
1922. **Thompson**, Major David, 15th Lancers, I.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1; Military Attaché, British Consulate, Meshed.
1920. **Thomson**, J. S., I.C.S., Greenham Common, Newbury.
720 1921. *__Thomson__, Major-General Sir W. M., K.C.M.G., C.B., M.C., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W; Army Headquarters, Calcutta.
1924. **Thomson**, Mrs. Green, Bridekirk, Cockermouth, Cumberland.
1924. **Thomson**, The Right Hon. Lord, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1919. **Thorburn**, Major H. Hay, c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Bombay.
1921. **Thornton**, Lieut.-Col. C. E., C.M.G., 16th Cavalry, I.A., (ret.), The Heath, Hindhead, Surrey.
1922. **Thorpe**, Miss M., 25, Pembridge Gardens, Notting Hill Gate, W. 11.
1922. **Thuillier**, Major L. C., I.A. (Survey of India), c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.
1908. **Tod**, Colonel J. K., C.M.G., Standlynch, Four Marks, Hants.
1921. **Todd**, Captain H. I., Political Department, Government of India, Quetta, Baluchistan.
1921. **Tomlinson**, A. G., c/o Messrs. Hills Bros. Co., Basra, Persian Gulf.
1921. **Tozer**, P. H. S., Junior Constitutional Club, Piccadilly.
1920. **Trench**, Rev. A. C., M.C., Chaplain's Office, Bolarun, Deccan, India.
1920. **Trott**, Captain A. C., 5th Devon Regt., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1919. **Trotter**, Lady, 18, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
1922. **Trotter**, Miss Angela, 18, Eaton Place, S.W.
1922. **Trotter**, Miss Jacqueline, 18, Eaton Place, S.W.
1908. *__Tucker__, A. L P., C.I.E., The Lodge, Overton, Ellesmere.
1923. **Turner**, Colonel A. J., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.A., Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.
1921. **Tweedie**, Mrs. Alec, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W. 1.
1920. **Tyler**, H. H. F., C.I.E., I.C.S., c/o Imperial Bank of India, Madras.

V

740 1905. **Vanderbyl**, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W. 1
1920. **Varma**, Raj Kumar N. Chandra Deb, Comilla, Tipperah, India.

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1924. Vaughan, Major-General Sir Louis, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O., Commandant, Central Provinces, Mhow, India.
1911. Vaughan, Mrs., The Marches, Willowbrook, Eton.
1922. Venning, E. G., East India United Service Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
1922. Vickery, Lieut.-Colonel C. E., C.M.G., D.S.O., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Vincent, Sir William, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Vivian, Major V., C.B.E., c/o Lloyds Bank (King's Branch), 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

W

1923. Wakely, L. D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Waley, A., Alderhurst, Englefield Green, Surrey.
1922. Waley, R. P. S., Royal West Kents, Alderhurst, Englefield Green, Surrey.
1921. Waley, Captain E. G. S., 14, Oxford Square, W. 2.
1923. Walker, Colonel Sir James, C.I.E., V.D., 7, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1924. Walker, W. Seymour, c/o Anglo-Persian Oil Co., 23, Great Winchester Street, E.C.
1921. Wallace, Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Willoughby, 209, Ashley Gardens, S.W. 1.
1921. Wallace, Mrs. E. F., c/o Messrs. Smythe and Co., 40, Queen Street, E.C.
1920. Waller, Major A. G., I.A., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1911. Waller-Sawyer, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W.
1923. Wallis, Captain C., I.A., Q. V. O. Corps of Guides, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Walpole, C. A., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
760 1923. Wanklyn, Mrs., 3, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1922. Wapshare, Lieut.-General Sir Richard, K.C.B., C.S.I., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Warburton, H. G., I.C.S. (ret.), Holmesdale, Fleet, Hants.
1920. Ward, Captain F. Kingdon, F.R.G.S., c/o Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, S.W. 7.
1921. Ward, Colonel J. S., C.I.E., D.S.O., M.B.E., Port Director, Basra.
1920. Ward, W. R., O.B.E., c/o Imperial Bank of Persia, 33, King William Street, E.C.
1905. Watson, Lt.-Col. John William, I.M.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay Groome and Co., Bombay.
1920. Watson, Sir Logie P., c/o Messrs. Cooper, Allen and Co., Cawnpore, India.
1921. Watson-Armstrong, Captain W. J. M., Post Office, Irvine's Landing, Pender Harbour, B.C.
1921. Webb, Captain W. F., attd. Indian Political Dept., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.; Tonk, N.W.F.P., India.

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1924. **Webber**, G. H. S., I.A., Mhow, Central Provinces, India.
1924. **Webster**, Captain P. L. C., I. A., 2, New Square, Lincoln's Inn.
1920. **Webb**-Ware, Lieut.-Col. F., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., West Hill, Castletown, Isle of Man.
1921. **Weir**, Major J. L. R., Indian Political Dept., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. **Weldon**, Captain S. W., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. **Wellcome**, Henry S., 6, Gloucester Gate, Regent's Park, N.W., and Khartoum.
1923. **Wells**, Lieut.-Colonel R. P. Collings, D.S.O., O.B.E., 20, Cambridge Street, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1920. **Wheat**ley, H., Government Quinine Factory, Naduvatam, India.
1923. **Wheel**er, Captain G. E., I.A., c/o Lloyds Bank, Hornby Road, Bombay.
†**Whit**bred, S. H., 11, Mansfield Street, W. 1.
780 1920. **White**horne, Captain Cecil, M.C., The Welch Regiment, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.
1922. **Whitt**al, Major G., M.C., 52nd L.I., Rawalpindi, India.
1923. **Whitt**al, F. E., c/o Messrs. T. W. Whittal and Co., Constantinople.
1923. **Whit**well, Mrs., 18, Harford Street, Park Lane, W. 1.
1922. **Wick**ham, Captain E. T. R., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1922. **Wight**wick, Major H. M., Bombay Political Service, c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. **Wigram**, Rev. Dr. W. A., Watling House, St. Albans.
1923. **Wilber**force-Bell, Major H., I.A., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. **Wilkin**son, Captain L. C. R., R.A., c/o Lloyds Bank (R.A. Branch), 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. **Willcox**, Colonel Sir W. H., K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., F.R.C.P., 40, Welbeck Street, W. 1.
1921. **Williams**, Robert, 35, Prince's Gardens, S.W. 7; Park House, Drumoak, Aberdeenshire.
1922. **Williams**, Dr. H., 9, Tite Street, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1921. **Williams**, Captain L., O.B.E., Ashways, Chislehurst Road, Bickley, Kent.
1925. **Williamson**, F., I.C.S., Political Department, Government of India, Gyantse, Tibet.
1921. **Williamson**, Captain H., I.M.S., 1, Church Road, Rangoon, Burma.
1924. **Williamson**, Major H. N. Hedworth, D.S.O., M.C., R.F.A., Neemuch, Central India.
1923. **Williamson**, R. H., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. **Willoughby**, Brig.-Gen. M. E., C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1924. **Wilmer**, Lieut.-Colonel Worthington, 2nd Somerset L.I., Agra, U.P., India.

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1916. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel James Alban, D.S.O., Galloway House, West Burton, Aysgarth.

800 1924. Wilson, J. M.., Director of Public Works, Baghdad.

1920. Wilson, Lieut.-Col. Sir Arnold T., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.; Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.

1920. Wilson, Major W. C. F., I.A., Mesopotamian C. S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament St., S.W. 1.

1921. Wilson, W., New Oxford and Cambridge Club, Stratton Street, W. 1.

1923. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel The Right Hon. Leslie, C.M.G., D.S.O., Government House, Bombay.

1923. Wimshurst, C. R., Tibbs Court, Brenchley, Kent.

1920. *Wingate, General Sir Reginald, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., etc., Knockenhair, Dunbar. Vice-President.

1924. Wingate, R. E. L., I.C.S., Rajputana Agency Camp, India.

1922. Winterton, The Earl, 4, Wilton Street, Grosvenor Place, S.W. 1.

1924. Winton, Brig.-General C. de, C.M.G., The Mill Cottage, Dess S.O., Aberdeenshire.

1921. Wishart, G., Muirbrow, Hamilton, N.B.

1924. Witts, Captain F., D.S.O., M.C., R.E., c/o War Office, S.W.

1923. Wood, Lieut.-Colonel H., c/o Lloyds Bank (R.E. Branch), 6, Pall Mall, S.W.

1923. Woodman, G. S., Royal Hospital, Baghdad.

1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

1923. Worth, Captain J. G., 1st Yemen Infantry.

1918. Worthington, A. B. Bayley, Town Thorns, Rugby.

1923. Wratislaw, A. C., C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E., 13, York House, Kensington, W. 8.

1925. Wren, M. F., Reform Club, S.W.

1921. Wright, Captain S. A., M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

820 1922. Wright, Colonel G., C.B.E., D.S.O., R.A. (ret.), United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

1923. Wright, John Laird, c/o Anglo-Persian Oil Co., Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.

1925. Wright, Major A. B., Assistant Secretary, Government Offices, Cyprus.

1923. Wright, Miss N., Willingham, Market Rasen, Lincolnshire.

1924. Wylie, F. V., I.C.S., Political Department, Mardan, N.-W.F.P., India.

1922. Wynn, Wing-Commander W. E., O.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

Y

*†Yate, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal, Shropshire. Vice-President.

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1905. *Yate, Colonel Sir Charles E., Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.L., M.P., 17, Prince of Wales Terrace, W. 8. Vice-President.
1923. Yerbrugh, Captain Guy, O.B.E., Irish Guards, 27, Prince's Gate, S.W. 7.
1923. Yetts, Major L. M., M.C., James House, Hadlow, Kent.
1916. Yorke, Mrs. R. F., F.R.G.S., M.R.I., F.R.S.A., Ladies' Carlton Club, Chesterfield Gardens, W. 1.
1922. Younan, Lieut.-Colonel A. C., I.M.S., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1918. Young, General H. G., C.I.E., D.S.O., etc., Tobercooran, Carnmoney, Co. Antrim, Ireland.
1924. Young, J. W. A., c/o Orthodox Patriarchate, Post Box 612, Jerusalem.
*†Younghusband, Lieut.-Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Currant Hill, Westerham. M. of C.

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N.B.—Members are requested to send changes of address to the Society's offices, 74, Grosvenor Street, W., and are asked to send any necessary corrections for the above list.

Members home on leave are asked to apply for lecture cards if they have not already received them.

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RULES

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

1. The Central Asian Society was founded in 1901 for the encouragement of interest in Central Asia by means of lectures, the reading of papers, and discussions.

2. Persons who desire to join the Society shall be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and shall then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible.

3. The Secretary shall in all cases inform Members of their election.

4. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be £1.

5. The Council shall have power to remit subscriptions in special cases in which such remission shall appear expedient.

6. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually, but if the election takes place in November or December, the second annual payment will not become due till the expiration of the succeeding year; thus if a person be elected in November, his second subscription will not be due till the second January following.

7. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall make the payment due thereon within two calendar months after the date of election, or if abroad within six months after election; otherwise the election shall be void unless the Council in any particular case shall extend the period within which such payments are to be made.

8. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the tenth day of January in each year; and in case the same shall not be paid by the end of the month, the Treasurer or Secretary shall be authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Treasurer shall apply by letter to those Members who are in arrear. If the arrears be not discharged by the 1st of January following such application the Member's name as a defaulter shall be suspended in the meeting room, and due notice be given to the Member in question of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing, when, if the subscription be not paid, the defaulter will cease to be a Member of the Society.

9. A Member, who is not in arrears, may at any time resign his membership by notice in writing, but such notice of resignation must reach the Secretary before the 1st of January, otherwise the subscription for the current year will be payable.

10. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolu-

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tion of the Council, until he has paid up all his arrears of subscription; failing this he will be considered as a defaulter, and dealt with in accordance with Rule 8.

11. The Officers of the Society shall be: (1) The President, (2) the Chairman of the Council, (3) eight Vice-Presidents, (4) the Honorary Treasurer, (5) the Honorary Secretary (or Secretaries), (6) and the Honorary Librarian, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be an Assistant Secretary.

12. The Chairman shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for one year from the date of his election. He shall be eligible for re-election on the expiration of his tenure of office.

13. The President shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for five years, and shall be eligible for re-election. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for four years. Two shall retire annually by rotation, and not be eligible for re-election as such until after the expiration of one year. They are eligible on retirement for re-election on the Council.

13*a*. The Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary (or Secretaries), and the Honorary Librarian, shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, for two years, and are eligible for re-election.

14. The Assistant Secretary shall hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

15. The Chairman, as head of the Society, shall have the general supervision of its affairs. He will preside at Meetings of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees, and may at any time summon a Meeting of the Council.

16. The Honorary Treasurer shall receive all moneys, and shall account for them. He shall not make any payments (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees. He shall exercise a general supervision over the expenditure of the Society, and shall prepare and submit to the Auditors at the expiration of each year a statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the period in question. All cheques must be signed by him, or in his absence by any Member of the Council acting for him.

17. The Honorary Secretary shall, in the absence of the Chairman, exercise a general control over the affairs of the Society, and shall, ex officio, be a Member of Council and of all Committees.

18. The Honorary Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the

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Society and of the Council and record their proceedings. He shall conduct the correspondence and attend to the general business of the Society, and shall attend at the Rooms of the Society at such times as the Council may direct. He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject to the general control of the Council. He shall be competent on his own responsibility to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the amount of Five Pounds shall, except in cases of great urgency, be submitted for approval to the Council before payment. He shall have the charge, under the general direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

18(*a*). The Honorary Librarian shall be responsible for the Library, and shall recommend to the Council such books as he considers the Society should acquire, and such as shall be reviewed in the Society's *Journal*

19. The Assistant Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Hon. Secretary, and if at any time the latter is prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Assistant Secretary shall act in his absence; but in the case of prolonged absence the Council shall have power to make such special arrangements as may at the time be considered expedient.

20. There shall be a Council consisting of the Vice-Presidents and twelve Members of the Society, exclusive of the Chairman but inclusive of the Honorary Officers of the Society.

21. The Members of Council as aforesaid shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the Chairman in Council, subject to any amendment of which due notice has been given, as provided in Rule 23.

22. There shall be prepared and forwarded to every Member in Great Britain, together with the notice as to the Anniversary Meeting, a list containing the names of persons so nominated to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, together with any other names, should they be proposed and seconded by other Members, a week's notice being given to the Secretary. The List of Members nominated as aforesaid shall be first put to the Meeting, and, if carried, the amendments (if any) shall not be put.

23. Of the Members of Council other than those referred to in Rules 12 and 13—*i.e.*, the Officers—three shall retire annually by seniority. They shall be eligible for re-election.

24. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or other Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

25. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held not less than once a month from November to June inclusive.

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26. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned under the sanction of the Chairman, or in his absence by a circular letter from the Secretary.

27. Three Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

28. At Meetings of Council the Chair shall be taken by the Chairman, and in his absence the Senior Member present shall take the Chair. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have the casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

29. Committees may be appointed by the Council to report on specific questions, and unless otherwise stated three shall form a quorum. Such Committees shall be authorized to consult persons not members of the Society.

30. Ordinary General Meetings are for hearing and discussing papers and for addresses, but no resolutions other than votes of thanks for papers read shall be passed at such meetings except by permission of the Chairman.

31. Special General Meetings are for considering and dealing with matters of importance, such as the making or amendment of its Rules, or questions seriously affecting its management and constitution. No business shall be transacted at such meetings except that for which they are summoned, and of which notice has been given.

32. The Anniversary Meeting for receiving and considering the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and dealing with the recommendations contained therein for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, and for hearing the President's Address (if any), and deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society, shall be held in June of each year. But no resolution seriously affecting the management or position of the Society, or altering its Rules, shall be passed unless due notice shall have been given in the manner prescribed for Special General Meetings.

33. Ordinary Meetings shall be convened by notice issued to accessible Members, and as a general rule they shall be held on the second Thursday in each month from November to May, both inclusive, the Thursday of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being excepted. At such meetings, and also at the Anniversary Meeting, but not at special General Meetings, each Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, two visitors.

34. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

The Accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor nominated by the Council. The employment of a professional Auditor shall be permissible. The Report presented by the Auditor shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

CERTIFICATE OF RECOMMENDATION.

_____

_____

being desirous of becoming a Member of the CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, *we whose names are hereunto subscribed do hereby recommend to the Society as a Candidate.*

Proposer _____

Seconder _____

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JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

Vol. XIII January, 1926 Part I

EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA*

By H. G. W. WOODHEAD, C.B.E.

I SHALL not keep you very long with the history of extra-territoriality, but shall pass on as rapidly as possible to the practical aspects of a problem which is to-day exercising the minds of so many Chinese and foreigners who reside in Chinese territory. Extraterritoriality has been defined as "an exemption from the operation of local law, granted either by usage or by treaty, on account of the differences in law, custom, and social habits of civilized nations from those of uncivilized nations."† In Europe and the Near East it has been known for many centuries, but has arisen from usage rather than

* This lecture was first delivered in Chicago, under the auspices of the Harris Memorial Foundation in the University of Chicago. It is being published by the University of Chicago Press in a volume entitled, "Occidental Interpretations of the Far Eastern Problem."

It was first given in London at a meeting of the Central Asian Society held on Thursday, October 8, 1925, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W. In the absence of Viscount Peel the chair was taken by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen—the subject on which we are going to be addressed this evening is "Extraterritoriality in China." It sounds something very formidable. I wish our Chairman, Lord Peel, were here to preside on this occasion, because I am conscious of not knowing a great deal about China and still less about extraterritoriality: probably many of you here are in the same position as myself. However, we are very fortunate in having with us a gentleman well calculated to enlighten us, Mr. Woodhead, who has spent twenty-three years in China. He has lived in Tientsin during most of that time, has edited the most influential paper in China, and is responsible for that monumental work which gives all the accurate information about China that is available—that is, the *China Year Book*. He has come here and is going to introduce the discussion this evening. I see here various gentlemen who have a knowledge of China from within, and I hope they will reinforce the discussion by joining in and giving us the benefit of their experience. We all want enlightenment on this subject, and an ounce of practical experience is worth a ton of theory; therefore I hope that natural modesty and reticence will not keep them back from joining in the discussion. (Applause.)

† Moore's "International Law," II., p. 593.

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treaty rights. In China it is based entirely upon treaties. You will find in Morse's "International Relations of the Chinese Empire," and in Wellington Koo's "The Status of Aliens in China," accounts of its origin from the foreign and the Chinese points of view respectively. You will be convinced by the former that it was an essential condition of foreign residence and trade in China. You will be asked to believe by the latter that it originated in the contumacy and lawlessness of British and other foreign adventurers, who "early began to withdraw themselves, by open defiance, from the operation of local laws." The reasons given by foreign authorities for its introduction in China are numerous, but I will confine myself to a few. First I would place the attitude of the Chinese official towards foreigners during the early days of foreign intercourse. To the Chinese the foreigner was a barbarian, to be treated "like beasts, and not ruled on the same principles as citizens. . . . Therefore to rule barbarians by misrule is the true and best way of ruling them."* Foreigners, therefore, were restricted to trading at a single port—Canton; and with an officially recognized monopoly, known as the co-Hong. In Canton they were permitted to reside only in the Factory district, a confined space on the river front. They were not permitted to engage Chinese servants (though this rule was generally relaxed), to bring women or arms into the factories, to use sedan chairs, or to enter into any direct relations with the local Chinese officials. They were not allowed to row for pleasure on the river, or to enter the city, and only on three days per month were they permitted, under the escort of an interpreter, to take the air at the flower gardens across the river. They had to return to Macao after each trading season.† They were held collectively responsible for the misdeeds of individuals. And the local Chinese authorities would not recognize, or have any dealings with, foreign officials entrusted with the protection of their interests.

Secondly, I would place the difference between Chinese and foreign law, especially in relation to homicide. Except that decapitation was the punishment for murder, and strangulation for manslaughter, there was no distinction between the two offences. A typical instance is that of the gunner of the country ship *Lady Hughes*, who was accused of causing the death of a Chinese by firing a saluting gun, in November, 1784.‡ His surrender to the local authorities was immediately demanded, and when it was refused the supercargo of the ship was arrested and carried off into the city as a hostage. Eventually the gunner was surrendered, and on January 8, 1785, was strangled under orders from Peking, which must have been sent before there had been a semblance of a trial. When Chinese writers refer to British contumacy and lawlessness, it seems pertinent to point out that in the century

* Morse's "International Relations," I., 111, 112.
† Morse, *op. cit.*, I., 69-71. ‡ *Ibid.*, 102.

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preceding 1833 not more than half a dozen cases have been recorded in which homicide was alleged against British subjects, including several which were obviously accidental.*

Thirdly, there was the Chinese doctrine of collective responsibility. Again and again all commerce was stopped, and foreigners were subjected to all kinds of restraints and indignities, because of the alleged misconduct of one or more of their number. As the East India Company's Select Committee recorded, in one case in which an attempt was made to hold it responsible for a fracas between British Bluejackets and Chinese villagers:

"Thus we see our situation clearly made responsible for the acts of between two and three thousand individuals who are daily coming in contact with the lowest of the Chinese, and are exposed to assaults so wanton, and often so barbarous, as well as to robberies so extensive, that self-defence imposes upon them the necessity of attacking their assailants in a manner from whence death must ensue. A great and important commerce is instantly suspended, whole fleets at times detained, ourselves liable to seizure, and to be the medium of surrendering a man to death whose crime is only self-defence or obedience to orders, or else to lend ourselves to the most detestable falsehoods, in order to support a fabricated statement which may save the credit of the officers of the Chinese Government."†

As early as 1833 the British Parliament passed an "Act to Regulate the Trade to China and India,"‡ which included provision for the establishment of a Court of Justice with Criminal and Admiralty jurisdiction, but it was not until the conclusion of the so-called Opium War that Britain's extraterritorial rights were recognized by China.

The Treaty of Nanking of 1842 did not itself concede extraterritorial rights, but the General Regulations attached to that Treaty provided that:

"Regarding the punishment of English criminals, the English Government will enact the laws necessary to attain that end, and the Consul will be empowered to put them into force; and regarding the punishment of Chinese criminals, these will be tried and punished by their own laws, in the way provided for by the correspondence which took place at Nanking after the concluding of peace."§

The Treaty did, however, provide for the cession of Hongkong and the opening of five ports—Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai—to British trade. It is noteworthy that Sir Henry Pottinger, the British Envoy who negotiated that Treaty, was instructed constantly to bear in mind "that we seek for no exclusive advantages, and

* "Studies in Chinese Diplomatic History," by C. L. Hsin, 6.
† Morse, *op. cit.*, 106n.
‡ Koo, "Status of Aliens in China," 95 *sqq.*
§ Koo, *op. cit.*, 184.

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demand nothing that we shall not willingly see enjoyed by the subjects of all other States." *

The American Envoy, Caleb Cushing, who reached China in March, 1844, with instructions to negotiate a treaty that was just, with no unfair advantage on either side, learning what the British had done, and having actual proof of what submission to Chinese jurisdiction might involve, as the result of some American citizens firing on a mob in self-defence,† secured a definite grant of criminal jurisdiction over American citizens in Article XXI. of the Treaty of Wanghia. The extraterritorial rights of the Treaty Powers were more clearly defined in subsequent treaties, from only one of which, the Chefoo Agreement of September, 1876, between Britain and China, need I quote here :

Section II. (ii.) The British Treaty of 1858, Article XVI., lays down that " Chinese subjects who may be guilty of any criminal act towards British subjects shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities, according to the laws of China.

" British subjects who may commit any crime in China shall be tried and punished by the Consul, or any other public functionary authorized thereto, according to the laws of Great Britain.

" Justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides."

The words " functionary authorized thereto " are translated in the Chinese text " British Government."

In order to the fulfilment of its Treaty obligations, the British Government has established a Supreme Court at Shanghai, with a special code of rules, which it is now about to revise. The Chinese Government has established at Shanghai a Mixed Court; but the officer presiding over it, either from lack of power or dread of unpopularity, constantly fails to enforce his judgments.

It is now understood that the Tsungli Yamen will write a circular to the Legations, inviting foreign representatives at once to consider with the Tsungli Yamen the measures needed for the more effective administration of justice at the ports open to foreign trade.

(iii.) It is agreed that, whenever a crime is committed affecting the person or property of a British subject, whether in the interior or at the open ports, the British Minister shall be free to send officers to the spot to be present at the investigation.

To the prevention of misunderstanding on this point, Sir Thomas Wade will write a note to the above effect, to which the Tsungli Yamen will reply, affirming that this is the course of proceeding to be adhered to for the time to come.

It is further understood that so long as the laws of the two countries differ from each other, there can be but one principle to guide judicial proceedings in mixed cases in China—namely, that the case is to be tried by the official of the defendant's nationality; the official of the plaintiff's nationality merely attending to watch the proceedings in the interests of justice. If the officer so attending be dissatisfied with the proceedings, it will be in his power to protest against them in detail. The law administered will be the law of the nationality of the

* Morse, *op. cit.*, 663. † *Ibid.*, 327.

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officer trying the case. This is the meaning of the words *hui t'ung*, indicating combined action in judicial proceedings in Article XVI. of the Treaty of Tientsin; and this is the course to be respectively followed by the officers of either nationality.

As a consequence of extraterritoriality, therefore, a Chinese or American or any other national who charges a British subject with any crime, or wishes to sue him for any civil cause, must institute proceedings before a British Court. The latter, however, cannot, in a civil suit, entertain a counter-claim against a national of another State. Nor has it any authority, other than that accorded by courtesy, over non-British witnesses. And it is easy to understand that complications may arise in which three or more parties of different nationalities may be involved, requiring decision by three or more different tribunals. Moreover, it not infrequently happens that persons of different nationalities are implicated in the same crime, in which case separate trials must take place under their respective laws in the Courts exercising jurisdiction.

I shall now briefly describe the situation to-day. The so-called Treaty Powers, either under definite Treaty stipulations or by virtue of "most-favoured nation treatment," still enjoy extraterritorial privileges, to the exclusion of Chinese jurisdiction. These Governments are: Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. Austria-Hungary and Germany* lost their extraterritorial rights as a result of the abrogation of their treaties with China, following the latter's participation in the Great War. Russians were deprived of extraterritorial rights by a Presidential mandate suspending recognition of the Tsarist Minister and Consuls, promulgated on September 23, 1920.†

British jurisdiction is exercised, in minor criminal and civil cases, in the outports by Consular officers, and in Shanghai by an Assistant Judge and Police Magistrate. Serious criminal charges, and civil cases in which serious issues are involved, are heard by the Supreme Court sitting in Shanghai (or elsewhere) with appeal to the full Court and eventually to the Privy Council. American jurisdiction is exercised locally by American Consular officers, and in important cases, civil and criminal, by the U.S. Court for China, which was established by Act of Congress of June 30, 1906. The French and Japanese have judicial officials in China. In the case of other Treaty Powers jurisdiction is exercised by their Consular officials, usually with right of appeal to some home tribunal.

A curious feature is the Shanghai Mixed Court.‡ The International

* *China Year Book*, 1921-2, 739, and 1925, 783, 785.

† *Ibid.*, 1921-2, 626.

‡ For further information see Kotenev's "Shanghai: Its Mixed Court and Council."

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Settlement at Shanghai was an area set apart for foreign residence and trade, and consists to-day of the former British and American Settlements and an extension thereto, administered by an International Foreign Municipal Council. There was an influx of Chinese refugees during the Taiping rebellion, and the Chinese population has since increased until it numbers nearly one million. There were obvious difficulties in the way of permitting a purely Chinese Court to function in a foreign-administered Settlement, and at first jurisdiction was exercised by the British Consul-General. In 1864 a so-called Mixed Court was established, presided over by a deputy of the Shanghai Magistrate, with a foreign Assessor on the bench in cases in which foreign or municipal interests were involved. The history of the development of the Mixed Court would take too long in the telling, and I can only say here that its authority gradually increased, in spite of Chinese opposition and obstruction, until 1911, when the outbreak of the revolution compelled the Treaty Power Consuls to take over control of the tribunal. It is to-day staffed by magistrates whose appointment is subject to the approval of the foreign Consuls, and who sit in rotation with foreign Assessors, the records being kept by the municipal police. Prisoners sentenced to imprisonment serve their term in gaols controlled by the Municipal Council. Criminals sentenced to capital punishment are sent to the Chinese City authorities to be executed. The Mixed Court probably handles a greater volume of business, civil and criminal, than any other tribunal in the world. Its jurisdiction now extends to Germans, Russians, and other non-Treaty Power nationals in Shanghai. The Chinese now claim that the Mixed Court ought to become a purely Chinese institution, instead of, as to-day, remaining under Consular and Municipal control.

Before dealing in some detail with the objections to the abolition of extraterritoriality, I propose briefly to refer to some of the arguments against its perpetuation. In the first place, it is argued, and quite correctly, that it constitutes an infringement of China's sovereign rights and independence. Secondly, it leads to a multiplicity of jurisdictions, and, as I have already mentioned, the application of different laws, even where the same issues are involved, and uncertainty as to the issue of any particular case. But the main objection to its perpetuation, and the one most difficult to answer, is its abuse, chiefly by Governments which have infinitesimal, or at least insignificant, interests in China. The worst offenders have been the Spanish, Cuban, Brazilian, and other South American Consulates. The Spanish Consulate of recent years appears to have made a speciality of extending its protection on the flimsiest of pretexts to Chinese who desire to evade the jurisdiction of their own authorities. Its latest performance has been to claim jurisdiction over a Jew born of Turkish parents in India who repudiated his British nationality some years ago, sought

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French protection as a Turk, and now claims that he has become entitled to Spanish protection as the result of an ordinance restoring Spanish nationality to Sephardic Jews who like to avail themselves of it. The Brazilian Consulate seems to exist solely for the purpose of extending its protection over public gaming establishments, which are at present functioning under Brazilian protection in Shanghai and Tientsin. The Cuban Consulate used to exist for the same end. The scandal of foreign protection of Chinese has attained such proportions that at the annual Conference of British Chambers of Commerce in 1921 a resolution was adopted unanimously which read:

"That this Conference deprecates the growing tendency of certain foreign Consulates in China to afford protection to Chinese by process of naturalization or other means, as it is notorious that in the majority of cases the applicants for naturalization are not actuated by any desire to leave their own country to take up their residence in a foreign State, but take this simple means of evading their just obligations and liabilities, and escaping from the jurisdiction to which they would otherwise be amenable."

It is only fair to say that the Spanish Consul, who was the most notorious offender, was dismissed, and the naturalization certificates issued by him were cancelled. But other Consuls—notably those of Portugal, and more recently of Chile—have also been offenders.

Finally, there is the objection that as long as extraterritoriality prevails it is impossible for the Chinese Government to throw open the whole country to foreign trade. The necessity of sending every foreigner entitled to extraterritoriality who commits the most trivial offence to the nearest Treaty Port at which one of his Consular officers functions for trial, is cited as an insuperable obstacle to permitting foreign residence and trade outside the fifty Treaty and Open Ports. To this day foreigners are not entitled by treaty to reside in Peking for business purposes, or to own or lease business premises elsewhere than in the open ports.

I now turn to the problem of abolishing extraterritoriality and the objections to such abolition.

Grand Secretary Wensiang in 1869 said to the British Minister, Sir R. Alcock: "Do away with your extraterritoriality clause, and merchant and missionary may settle anywhere and everywhere; but retain it, and we must do our best to confine you and our trouble to the Treaty Ports." Extraterritoriality has always been resented by patriotic Chinese; but it was not until the signature of the Anglo-Chinese Commercial Treaty of 1902 that any definite stipulation was made regarding its abolition. Article XIII. reads:

"China having expressed a strong desire to reform her judicial system, and to bring it into accord with that of Western nations, Great Britain agrees to give every assistance to such reform; and she will also be prepared to relinquish her extraterritorial rights when she

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is satisfied that the state of the Chinese laws, the arrangements for their administration, and other considerations, warrant her in so doing."

Great Britain had relinquished extraterritorial rights in Japan a few years previously. Similar provisions appeared in the American and Japanese Commercial Treaties of 1903, while Sweden, in the Commercial Treaty of 1908, agreed to relinquish Consular jurisdiction "as soon as all other Powers have agreed to relinquish their extraterritorial rights." The last Treaty signed by China in which extraterritorial rights were conceded was that with Switzerland, signed in Tokio in June, 1918. In treaties since signed with Bolivia, Persia, Germany, and Soviet Russia, China has retained jurisdiction over their nationals.

China's first formal claim for the abolition of extraterritoriality was presented, in 1919, to the Peace Conference at Versailles. It was included in the "Questions for Readjustment submitted by China to the Peace Conference,"* which, among other things, demanded the renunciation of Spheres of Influence or of Interest, the withdrawal of foreign troops from China, and of foreign wireless stations and post-offices, the relinquishment of Leased Territories, the restoration of Foreign Settlements and Concessions, and tariff autonomy. Some of the objections I have already mentioned were set forth, and it was urged—that China now had a National Constitution, prescribing, among other things, the separation of Government powers, and assuring to the people their inviolable fundamental rights of life and property, and guaranteeing the complete independence and ample protection of judicial officers and their entire freedom from interference on the part of the executive or legislative powers; that China had prepared a number of Codes, some of which were provisionally enforced, and which had been carefully adapted from those of the most advanced nations; that new courts and procuratorates of various kinds had been established, etc.; and that, in view of the "satisfactory results China has already obtained, and the progress she has been making from day to day in the domain of legislative and judicial reforms, Consular jurisdiction should be abolished by the end of 1924." This question was not taken up at Versailles, but was again raised at the Washington Conference, and supported by much the same arguments in 1921. In this instance the Chinese Delegation had not the audacity to name a date for its abolition, but asked the Powers to agree to relinquish their extraterritorial rights in China at the end of a definite period.

The Washington Conference adopted a resolution,† which, after reciting the provisions of the Commercial Treaties of 1902 and 1903, and expressing sympathy with China's aspirations, provided for the

* For full text see *China Year Book*, 1921-2, 719 *sqq.*

† *China Year Book*, 1924, 1164.

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establishment of an International Commission, to which each of the signatories should appoint one member "to inquire into the present practice of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, and into the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China, with a view to reporting to the Governments of the several Powers above named their findings in fact in regard to these matters, and their recommendations as to such means as they may find suitable to improve the existing conditions of the administration of justice in China, and to assist and further the efforts of the Chinese Government to effect such legislation and judicial reforms as would warrant the several Powers in relinquishing, either progressively or otherwise, their respective rights of extraterritoriality." This Commission was to be constituted within three months after the adjournment of the Conference, and to submit its findings and recommendations within one year from its first meeting. Each of the Powers reserved the right to accept all or any portion of its recommendations, and China reserved the right to a seat on the Commission, and undertook to afford it every possible facility for the successful accomplishment of its tasks.

The Commission should have met on or before May 6, 1922, but in the meantime China was involved in another civil war, and since then she has made repeated requests for a postponement.

It will be remembered that Great Britain, America, and Japan, in 1902 and 1903, undertook to relinquish their extraterritorial rights when satisfied that—

1. The state of the Chinese Laws;
2. The arrangements for their administration; and
3. "Other considerations" warranted them in doing so.

The State of the Chinese Laws.

A Law Codification Commission has been at work since 1914, in collaboration with the Ministry of Justice, and since the Washington Conference a Commission on Extraterritoriality has also been organized to prepare for the visit of the International Commission. With the assistance of French and Japanese experts a number of new codes have been drafted, of which the Criminal Code,* the Code of Criminal Procedure,† and the Civil Procedure Code have, after several revisions, been promulgated. English translations of these codes are now available. A number of other new laws, criminal, commercial, mining, Trade Mark‡ and Copyright, and labour, and regulations relating to courts and procedure and prisons, have also been promulgated. Mr. Escarra, (French) Adviser to the Ministry of Justice, is my authority for the statement that "apart from a few special texts, the provisions of which are often very poor from the technical point of

* *China Year Book*, 1921-2, 372 *sqq.* † *Ibid.*, 1924, 267 *sqq.*
‡ *Ibid.*, 1925, 816.

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view, the civil codification remains in its infancy. Several years, at least, are required to provide China with a body of civil and commercial laws exhaustive enough to meet the needs of the foreigners. Till then, should the training and goodwill of the judges be out of discussion, nothing can be said about a proper administration of justice."* He mentions that in 1920, when a crisis in the piece-goods trade occurred at Shanghai, resulting in numerous bankruptcies among the Chinese, it was impossible for the Mixed Court "to deal with the Chinese law on the matter, because the latter had been regarded as repealed by a decision of the Supreme Court," and "a special procedure of winding-up" had to be devised.†

M. Georges Padoux, a distinguished Frenchman, who is a member of the Commission on Extraterritoriality, more recently wrote:

"The present administration of civil and penal justice in China affords a striking illustration of the difficulties attending the application of legislative provisions which are not in harmony with the customs and prevalent ideas of the population. In civil matters the law in force is mostly the Ta Ching Lu Li, many parts of which have become practically obsolete. The judges of the Supreme Court have to display a great deal of ingenuity in order to adapt these old rules to the needs of contemporary China, and to the evolution which takes place now in the organization of the Chinese family. The adaptation sometimes goes so far as to almost entirely set aside the old rule (see the recently published summaries of Judgments of the Supreme Court). In penal matters a new Code has been enacted in 1912, but it is far ahead of the social conditions of a large part of the territory. It is not applied in the remote corners of most of the provinces, and it is sometimes ignored even in Peking. During the last few years, for instance, it has been a common practice to order by Presidential mandate the confiscation of the property of overthrown political leaders, although general confiscation has been expressly abolished by the Penal Code."‡

The fundamental law of the Republic is, or should be, the Constitution. No one knows which of the various constitutions that have been promulgated from time to time is at present supposed to be in force though that, perhaps, is not a matter of very great importance, as at no time during the history of the Republic has any constitution been more than a scrap of paper.

There are two other features of China's laws to which I must direct your attention. The first is the immunity of the civil official from the ordinary courts of the land. There is a special court, known as the Administrative Court, whose duties are "to try all illegal acts of public officials with the exception of cases expressly placed by law under the jurisdiction of other organs."§ An attempt is thus made to apply the French system of *droit administratif*, but without the safeguard of the

* "The Extraterritoriality Problem," 20. † *Ibid.*, 16.

‡ *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, April, 1925, 360.

§ *China Year Book*, 1925, 609 *sqq.*

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Tribunal of Conflicts, whose duty it is to decide which cases come within the scope of the Administrative Court. M oreover, the Adminis trative Court is expressly prohibited from entertaining claims for damages.* The plaintiff can only ask for rescission of the ruling of an official, or such modification thereof as the court may consider equitable. It is not the custom to accept oral testimony, but to try each case on written arguments. A civil official charged with a criminal offence is supposed to be brought before the ordinary court, but this is seldom done if he is a man of any status, immunity being conferred by extending the definition of what constitutes an "administrative act." It is not, therefore, possible in the usual way to secure redress for the wrong-doings of civil officials.

Secondly, there is the peculiar status of the military man in China. Soldiers, from the lowest to the highest ranks, who commit offences against the Military Penal Ordinance, the Criminal Code, the Police Regulations, or any other law for which punishment is provided, are tried, not by the ordinary courts, but by a court-martial. Any claim against them for damages must also be tried by a court-martial. There are at present nearly one and a half million men under arms in China, and they are the most notorious breakers of the laws of the Republic. Yet a civilian plaintiff or complainant can only secure the trial of a military man as an act of grace on the part of his superior or commanding officer. The proceedings, if allowed, are heard *in camera*, no lawyer being allowed to the plaintiff, no access to the record of testimony being permitted, and the decision of the court being subject to confirmation or annulment by the officer who authorizes the convening of the court-martial. Many Chinese officials, occupying what we should regard as civil posts, have military titles, and are thus removed from the jurisdiction of the civil courts and the Administrative Court.

The Administration of the Law.

I now turn to the actual administration of the law in China. It is a sweeping but nevertheless accurate statement that, under existing conditions, no attempt is or can be made to enforce the laws of the Republic. The Law Codification Commission may work overtime compiling new codes, some of which are not altogether unsatisfactory, but even in Peking itself the courts are unable to enforce them. China has had three Constitutions since the establishment of the Republic. No one can say definitely which of them is supposed to be in force at the moment, as the present Government does not even claim to be constitutional. But at no time have the rights and privileges which these constitutions are supposed to guarantee to her citizens been aught but a myth. The most glaring example of the wholesale violation of

* Law on Administrative Cases, Art. 3, *China Year Book*, 1925, 611.

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the law is to be found in the present position of opium. The Criminal Code promulgated in March, 1910, and amended in December, 1914, contains a whole chapter* devoted to penalties for cultivating, smoking, trafficking in, or transporting opium. Yet it is estimated that, in 1923, China produced between thirteen and fourteen thousand tons of opium, more than twelve times as much as India, and nearly eight times as much as the whole of the rest of the world (India included).† And in most provinces this opium was produced, sold, and smoked, not against, but in accordance with, the orders of the local officials, chiefly the militarists, who derived the bulk of the revenues for the support of their overgrown armies from this source.

I am now going to give you a series of cases, a few among those which have come to my notice, to give you some idea of the manner in which Chinese laws are actually administered.

The Tientsin Land Case.

There lives in Tientsin a wealthy family, known as the Chang family, which had inherited a quantity of property from their father, the late Chang Yen-mao. This property had been acquired by purchase between the years 1898 and 1904. Last year the Chang brothers were told by the Police Commissioner of the Province, a most powerful official, that he would like to acquire a large tract of their land at a nominal price. This land happened to be mortgaged to a French bank, and the brothers refused to sell it below the ordinary market price. A few days later the elder brother was practically kidnapped from a restaurant in the ex-German Concession in Tientsin, taken down to the Police Headquarters in the city, and there detained until he had, under duress, signed a document, a facsimile of which is in my possession, to the effect that "with the desire to assist and promote the development of the municipality in the city" he would sell his land "at a price which the police authorities might consider reasonable." This undertaking he repudiated after his release, and the Police Commissioner thereupon took possession of his land, and charged him with claiming ownership on forged title-deeds. The Chang brothers then had to leave Tientsin to escape arrest. What is their remedy? They cannot sue the Police Commissioner in an ordinary court, as he is an official, and not amenable to its jurisdiction. They cannot take proceedings in the Administrative Court, because he holds the rank of a General in the Chinese Army. And if they were able to induce the higher military authorities to convene a court-martial — which is extremely unlikely — they would not be permitted to be represented by a lawyer, to examine or cross-examine witnesses, or to see the record, while all the proceedings would be

* *China Year Book*, 1921-2, 404. † *Ibid.*, 1924, chapter xix.

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held *in camera*. They have, therefore, been unable to obtain any redress for what, on the face of it, appears a most glaring outrage on the part of a high official.

The Tientsin Cotton Case.*

Tientsin is the centre of a large export trade in raw cotton. It has been the custom locally for years past to contract forward in July and August—when some idea of the extent of the crops can be obtained—for cotton to be delivered in October, November, and December. There were good cotton crops in 1923, and forward contracts at Tls. 23 to 28 per picul were made by foreign exporters for some 250,000 piculs. Then came the Japanese earthquake, with the destruction of large quantities of cotton and cotton goods in Japan, with the result that there was a sudden and unexpected demand for cotton in that country. The price soared from Tls. 23 to 28 to Tls. 43. The dealers repudiated nearly all their forward contracts in order to take advantage of the Japanese demand, and resorted to every conceivable form of trickery to get their cotton through Tientsin without delivering it to the original buyers. The Civil Governor, Police Commissioner, and Chinese Chamber of Commerce were appealed to for aid in preventing this wholesale fraud. But the Police Commissioner maintained that the best he could do would be to secure 50 per cent. of the cotton contracted for. The Civil Governor declared that forward purchase of cotton was an illegal gambling transaction. The foreign buyers, who naturally sustained heavy loss from their failure to meet their own obligations in Japan and America, then endeavoured to sue the defaulting dealers. Writs were applied for, through the foreign Consulates, in the ordinary way, but the Chinese courts refused even to serve them, and to this day no proceedings have been permitted against the defaulters.

The Case of Colonel Chen.

On February 1, 1924, when the afternoon express train from Peking was about to leave Fengtai, about seven miles from the capital, a passenger car, which had come through from the Peking-Hankow Railway, carrying one of the President's concubines with a military escort, suddenly appeared, and it was demanded that it should be coupled on to the express. The latter was already carrying its full load, and the couplings of the special car were not of the type required by the regulations for a passenger express, so the demand was refused by the British Traffic Inspector. Thereupon one of the military escort drew a pistol and pointed it at his head, and the Inspector had to agree to couple on the car. There was some misunderstanding at this point,

* Proceedings at the Annual Conference of British Chambers of Commerce, Shanghai, February, 1924.

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the train moving further up the platform, presumably to make room for shunting the car into position. Thereupon, under instructions from their superior officer, the military escort set upon Mr. Bessell, knocked him down, struck him with a pistol, and brutally kicked him. The train then went on its way with the car attached, and Colonel Chen, the concubine's brother, who was in charge of the escort, proceeded to Taku. Mr. Bessell was seriously injured, and had to undergo two operations. A strong protest, with a demand for the trial of the officer in charge of the escort, was made by the British Legation. Mr. Bessell was a servant of the Chinese Government, who had been assaulted in the execution of his duty, and while endeavouring to carry out the Government's railway regulations, and one would naturally have expected it to take prompt action. Instead, it resorted to every form of mendacity and procrastination to shield the culprits. It was pretended, at first, that Colonel Chen was at Wuchang, in Mid-China, and that the Hupeh Tuchun had been instructed to deal with him. Though the fact that he was at Taku, within a few miles of Tientsin, could no longer be concealed, it was not until February 25, after repeated evasions, that action was taken. On that date the Chief Judge of the Military Court of the Ministry of War, the Chief of the Medical Department of the same Ministry, and a personal representative of the President, proceeded to Taku, where they interviewed Colonel Chen without the presence of any of the witnesses to the assault, reported that he was too ill to be moved, and subsequently announced that he had been sentenced to "twenty-eight days' detention in his own quarters." This farcical decision the British Government refused to recognize, demanding the formal trial of Colonel Chen, in the presence of a British official, in accordance with the Treaties. The Chinese argued that the Treaties did not provide for the presence of a foreign official at a court-martial upon a military offender, and delayed, and prevaricated, and it was not until June 3, 123 days after the assault, that Colonel Chen was actually brought up for trial. I heard some details of that trial subsequently from Mr. Bessell. He was, of course, not permitted to be legally represented. He was still suffering from the injuries he had received, and unable to stand for more than a few minutes. But the Military Court announced that it could not accept testimony unless the witness stood up to give it, and Mr. Bessell, therefore, had to give his evidence fragmentarily, retiring to rest whenever the pain of standing became unendurable. The officer who ordered his assault on February 1 was in uniform, and wore a moustache. The officer who appeared as Colonel Chen on this occasion was in mufti, and without a moustache. Mr. Bessell had seen him only for a few moments in the twilight, four months previously, and was therefore unable to make positive identification, and Colonel Chen, who had been found guilty at the farcical inquiry of

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February 25, was acquitted on this occasion, scapegoats being made of the soldiers and a subordinate officer who were alleged to have participated in the assault, and several Chinese railway officials being dismissed for alleged breaches of regulations.

The Christian General.

As a final instance of the immunity of the militarist from the law of the land, I may refer briefly to the case of the Christian General, Feng Yu-hsiang. He had been invited, on February 16, 1924, to dine with the American Minister, Dr. Schurman. The regulations of the Legation Quarter, which is administered and policed under the orders of the Diplomatic Body, prohibit motor-cars from entering the Quarter at excessive speed, with blinding headlights, or with armed escorts on the footboards. All these regulations were violated by the Christian General on the night in question, and after wild blowing of police whistles, his car was eventually compelled to pull up by a policeman who stood directly in its path. The Christian General thereupon alighted in a fury, struck the policeman, took away his baton, and, according to the statements of the police and an eyewitness, ordered his escort to kill the policeman, and he would be responsible. Fortunately, this order, if actually given, was disobeyed. The car then proceeded on its way to the American Legation, two more policemen being struck with the captured baton *en route*. Needless to say, no redress was given, nor apology offered, by the perpetrator of this assault.

The German Doctors.

I have in my possession notes of two cases in which German doctors in Tientsin were defendants in criminal charges, which throw considerable light upon the treatment to which foreigners deprived of their extraterritorial rights are now subjected. In the first case the doctor was charged, under Article 326 of the Chinese Criminal Code, with causing the death of a boy patient upon whom he had performed an operation. The Article in question reads:

"Whoever fails to give the necessary attention to his occupation, and in consequence causes death or injury to any person, shall be punished with imprisonment for a period not severer than the fourth degree (*i.e.*, more than one year, but less than three years), or detention, or fine of not more than two thousand *yuan*" (dollars).

The operation which was the basis of this charge was performed on the neck of the patient, under an anæsthetic, on June 3, 1922. The patient died during the operation, and the doctor testified that the amount of chloroform used was very small, that it was quite fresh, having been purchased the day before, and that the heart of the patient was probably too weak to support an anæsthetic, though this

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weakness was not apparent in the examination that took place previous to its administration. He ascribed the death to one of those rare cases of inability to support chloroform, which should be considered a misfortune for which no one was to blame. On the death being reported, the Chinese coroner made an examination. This functionary was a barber—who in China comes from the lowest class—without any scientific training. He made a superficial examination of the body, declared that the boy was dead, and that he had died not from the operation, but from the anæsthetic—which was what the doctor had told him. The doctor was then charged before the local court, which gave judgment on July 6, condemning the accused to a fine of 2,000 *yuan* (the maximum) for a violation of Article 326.

An appeal was taken to the Higher Provincial Court, which on September 28, 1922, gave a judgment upholding the decision of the local court. The case was then carried to the Taliyuan, or Supreme Court, in Peking, which on December 14 ordered a retrial. This took place in the Higher Provincial Court, which on April 3 again found the accused guilty, but lowered the fine to $1,000. The case was again appealed to the Supreme Court, which on August 9, 1923, dismissed the second judgment of the Provincial Court, and ordered yet another trial. The third judgment of the Provincial Court was delivered on May 12, 1924, accused once more being condemned to a fine of $1,000. The Supreme Court on October 27 ordered yet another trial, and on January 21 of this year the case against the accused was withdrawn by virtue of the general amnesty proclaimed by the Provisional Chief Executive. It is understood, however, that a civil action for damages is still pending. During the trials of this case, facts, the opinions of the complainants, and arguments, were inextricably mixed up by the court. Much of the evidence offered by the defendant was refused. The report of the coroner, who, as already stated, had no scientific experience, and made no attempt to perform an autopsy, was accepted as definite evidence, although it contained a quantity of superstitious nonsense. Expert evidence from competent medical men was rejected. In the Higher Court the cause of the death and the blame for bringing it about were treated as one and the same thing, the onus of proving that there had been no negligence being placed on the accused. In the sixth judgment (May, 1924) the court refused to take into consideration evidence favourable to the accused; and the coroner's report was again made use of, though its introduction had been one of the reasons of the Supreme Court for ordering a retrial. As further evidence of accused's guilt the relatives on this occasion stated that they had not been willing that chloroform should be used. The Supreme Court in its final judgment held that there was no proof of the lack of consent of the relatives.

The other case was similar in the course it ran, but even more

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glaring in its continuous miscarriages of justice. For in this case the woman who died had been successfully operated upon and had made satisfactory progress for seven days, when a friend called upon her and violently upbraided her for undergoing the operation. There was, according to the evidence, a heated quarrel, as a result of which the patient's heart collapsed, and though every effort was made to undo the mischief she became weaker and weaker, and died the following afternoon. In this instance the original penalty of $2,000 was imposed at successive retrials until the case was terminated by the amnesty. And it is alleged that the accused was found guilty mainly as a result of a mistranslation of the evidence of a foreign medical practitioner. The evidence of the quarrel which caused the patient's collapse was ignored.

It is not surprising, I think, that one of these German doctors, who was in attendance on Dr. Sun Yat-sen during his stay in Tientsin, told me that under no circumstances would he undertake a serious operation on any prominent Chinese.

These cases are also of interest as revealing the reluctance of the Supreme Court, probably for fear of being defied by provincial tribunals, finally to quash proceedings in which there has obviously been a miscarriage of justice.

I might go on here to quote some ridiculous instances which followed the assumption of jurisdiction over the Russians in Manchuria, where a man charged with breaking a window found that he was being tried for "murdering Mr. Window," where complainants sometimes found that they had been mistaken for the accused, and sentenced accordingly; and on one occasion at least judgment was given in a civil case against one of the witnesses, the judge remarking, when this was brought to his attention, that "the Court knew what it was doing."

I have time only to cite one case in which Russians are involved, which will show how hollow are China's pretensions that the judiciary is independent and free from all interference on the part of the executive or legislative powers.

The Case of M. Ostroumoff.

After the failure of the Koltchak régime in Siberia, the Chinese Government reached an agreement with the Russo-Asiatic Bank regarding the operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway, then virtually bankrupt, as a result of which it was to be controlled by a board consisting of five Chinese and three Russian members. Following this agreement, B. V. Ostroumoff, an engineer of considerable experience, who had been concerned in the construction of the Siberian, South Siberian, and Bokhara Railways, was appointed General Manager. Under his management, and with the approval and authority of the board, he introduced reforms which had the result of converting the

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railway from a virtually bankrupt concern into a paying enterprise, with trains and rolling-stock excelled by few other railways in any part of the world. Ostroumoff was no politician, and was not in sympathy with Bolshevism, and accordingly incurred the animosity of the Soviet, who were only biding their time to revenge themselves upon him. On May 31, 1924, China signed an agreement with Soviet Russia, under which she recognized the Russian Government, and agreed to the control of the Chinese Eastern Railway by a Board of Directors, composed of five Chinese and five Russians, nominated by their respective Governments. This agreement Chang Tso-lin refused to recognize, with the result that it was inoperative in Manchuria and over the Chinese Eastern Railway. During the civil war of the autumn of 1924, however, Chang Tso-lin realized that the Soviet might make themselves troublesome in his rear, and accordingly he entered into a separate agreement on much the same terms as that signed in Peking. This agreement was signed at Mukden on September 20. On October 3 Ostroumoff was summarily dismissed from his position, arrested, and placed in solitary confinement, the same treatment being meted out to Gondatti, chief of the land department of the railway. No charge whatsoever was preferred against either of them, although the Chinese Criminal Procedure Code prescribes that no person may be arrested without a charge being formulated. He was questioned from time to time by the public prosecutor, who pretended that he had been arrested to save his extradition to Russia. I cannot enter into the numerous violations of the Code of Criminal Procedure that have been perpetrated since his arrest. It was not until December 20 that he was summoned before the examining magistrate and told the nature of the charges against him. These charges related to transactions which had been inquired into and sanctioned by the old Board of Directors (which had a majority of Chinese), and their refutation required access to numerous documents in the railway company's archives. This access Ostroumoff has been consistently denied, though on several occasions the judge has undertaken to secure and produce the documents required—a promise he has never fulfilled. Ostroumoff, a man certified to be in a dangerous state of health, has been kept in solitary confinement, and treated little differently from a condemned criminal ever since October 3. The general amnesty which, as promulgated, unquestionably applied to his and Gondatti's cases—though they asked not for pardon, but for justice—has been overruled by the Manchurian authorities. Successive judges have been entrusted with the conduct of the case, and have pleaded illness, obtained a transfer elsewhere, or resigned. Bail, which would have been forthcoming to the extent of hundreds of thousands of dollars if necessary, has been refused. And I understand that an appeal to the Soviet Ambassador, who is

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unquestionably responsible for this travesty of justice, met with the curt response that he would intercede for Ostroumoff only if he undertook to stand his trial in Moscow—for offences, be it noted, which are alleged to have been committed outside of Russian jurisdiction during a period when the Soviet Government was not recognized by China, and under orders of a Sino-Russian directorate.

I may sum up the present condition of the administration of justice in China by saying that if the rule of law is understood to mean, as Dicey says, that "no man can be lawfully made to suffer, except for a distinct breach of a law established in the ordinary manner, before the ordinary courts," and that "no man is above the law," it is non-existent in China. The provincial courts are for the most part under the control of the militarists in power in the particular locality. Peking will issue a Trade Mark law, prescribing the levy of substantial fees for the protection of trade marks throughout China, and Canton will retort with a Trade Mark law of its own, which prescribes local registration and payment of fees to secure protection within its jurisdiction. Peking will order the establishment of certain Courts of Justice which the Governor of Chekiang will abolish a few months later because he does not approve of them.* All the leading authorities agree that, far from the state of Chinese laws and the arrangements for their administration having improved of late, there has been serious retrogression.

"Indeed, so far as the control by the Central Government of China of the Courts in the Provinces is concerned, the situation is not as satisfactory under the Republic as it was under the Empire." †

"Although circumstances have not altered, except for the worse, the extraterritoriality problem enters upon a new phase with the decision now reached. . . . Now and for a remote future abolition of extraterritorial jurisdiction is out of the question." ‡

"Save that the necessity to the Chinese people of European and American commodities has immeasurably increased, there is little, if any, improvement in the situation at the present time" (compared with that in 1840).§

The law to the contrary notwithstanding, torture is still in general use in Chinese tribunals. As a Chinese official put it, in attempting to justify the use of torture in a case in which it had admittedly been employed:

"If you are going to adopt foreign methods you will never recover the stolen property; you can never get evidence, and you can never

* Willoughby's "Foreign Rights and Interests in China," 69.

† *Ibid.*, 69. (Dr. Willoughby was Legal Adviser to the Chinese Republic, 1916-17.)

‡ Escarra, *op. cit.*, 1 and 18. (M. Escarra is Legal Adviser to the Chinese Government.)

§ Sir Havilland de Soumarez, Chief Judge, H.M. Supreme Court, Shanghai, 1905-21, in a lecture at King's College, April, 1923.

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depend on it. We have got a code of regulations, but underneath the surface we have to carry on in our own old way." *

Summary executions are still frequent. A despatch from Shangsha, dated May 18 of this year, records the execution of a newspaper editor there, after a summary trial by court-martial, because the local General was enraged at the publication of an article alleging extortion on the part of the Army. The unfortunate man offered to bring evidence in support of this allegation, but permission to do so was refused, and he was shot.†

I have here a photograph of the scene following a round-up of alleged bandits in Lintsing county, not more than a day's journey from Tientsin, early in 1924. It is a harrowing picture, but the fact is that scores of men, women, and children were butchered in cold blood, and subsequently mutilated by the troops, who were so proud of their work that they suspended the butchering for an hour or two while half a dozen of the victims were still living, in order to have a photograph taken of this massacre. It was openly sold in the vicinity.

Other Considerations.

I come, finally, to the "other considerations" which must be taken into account when discussing the question of the abolition of extraterritoriality. I shall do no more than mention the fact that it is to extraterritoriality that the foreigner in China owes his immunity from the arbitrary and haphazard taxation imposed by the local Chinese authorities upon their own countrymen, and from the exactions and levies of the militarists. It is to extraterritoriality that he owes the existence of foreign settlements and concessions, where he can reside under hygienic regulations and in conditions of reasonable safety, free, as a rule, from incursions of Chinese troops and bandits (often it is difficult to distinguish between them), and enjoy a measure of self-government. These are privileges not lightly to be sacrificed. But I am going to urge in conclusion that the most important of those "other considerations" are not foreign but Chinese interests. Irresponsible Chinese may clamour for the abolition of extraterritoriality, but they flock into the Concessions for safety whenever a civil war is in progress. And it is, after all, not unreasonable that the Treaty Powers should demand that certain standards of justice should be applied to the Chinese themselves, before their courts are permitted to experiment upon foreigners. The only foreign advocates of the abolition of extraterritoriality that I know of are small groups of missionaries, who are actuated more by the spirit of martyrs than by practical considerations in advocating this step. Their view is not shared by the majority of the missionary body. I cannot, perhaps, do better than conclude this

* Quoted at British Chamber of Commerce Conference, 1923.

† *Shanghai Evening News*, May 19, 1925.

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lecture with a quotation from an address given by a veteran missionary in a lecture at Kuling, in August, 1910:

"But the thought which I am anxious to emphasize in closing this lecture is this—that China cannot come to deal fairly, rightly, and humanely with *foreigners alone*. Every guarantee given to *foreigners* for their proper treatment as dwellers in China must soon become a guarantee also to the people of China that they, too, shall henceforth receive for themselves a like justice and consideration to that which the superior power of the Western nations has *demanded as a right* in the case of every citizen coming from Western lands. . . . Let every patriotic Chinaman . . . think with himself:

"This state of liberty, this security for life and property in China, this immunity from torture and from official oppression, corruption, and injustice which foreign Governments to-day *demand* from China for their respective countries, enforcing the demand where necessary through foreign consuls and by diplomatic pressure—this, and nothing less than this, is what *we Chinese* have to seek to obtain as a matter of course from our rulers for ourselves. We shall *not* get it, however, by first depriving the foreigner of it, or by subjecting him to all the injustice to which our own nationals subject us."*

Discussion.

Mr. H. G. Simms: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will not detain you very long. When I was asked to say a few words on this question of extraterritoriality I did not know what my friend Mr. Woodhead would say, so I wrote down a few words on this question. I have listened with great interest to what he has said on the question of the abolition of extraterritorial rights in China, and am glad to find they are consistent with the views to which I have often given expression in various capacities in Shanghai. Events which have happened since the deplorable incident of May 30 last in Shanghai, however disconcerting those events may be, must not be allowed to prejudice our outlook, and we must not allow ourselves to be stampeded by intensive propaganda. Even the propagandists who are busy broadcasting their own peculiar commentary on British history in China to suit their own ends must admit that in 1902 Great Britain, and subsequently the United States and Japan, made a real gesture towards adopting a just, liberal, and sympathetic policy towards China. In 1902, as Mr. Woodhead said, China expressed a strong desire to reform her judicial system and to bring it into accord with that of Western nations. At that time the Government in Peking was able to speak for China as a whole. In the most statesmanlike way Great Britain availed herself of this opportunity to prove her friendliness to China by offering her every assistance in effecting reforms she very much desired. In addition she was prepared to relinquish her extraterritorial rights as

* "Extraterritoriality in China," by Arnold Foster, B.A., London Missionary Society.

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soon as she was satisfied that the state of Chinese laws, the arrangements for their administration, and other considerations warranted her in so doing. In the interests of the British communities in China those safeguards were prudently incorporated in the terms of the Mackay Treaty. Since 1902 China has had ample opportunity to make substantial progress in carrying out the reforms she so much desired, but the unpalatable truth is that she has squandered those years of opportunity, and notwithstanding what the Chinese Information Bureau circulates, the position in 1925 is worse than in 1902, because there is no Government to-day which can speak for China as a whole, and what is most extraordinary to us who have lived in China and have heard so much about China's sovereign rights, there are at the present time wild men from Moscow misruling her second greatest city, Canton, and those men have no extraterritorial rights. If they were citizens of one of the Powers possessing those rights their own Government would make short work of their antics in Canton. China not having what the students call an unequal treaty with Moscow, must turn them out herself, and the sooner she does it the better for the citizens of Canton. Young China raves about their country's humiliation and unequal treaties, but her humiliation is not due to what they call unequal treaties; it is due to the rapacity of her own officials who have done nothing to help their country and have totally ignored the 1902 gesture. With all the goodwill and sympathy in the world no Conference of the Treaty Powers, having in mind the interests of their own nationals, could take the responsibility of recommending to their respective Governments the abolition of extraterritorial rights until China makes an honest and sincere effort to fulfil the eminently reasonable conditions under which the Powers are prepared to relinquish those rights as laid down in the Mackay Treaty of 1902. She knows well that the Treaty Powers are friendly disposed towards her, that they have no territorial ambitions, that all they insist on is to be able to carry on their long-established trade, which has been of such immense benefit to China herself. In 1921 the considered opinion of the British business men in China was expressed in a resolution passed at a meeting of the Associated British Chambers of Commerce. That was at the time of the Washington Conference. I would like just to read that resolution to you now. It was sent to our delegates in Washington: "That this Conference of British Chambers of Commerce in China, Shanghai, and Hong Kong, consisting of representatives of British banks, shipping and insurance companies, manufacturers and merchants, who by reason of their widespread business interests and the considerable capital invested in this country, are deeply concerned with the commercial and industrial development of China, desire to place on record their conviction that the cause of China will not be advanced if, as is reported on good authority, the

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Chinese delegation to the Washington Conference put forward far-reaching demands for the abolition of extraterritoriality, tariff autonomy, and cancellation of existing agreements regarding railways, mines, etc., which are not justified in view of the present inability of the Chinese Government to maintain order in the country, to protect the lives and property of foreigners, to establish a course of law where justice shall be freely and impartially administered, and to devote the revenue accruing from the taxation of trade to the development of the country's resources." That was the considered view of every foreigner in the East at that time, 1921. Since 1921 the position has become actually worse, and I think what we have got to do is to be consistent in our policy. Our Government must have one policy: unless there is very good reason to change what is laid down in that resolution we must stick to it, no matter what has happened since. In my own remarks, when I moved that resolution at the Associated Chambers of Commerce, I said it was not helpful to content ourselves with flattering Young China on the progress she is making. China must frankly realize the difficulty of trying to develop on modern lines by her own efforts only, and it behoves her to consider seriously what course other Eastern nations have adopted under similar circumstances, and to follow their example. With the natural impulsiveness of youth the Western-educated Chinese have desired to have complete control of their own tariffs, and to see their country free from the humiliation of extraterritoriality and foreign control of railways, etc. Who is there that does not sympathize with their aspirations? Like the word itself, extraterritoriality is cumbersome alike to Chinese and foreigners. It retards commercial and industrial development. On the other hand, who, viewing the state of China to-day, would have the courage to advocate the abolition of extraterritoriality? In the most friendly way we would strongly urge those representatives who have gone to Washington in the name of China not to prejudice her case by putting forward demands which cannot be conceded. We would warn them that the path they have to tread is a long and arduous one. They must begin at the beginning. If they desire to adopt Western methods they must think Western, and one of the fundamental principles underlying Western administration is the subordination of self-interest to the service of the State. Building on that sure foundation, corruption, dishonesty, and many other obstacles which hamper their progress will disappear, and all those things which they so ardently desire to-day will be added to them. Those, gentlemen, are the remarks made in 1921, which showed that we had great sympathy with China; but we are business people, and we are not going to give up any rights until we are sure we have got equally good safeguards from China. (Applause.)

Dr. HAROLD BALME: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do

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not intend to detain you for long this evening after the very interesting and illuminating lecture that we have listened to. But there are two or three aspects of this subject in which I venture to differ from our lecturer, and it seems to me that we want to consider all sides in an audience such as we have here to-night. The first point that I want to emphasize is the fact that, whatever we may quote of happenings in previous years, we are dealing with a new situation to-day in China, and a situation in which the psychological element is probably one of the most important. Underlying the whole of this difficulty of extraterritoriality as seen from the point of view of the Chinese (and, unlike Mr. Woodhead, I live among them in the interior), the important fact which is impressing all of us who are concerned about the restoration of good relations, is the sense of inferiority to which Mr. Woodhead alluded when remarking that the existence of extraterritorial rights is a stigma upon sovereignty. We cannot forget that the main article of the Washington Conference of 1921 was a frank recognition on the part of the signatory Powers of the full sovereignty and independence of China, and until extraterritorial rights are abandoned by those foreign Powers that are dealing with China in trade and in other forms of mutual intercourse, you have the acknowledged fact that that sovereignty has not yet been fully restored. There may be a thousand reasons against the restoration. Mr. Woodhead has supplied us with some very lurid ones this evening, and I have no doubt that he could produce more—I could produce a few myself from my knowledge of the interior—but even those excellent and melodramatic reasons do not get away from the major fact, that so long as these rights, or whatever you may call them, are withheld, you have a psychological condition which is always apt to express itself in boycotts, anti-foreign disturbances, or at least in that form of misunderstanding which, unfortunately, has poisoned our relationships with China on so many occasions. We were reading in *The Times* to-day, most of us, Lord Willingdon's remarks at Eastbourne yesterday. Speaking of the great India problem, he said that there is only one solution to it, and that is a frank recognition that the day of superior races and superior domination is over. Although there may be many differences of civilization—and I think sometimes we are apt to forget that the Chinese can point to as many defects in our civilization from their estimation of values, as we are able to do in theirs—this greater problem cannot be satisfactorily solved until this full relation of equality is established. I want to suggest, in the first place, that the big problem in extraterritoriality is the fact that you have a discontented China to-day, whereas the greatest asset we know in trade and in all such relations is the goodwill and confidence of the people. In the second place, I want to suggest that when people talk about the abolition of extraterritoriality it does not necessarily involve, as is often

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suggested, the immediate sweeping away of those precautions which have had to be set up in the past in order to make commerce stable. I think there is no question about it that in the past it has been a necessary *modus operandi* to have some form of extraterritorial rules. As to the suggestions made to-day by the more reasonable of the Chinese, such as the educators, with whom I am more particularly in contact, immediate abolition is the last thing they want to see. What they want is to see a definite series of stages by which mixed courts and mixed tribunals shall be set up in the larger centres, so that whenever a matter occurs affecting the Chinese and foreign nationals, it can come before the mixed tribunal, whose two members for the first few years should both adjudicate, and then, when the new laws have been put in practice so far as these foreign cases are concerned, a further stage should be developed in which the foreign assessor or co-judge should merely listen in to protect the interests of his fellow national if occasion demands, the major responsibility being put on the Chinese judge, this again paving the way for the Chinese judge to take full possession. Those of us who believe that Chinese extra-territoriality must go in the near future, believe that this is the natural process. I was sorry to hear Mr. Woodhead close his lecture with that series of incidents. I do not doubt the truth of any one of them. I know of some of them, but it seems to me that to-day we have to get to larger principles, and not continue to exacerbate the already strained relationships by the use of these various unhappy events. As I listened to him I could not help thinking of a talk which I had with Mr. Alfred Sze a few years ago, when he was Chinese Minister to Great Britain. I was asking him to take the chair at a meeting on the development of Chinese education. He replied: "I am sorry to refuse. I would gladly do so, but on more than one occasion I have had to listen to men of influence and repute using incident after incident culled from the sordid side of Chinese civilization, and saying hardly a single word on the other side. I could very easily produce such a lecture about life in England, as I have seen it in Limehouse and other places, full of very unfortunate incidents of English life; but it would not be a fair picture of the England in which I have lived." I really feel to-day that we are faced with such an enormous problem that we have got to look upon it in the largest and most generous way, never forgetting that unless we can secure the goodwill and confidence of the Chinese people no kind of rights that are guaranteed by treaties will ever take their place. (Applause.)

General Sir Neill Malcolm: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I cannot pose as an authority on so complicated and vast a subject as this one of extraterritoriality in China, but I should like, if I may, to express the pleasure with which I listened to the words of the last speaker; because I think the most important aspect of this

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whole question is the one which he emphasized. It is that we are not only in China but throughout the East dealing with a vast problem of anti-Western feeling. It is a stirring in the East of a consciousness of nationality which is comparatively new, a great feeling of patriotism throughout the East which is new to us too, a sinking of individualism in the general sense of consciousness of race and racial rights. That is a movement which we cannot face with an absolutely rigid non-possumus. We cannot simply face that demand with a flat No. We have got to realize that if we do not act reasonably, give way here and give way there, the problem will get bigger, and we shall probably, I will not say be forced by armies or military strength, but sooner or later we shall give way, and probably go much further than we should have to do if we dealt with it on the lines suggested by the last speaker. I may say that the knowledge of the Chinese which I have acquired during the last two or three years in Singapore bears out the words of the last speaker. On municipal councils and elsewhere—we have Chinese on the Legislative Council also—their co-operation with the British is undoubtedly of the greatest possible value. They know their problems in a way the British could not, and their advice is undoubtedly a very considerable source of strength to the Executive Government. I speak with great diffidence on questions affecting China itself. It is many years since I was there last; but I feel that in this problem of dealing with four hundred millions of people we must seek for co-operation and gradually give way as gracefully as possible. (Applause.)

The LECTURER: I have not a great deal to say in reply to what the speakers subsequent to myself have said. I agree to a certain extent with Dr. Balme that we have got to give way gradually on the question of extraterritoriality. The question is how far we are to give way, and when we are to begin. I hope I have persuaded you that now is hardly a fortunate moment to go so far as to fix dates or principles, when there is no Government capable of fulfilling a single obligation into which it enters. That lies at the root of China's troubles. You can enter into what engagements you like with the Government at Peking. It does not follow it will be obeyed in Canton, or Hankow, or Manchuria. I believe that at Washington one of the strongest reasons actuating the Conference in agreeing to go as far as it did in the question of tariff autonomy was the fact that the Government a few months previously had entered into an arrangement with the foreign cigarette companies that on payment of certain taxes to the Central Government all forms of illegal taxation on cigarettes in transit would cease, and if this regulation was ignored or evaded by any of the Provinces the Central Government was to refund the amounts illegally exacted. But the ink was hardly dry on the agreements before, first Chekiang, and then province after province, proceeded to enforce

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illegal cigarette taxation, which in the aggregate must amount to far more than the Government can collect and refund. We are always up against a problem of that kind. It is all very well to talk about Chinese co-operation in Singapore. Of course the Chinese will co-operate with the British if he is assured of safety of life and property—he will do it even in foreign Concessions in China—if he is not intimidated. But you cannot expect that where he is constantly liable to the exactions and coercion of his own officials. I have only tried to put practical aspects of extraterritoriality before you. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before we separate I am sure you would like me on your behalf to thank the lecturer, and the other gentlemen who have taken part in the discussion, for all the information they have given us. I have rarely heard so lucid and clear an exposition of a difficult subject as we have heard to-night from Mr. Woodhead. (Applause.) His remarks were very appositely and eloquently supplemented by what Mr. Simms has told us. I was particularly glad to hear Mr. Simms, because he represents British capital in China. That British capital is represented sometimes as rapacious, but we have had ample proof, not only from what he said to-day, but from what he quoted from the resolution passed by the Associated Chambers of Commerce in 1921, that the British capitalist in China, so far from being a bloodsucker, or thinking nothing of the welfare of the people amongst whom he lives, has the keenest interest in their welfare, and the greatest sympathy with their aspirations economical and political. But we have to remember that the British capitalist in China is one of us. He goes there under the protection of the British flag. Before we ask him to sacrifice the protection that flag affords him we are entitled to demand, and he is entitled to ask, of the Chinese Government, "What guarantee do you give this man representing Britain abroad that he shall receive justice and fair treatment from the tribunal to which you propose he shall be made amenable?" That practically is the key to the situation between us and China. From 1902 down to to-day we have told the Chinese, "We sympathize with your desire to get rid of extraterritoriality. It is a stigma on your sovereignty and cumbersome to our trade; but before we can allow it to be got rid of, before we can make our subjects amenable to your tribunals, satisfy us that your tribunals are honest, fair, impartial; that your laws are reasonable laws, and not laws which allow of torture and coercion. Give us assurances on these points, and then we will dispense with the present safeguards." But I think it would be folly at this stage, when such authority as there has been in China has since 1902 made absolutely no step or gesture to comply with any of the conditions we have laid down, that we should come forward voluntarily, and from so-called psychological reasons—forgetting altogether the practical issues at stake—say, "We renounce these safe-

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guards. We follow the Bolsheviks." It is all very well for the Bolsheviks to say they are content with the Chinese tribunals. No doubt these are better than the Cheka. They benefit by the change. But it is a different thing to ask British subjects to run the risk of the judicial atrocities which are perpetrated in China. The lecturer put before us the situation as it is to-day. We do not wish to dwell unnecessarily on the abuses in the administration of justice and law, but while those abuses not only exist but flourish, our people may at any time come up against them. It was right, therefore, in explaining the position to-day, that the lecturer should give recent instances showing how justice is administered in China, and what our people would have to fear if we give away those safeguards by which at present they are protected. That is quite consistent with our desire that China should justify us in removing those safeguards. Therefore those of us—and I think we are all—actuated by a spirit of goodwill to China, should say, "For heaven's sake try to put your house in order; establish a strong Government, establish a decent judiciary, pass laws which will not be so much waste paper, but which will be capable of being and will be enforced. When you can do something practical and tangible, come forward, and your claim, if a reasonable one, will be met and satisfied." That is what we said to Japan fifty years ago, and Japan accepted the advice, with the result that Britain was the first Power to renounce extraterritoriality in Japan over twenty years ago. If we were to renounce it in China *now* we should be exposing for an indefinite period, not only our own people, but the four hundred millions of Chinese to the evils of one of the most backward and corrupt judicial systems in the world. Of all nationalities who have dealt with China I think our hands are cleanest. We may have some flaws on our escutcheon, but it is the irony of fate that the Government whose attitude towards China has been the most sympathetic, and whose dealings have been the fairest, should be the one most malignantly attacked by Young China. That is not a spontaneous movement, but a very clever exploitation of the present Young Chinese psychology by our friends the Bolsheviks. (Applause.) I would ask you to thank the lecturer, and those who have taken part in the discussion, for the very interesting evening we have had. (Renewed applause.)

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RECENT PERSIAN HISTORY *

By Lieut.-Colonel W. G. GREY

Sir George MacMunn, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must first express regret that we have been unable to get together a sufficient number of interesting slides for this lecture. We have done our best, but it does not amount to very much. I hope the subject-matter will be sufficiently interesting to atone for the lack of illustrations.

The title of the lecture is "Recent Persian History." I suppose it is correct to say that until the latter part of last century Great Britain's position as chief guide, counsellor, and friend to Persia was not menaced; but when the Russians occupied Trans-Caspia, and the line extending from the Caspian Sea to Penjdeh, which lies along the Persian border, it was inevitable that Russian influence in Persia should make itself felt in increased measure. This commenced in the North, and when I first came to Persia in 1902 there were already visible signs of every effort being made to extend it to the South. So much so that I was once or twice called away from Bander Abbas, where I was stationed, to find out whether such and such a place close by had not been leased to a Russian company. The report turned out in each case to be nonsense, but it kept one busy and amused, and interested the natives of the place very largely. This attempt of the Russians to establish their influence throughout the country naturally led to a great deal of friction with British representatives. This friction got worse and worse at the beginning of this century. So

* A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on Thursday, November 12, 1925, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., when Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Grey delivered a lecture on "Recent Persian History." In the absence of Lord Peel (Chairman of the Society), Major-General Sir George MacMunn presided.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel sure that in the constant interest that Persia and Persian subjects arouse in everyone who cares for the East, and the recent constitutional change in Persia having brought the Persian subject once again to the front, you will welcome very much a lecture from Colonel Grey—whom I have the pleasure of introducing to anyone who does not know him—who has been a great many years of his life in Persia and Arabia, and can tell us a great deal of the internal happenings there during the last few years, of which very few of us know the inner history. I will ask him to address the meeting. (Applause.)

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acute was it on occasions that it prejudiced the continuance of cordial relations in Europe; and in 1907 an agreement was signed between England and Russia which it was hoped would put an end to this particular form of trouble. It divided the country into "spheres of influence." This is common knowledge. I need not dwell on it except to state the effect it had on the three Powers concerned. The British, of course, complained rather at first because it was said that Russia had got the best of the bargain. This in a sense was true, in that nearly all the more populated and flourishing towns and districts were included in the Russian sphere. However, this criticism died down gradually when it came to be more and more realized that a real act of statesmanship had been performed, and that on the whole this agreement would be beneficial. It was pointed out that as we had no intention of making it a prelude to the partition of Persia between the Russians and ourselves, it was not really of much consequence that they should have the best of the bargain. I never heard any complaint of this agreement on the part of any Russian. No doubt they were quite satisfied, and in the light of their subsequent conduct in Persia, which I will come to presently, it is likely they had no complaint to make. The Persians, of course, were very much upset indeed, as they naturally would be. Suspicious by nature, they naturally thought that this was merely the prelude to the partitioning that they had been so afraid of ever since the Russians appeared on the scene. They were quite convinced on the point; one said that this was all right for a time, and then the Powers concerned would find that it was not sufficiently satisfactory, and would have to replace it by something else until Persia and her people were at the mercy of foreigners, and their existence as an independent nation would altogether cease. Between this time, 1907, and the outbreak of the war, the conduct of the Russians in Persia was certainly such as to lend strong colour to this view. They hanged mullahs and mujtahids in Tabriz and elsewhere, and in May, 1912, in spite of the vigorous protests of Sir Percy Sykes, then Consul-General at Meshed, they actually bombarded the sacred shrine of Meshed. This created a great deal of feeling, for it is the most sacred place in Persia, and after Mecca and Medina the most sacred in the world, with the exception of Kerbela and Nejd, to the Shia Moslem. The Persians became more and more convinced that the Russians were going to take part of their country, and regarded the act as something done to promote disturbance which would compel the Russians to take over the country in the interests of law and order. Another difficulty at this time was the conduct of the German officials. They sought to sow what ill-feeling they could between the Russians and ourselves. This is no vain accusation. It was admitted by a German consul. When asked what was the occupation of himself and friends in Persia, he said, "Oh, it is quite simple; in the Russian sphere we support the British,

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and in the British sphere we support the Russians." (Laughter.) I think one is justified in assuming now that it was the result of their anxiety not to see too close relations come into existence between Great Britain and Russia. If we asked at the Foreign Office here whether they thought the Russian Government had any idea at that time of dividing Persia with us, we usually received the reply which I have already received more than once, "Oh, I don't think so."

They may or may not have had such a view, but in 1916, when passing through Petrograd on my way to take up the position of Consul-General at Meshed, I was asked to go and call on the head of that part of the Foreign Office there which dealt with Persia, as he could give me some interesting hints and information. I had an interesting conversation with this gentleman. As I was going away he said, "You will find your colleague at Meshed a very pleasant fellow. Don't quarrel with him, it is not at all necessary that you should; because, as no doubt you know, we are going to partition the country: we are only waiting for a convenient opportunity, so try and keep the peace all the more—try and keep the peace until it comes." I was very much surprised. I did not make any remark, but might have told him that if there was any such idea it was entirely confined to Russia, I was quite certain. As a result of various things, principally the 1907 agreement and the conduct of the Russians that followed it, we found ourselves and the Russians very unpopular in Persia at the beginning of the war. Of course we were not as unpopular as they were, because they had been the actual authors of those actions which inspired the Persians with so much fear. But we were also blamed because we had not, in Persian opinion, restrained them sufficiently, and it was not surprising when war broke out that a large number of the educated classes in Persia were more inclined towards our enemies than towards ourselves. In spite of this the British and Russian Legations succeeded, with what I may say was great skill, in inducing the Persian Government to maintain an attitude of benevolent neutrality towards the Allies during the first two or three years of the struggle; although in July, 1916, when the enemy forces advanced beyond Hamadan and it looked as if they were threatening the capital itself, there was a panic, and the Shah decided to run away with his court and throw himself into the arms of the invaders. Well, fortunately, within two or three days there was a set-back to the invading force, and so this project was not carried out; but it was considered to be near enough at hand for numbers of European ladies and children to be sent away down to the coast of the Caspian Sea and for some Legation—say it was the Russian Legation—to send one night a chauffeur to put all the Shah's automobiles out of condition. (Laughter.) Very shortly after this, our successes in Mesopotamia changed the situation altogether and that particular fear ceased to exist. When the revolution

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broke out in Russia, of course that meant a decline of Russian influence, and it was followed a little later by the departure from Northern Persia of Russian troops. These troops had been strongly disliked by the public. I saw a good deal of them when I was in Meshed; they behaved in a very high-handed fashion. If there was any dispute between a Persian and a Russian subject, Cossacks were always on the spot and took possession of the property in dispute without any hesitation. In their possession it remained, because the Karguzar, or whoever tried the case, was always sufficiently intelligent to give a decision in favour of the Russian. When I asked one of these officials one day why he did this, he said, "Well, you see, it is their sphere of influence." (Laughter.) However, in the course of a very short time after the departure of the Russian troops, it was obvious that Russian influence had entirely disappeared and that all questions of spheres of influence had ceased to exist. The troops in Northern Persia were replaced by our own, and the Persians soon came to understand that there was a great difference between their behaviour and that of the Cossacks who had preceded them. During the whole of the time troops were with me in Meshed I never had one serious complaint against them, and when they went away there was whole-hearted regret. This was partly because the Persians had made some money out of them, but there was honest regret that they should be going; and one or two people—I think they were contractors—asked whether they could not stay. When the war came to an end the position so far as we were concerned had very greatly improved. We had regained some of our popularity, thanks to the conduct of our troops and our officials generally, and I think then there was a very good opportunity for us to do something for Persia if we had happened to take a line which was suitable to the occasion. In 1919 the Persians sent a deputation to the Peace Conference at Versailles, and this deputation was sent in the hope that in the general settlement that was expected to be made, something might be done for Persia which would at all events ensure her continuance as an independent nation. While this deputation was there, the Prime Minister of the time was engaged, with two of his colleagues and the representative of Great Britain, in preparing a secret convention—known afterwards as the Anglo-Persian Convention. What was going on, so far as I have been able to make out by asking nearly everybody in Persia who is of any importance, was known only to five people. In the meantime the delegation to the Peace Conference was refused a hearing, on the very natural and reasonable ground that Persia, not having participated in the war, was not qualified to be represented at the Conference. There was no fault to be found with that. In August, 1919, the Convention was signed and the matter came to light. Immediately the whole of the Democrats and Nationalists—large and powerful political bodies in Persia

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and elsewhere—rose up against it and used very strong language. I am sorry to say that in this they were backed up, perhaps not with the same language, but with equal force, by certain Allied legations in Tehran, who apparently thought they ought to have been consulted in connection with any arrangement that might be made for a settlement of Persia.

This Convention provided for a great deal which was beneficial to Persia. The Government was to receive a loan from Great Britain of two million pounds; Persia was to be provided with advisers in finance and other departments; and a joint military commission was afterwards set up—its President was my friend General Dickson, who had previously been commanding the forces in Eastern Persia—with the object of drawing up a report on what was required for the reorganization of the Persian army. At the same time Mr. Armitage-Smith, the officer selected by the Government in London as Financial Adviser to the Persian Government under this Convention, came out with his staff, and they were ready to begin work. The military report was actually drawn up, and a copy of it is in my possession. The Prime Minister, seeing the opposition aroused among the Democrats and Nationalists, tried to stem it by deporting some of their leaders to undesirable places in Southern Persia, and it was considered possible that this heroic measure would help in putting in force the conditions of the Anglo-Persian Convention. It was, however, specially laid down that the Convention had to pass the Mejlis or Persian Parliament before such could be done. Time passed and the Mejlis was not assembled, although it had recently been elected. For one reason or another its assembly seemed to be impossible. The matter therefore was at a standstill for some time, and the fate of the Convention was ultimately sealed by events which perhaps could not have been—at all events they were not—foreseen. I refer to the evacuation of the Caucasus and Baku by British troops, and the landing without opposition from us of a Bolshevik force at Enzeli on the Persian shore of the Caspian Sea. The Persian Prime Minister gave out on one or two occasions that after these events it was obvious that he would not be able to proceed with the Convention, and until the May of the following year nothing further was done. At that time Sir Percy Cox, who had acted on behalf of the British Government for the Convention, left Persia and was relieved by Mr. Norman. Before Mr. Norman left England he asked Lord Curzon what policy his Lordship desired him to pursue when he arrived in Persia. Lord Curzon said: "I want you to follow Sir Percy Cox's policy." Mr. Norman came out to Tehran, and according to my information was told nothing by Sir P. Cox. Colonel Sir T. W. Haig, who had served under the late chargé d'affaires as Counsellor of Legation, remained to advise Mr. Norman, and recommended him to press the Prime Minister to proceed with the Convention. But

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this seems to have been impossible, as the Premier had already remained quite inactive for a considerable time. It is hard to imagine a more difficult position than that in which Mr. Norman found himself on taking over. So far as he knew this Anglo-Persian Convention was still to be brought into force, and yet it was, on the spot, as completely defunct as if it had never existed. After two or three months, seeing that the Prime Minister did nothing for the Convention, Mr. Norman consented to his replacement by another, in whose goodwill he had more confidence. This was Mushir-ed-Dowleh, one of the leading Nationalists of the country. This man, however, so far from doing anything to put the conditions of the Convention in force, or helping in any way in the extrication of Mr. Norman from his dilemma, sent away the military officers who had come for the reorganization of the army, and deputed Mr. Armitage-Smith to Europe to arrange some matters which were outstanding between the Persian Government and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Mr. Armitage-Smith had no objection to going, but Mushir-ed-Dowleh told him when he left that he was afraid he would not be able to ask him to return, as the feeling against the Anglo-Persian Convention in the country was so strong. Mr. Armitage-Smith therefore departed, and it was some time before he came back, in circumstances I shall relate presently. For some time Mushir-ed-Dowleh carried on in the fashion of many Persian Premiers—that is to say, he did nothing. At the end of the autumn of 1920, the General Officer commanding the troops in North-Western Persia had reason to consider it advisable that the Russian officers (belonging, of course, to the old régime) who were entrusted with the work of training and advising the Cossack division stationed at Kazvin, about eighty miles to the west of Tehran, should be dismissed and replaced by British officers. His reasons were entirely military, and, so far as one who has done no military service for some years can tell, they were exceedingly sound. The matter was represented to the Mushir, but he feared to carry it out and preferred to resign office. He resigned and was succeeded by another Nationalist, the Sipadar. This man carried out the measure required. The Russian officials left, and were replaced by Colonel Smyth and some other British officers. The Sipadar, however, showed after this, if possible, more signs of weakness and inertness than his predecessor, and after three months another of those upheavals in the country occurred which are always to be expected—even if they do not occur they may be expected—when you have a Prime Minister of that kind. A *coup d'état* was organized, mainly by a Persian journalist, the editor of one of the best daily papers in Tehran, a person of great intelligence, and, so far as one can see, an honest well-wisher for the good of his country. This man, in conjunction with the Cossack Division at Kazvin, organized a march on Tehran, and perhaps the British military officers with the Cossack Division thought it advisable,

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on being applied to, to give advice as to how this expedition should be carried out. I asked Colonel Smyth, when passing through Kazvin shortly afterwards, whether he did not think it was a little queer his taking part in political movements in the country. His reply was: "I was asked for military advice, and as Instructor I had to give it." It is certain that if a thing like this is going to take place, it is better that it should be carried out in an orderly manner, as it was. The Cossack Division occupied Tehran, there was practically no bloodshed, they sent the Sipadar about his business, and they set up Saiyid Zia-ud-Din, the journalist, as Prime Minister. The Shah accepted the position, and Saiyid Zia-ud-Din was entrusted with the formation of a Cabinet. His rule began very well—too well, there is no doubt about it; for he proceeded to imprison a number of the Conservative party, the only party, you may say, who could have been believed to remain friendly to us. He put a number of them in prison; they were all people who were supposed to have robbed the State and he desired to squeeze them. Unfortunately they were not sent out of the country, but were kept in Tehran, and one or two of them managed by the judicious manipulation of certain causes of friction between Saiyid Zia-ud-Din, his War Minister, who was in command of the Cossack Division on the occasion of the expedition from Kazvin, and His Majesty the Shah, to bring about the fall of Saiyid Zia-ud-Din towards the end of May, 1921. After a reign of only three months he was obliged to quit the country in a hurry, and so far as I know he is at the present moment in Switzerland. When it was necessary to appoint an officer of ability to command the Cossack Division in their march from Tehran, Riza Khan had been at once selected, and the selection seems to have been an admirable one, because he has since shown a very great deal of power and influence as an individual, not to speak of his qualities as a military commander. This man twenty-two years ago was in the ranks of the Persian Cossacks, and used to present arms at the public buildings when on sentry in his turn. He is now Prime Minister, War Minister, and Commander-in-Chief. He is Dictator for the moment, and has a very strong chance of becoming Shah before many days are over. This man, when Saiyid Zia-ud-Din formed his Cabinet, had no difficulty in obtaining, after some little delay—there was someone, I think, before him for a few weeks—the post of War Minister in addition to that of Commander-in-Chief. He made it his business to attach all the soldiery to himself personally. In a country where money is always short and supplies deficient, he saw to it that every month a very large percentage of the money that happened to be in the Government Treasury was handed over to him for payment of the troops. The troops saw that their wants were looked after before any other employé of the Government was paid, and therefore they recognized

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they must have a man of some consequence and distinction as their Commander-in-Chief.

When Saiyid Zia-ud-Din fell, the prisoners to whom I referred just now were at once let out. I arrived in Tehran on May 18, Mr. Armitage-Smith having arrived a few days before in response to a telegraphic invitation from Saiyid Zia-ud-Din. I went to Mr. Armitage-Smith's house, as I was to be his Political Assistant. I found that he was about to appoint a man as officer in charge of the military finances. I had heard something about Riza Khan on the way up from Colonel Smyth and others, and asked, "Have you the consent of the War Minister?" He said, "I and So-and-so will see him this afternoon to arrange. So-and-so talks Persian, and if the Minister cannot understand that we will have an interpreter in and we will talk French." In the evening I asked how they got on. Mr. Armitage-Smith said, "It is all right, So-and-so is to go on Saturday afternoon at two o'clock and take charge of his duties." The man went at two o'clock on Saturday afternoon accordingly. I was away that Saturday, but came back in the evening; Mr. Armitage-Smith said to me, "I have been insulted. So-and-so went there at two o'clock this afternoon, and he waited for two and a half hours, but nobody came." I suggested that the only thing to do now was to get an interview for me with the War Minister. This was done, and it was arranged for Monday at ten o'clock. I went up to the place appointed punctually at ten o'clock, and was shown with great ceremony into a small room where two men were sitting. One was a distinguished-looking person in military attire, and the other a very foxy person alongside him. They rose, shook hands without speaking, and pointed to a chair, in which I sat. I waited for half a minute for someone to begin the conversation, but nobody did so. I told them who I was, where I had been, and the precise reason for my waiting upon them that morning. I said that Mr. Armitage-Smith had been very much hurt, and did not understand how it was that after His Highness had accepted the service of one of his officers the officer had been treated in this manner. The War Minister did not open his mouth. After slight hesitation the other man said, "He is not a diplomat." I said, "There is nothing about diplomacy here, this is simply a friendly conversation." Then the War Minister found his tongue. He said, "I don't want anybody serving with the army. I can run the finances of the army myself. Please don't send anybody to that." I said, "That is splendid; now we know where we are. May I tell my friend that you are quite agreeable to his reforming the finances of the country generally?" He said, "Please do, provided he does not interfere with military affairs." I said, "Now we know where we are, and I hope we shall have your support." By this time he had thawed a little. He said, "The Cabinet is about to fall; who do you think ought to be the next Prime Minister?" I said, "What is the use of asking

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me? I have only just come to the place and do not know anybody." He said, "Never mind that; who do you think ought to be the next Prime Minister?" I have a shrewd suspicion that he wanted me to say, "You ought to be"; I said, "I do not know anybody except one man who is in prison." He said, "That is out of the question if he is in prison." I said, "I don't know; this is Persia—queer things happen here. Why not take him out of prison and make him Prime Minister?" They laughed, we became friendly, and I went back to Mr. Armitage-Smith. He still felt sore, but understood the position, and was prepared to make the best of it. My suggestion may, or may not, have had something to do with it, but the next morning we heard sure enough that the Government had fallen, that Saiyid Zia-ud-Din was going, that these prisoners had been released, and that my friend had been asked to form a Cabinet. The friend I had alluded to was called Ghavam-us-Sultaneh, brother of the Vasough-ed-Dowleh who signed the Anglo-Persian Convention. I knew him very well, and was certain that if anybody could help us in regard to the continuance of Mr. Armitage-Smith in his work it would be he, although of course one knows perfectly well that because a man has been friendly to you in one place that is no reason why you should count on his friendship in another, especially if he is in a different situation. But I thought it the best chance we had, and recommended him. As soon as I heard the prisoners had been let out I went and called on my old friend. He said, "This is funny. I only came out of prison this morning, and they have already asked me to form a Cabinet." (Laughter.) I said, "How did you like being in prison?" He said, "I did not mind that so much, but I did not like the rough manner in which I was treated by the Cossacks. When they arrested me and put me in a carriage to go to Tehran they would not let me sit on a seat, but kept me down on the floor, and when I tried to get up they prodded me with their bayonets. They stole not only the gold watch out of my pocket, but the gold stopping out of my teeth." Of course, the Persian never has been known to lose an opportunity of making any money. I paid frequent visits to the Ghavam during the next few days. He said, "I am in a very difficult position as regards you people, because you positively have not got a friend in the country except myself, and what can one person do?" I replied, "It cannot be as bad as that." He said, "It is. The Anglo-Persian Convention estranged from you the Democrats and Nationalists, and now the Conservatives suppose you have been putting them into prison"—the rumour had got about that the *coup d'état* was our doing. No doubt that was chiefly because the Cossack Division was under the tuition of British officers. It was rather natural that such a report should get about, but it was most unfortunate and added still more to Mr. Norman's extremely difficult position. The Ghavam having said this to me, continued: "Never mind, I am going

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to form a Cabinet of the best people I can get. Go round and call on them, and convert them to British friendship." I called on them and found them all very sore. One of them had been deported. He said, "Do you think I have anything to complain of against the British or not? I was asked by your Minister what I thought of the Convention. I said, 'Do you want me to tell you what I think, or what I think will please you?' He said, 'I want you to tell me what you think.' I said, 'It is a bad thing for us, and bad for you.' He walked away, and three days later I was arrested by the Persian soldiery, and sent down to Kum, a very unpleasant place where I certainly did not want to go." I commiserated with the man, and said it was the Prime Minister's doing. I advised him to let bygones be bygones, and so forth, and he was friendly enough. However, it was decided that the Mejlis must assemble before we could find out whether the people were really agreeable to putting the English Financial Adviser to work, and after two or three weeks' delay the Mejlis was assembled and opened by the Shah. That evening I was with the Prime Minister, and he said, "Go down and listen to the speeches to-morrow, and come back and tell me what you have heard." I went down and got into the visitors' gallery. The first thing on the programme was an examination of the qualifications of Prince Nusrat-ed-Dowleh—the Foreign Minister who had signed the Anglo-Persian Convention and subsequently been imprisoned by Saiyid Zia-ud-Din—to enquire into his qualifications to sit as a Member of Parliament. An opponent got up, abused the British, and abused the Prince. His object was to show that the Prince was not at all a fit person to be in the Parliament. He accused him openly of having endeavoured to sell his country to foreigners, and he told him that he had received for signing the Anglo-Persian Convention one hundred thousand tomans.

I came back and told the Prime Minister this. I said that nobody seemed to mind the English being abused in this fashion, and that the general feeling of the place seemed to be against us. He said, "I was afraid you would find that. Go down and see if any of the other speakers are better." Everybody who could possibly bring in something unpleasant for us did so, and although all the members of this Mejlis had been supposed to be friends of the heroes of the Anglo-Persian Convention, all their ideas had changed, and they were violently anti-British. The Prime Minister said, "I will get some members together every night, and you visit them all singly one after another, and try to convert them." We tried for some time, but it was useless, and finally the Prime Minister had to dispense with the services of Mr. Armitage-Smith and his staff. They all left the place, but I remained on to try and help the Prime Minister in his relations with the British Legation. He did not remain in power very long. Riza Khan, the War Minister, was gradually gaining in strength and

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influence, and getting together the amount of experience that he required in other departments to enable himself to be Prime Minister, which was undoubtedly his ambition. After a few months he detected, or imagined he detected, the Ghavam in an intrigue against himself and forced him to resign. One or two other Nationalists followed him, but did nothing, and then the Ghavam returned to office. This brings us up to the autumn of 1923, and by this time the War Minister saw that his time had come, and imagining another intrigue, he dismissed the Ghavam from office, and ordered him to leave the country—which he did, and is still in France. Riza Khan then became Prime Minister himself, which frightened the life out of the Shah; he almost at once left for Europe, and has not yet returned. In the following spring Riza Khan made a rather serious mistake. He had been long an admirer of Mustapha Kemal, the President of the Turkish Republic, and thought the time had come to eject the Shah and his dynasty from office and have a republic. He therefore arranged for telegrams to be sent to Tehran, and to the Government and Parliament, demanding a change of régime, and it looked as if this was coming off, and that there would be a republic with him as President. But fortunately, or unfortunately, the Clerical party were afraid that subsequent events in Persia would much resemble those which had followed the republican movement in Turkey, and as they did not want to lose their influence and position in the country they opposed this, and Riza Khan was obliged to issue an edict, which he did after a few days, that it would be an offence against the State for anybody to say that a republic would be a good thing for Persia. I have often wondered how he performed such a complete *volte-face*. At the time I wondered what he was going to do next. It seems now that he was drawing back to jump better next time, and sure enough that is what he has done, as a few days ago we heard that the Shah had been dethroned and that the Kajar Dynasty was no more. A Provisional Government has been set up to carry on until the Mejlis meets to consider who shall be the next Shah, or what kind of government they shall have. We have heard various rumours since as to what is likely to happen, and many think that the Soviet authorities will contrive somehow to prevent Riza Khan remaining in power. It is rather difficult to see what they can do, but the Persians are very apprehensive, and although I am told that the Soviet representative in Tehran was the first to call upon Riza Khan and congratulate him on the dethronement of the Shah, there is great fear of them, because Riza Khan has shown from the first such definite hostility to Bolshevik ideas, and such disgust at their proceedings, that they regard him not only as a barrier to the extension of their influence in Persia, but also to the spread of it in the East at all. It is believed that the Soviet will not only try to get rid of Riza Khan, but that they will afterwards take further steps beyond what they have done hitherto,

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to get a Government in the country which will be subject to Bolshevik direction. Riza Khan has not been altogether successful in his dealing with some of the influential tribes. But those tribes from time immemorial have been very difficult for successive Persian Governments to manage. There is nothing extraordinary in that. My own opinion is that in the event of an offensive movement on Persia they would join with the Persian soldiery, especially if the soldiery were properly led and their morale not affected by the removal of this leader who has inspired them with such devotion. One thing is certain, that he is the most remarkable man that has arisen in the country since the time of Nasr-ed-Din Shah, and it would be a good thing on the whole for the country if he remained in power.

Sir Louis Dane: I can only voice what I am sure is the general feeling of the Society, that it is a thousand pities that the Anglo-Persian Convention was perhaps rushed a little hurriedly, and that it did not remain as stable as its originators hoped for. But I think that was not altogether the fault of the framers of the Convention, because the conditions of the world are such that I am afraid instability is the general rule, and stability is the very rare exception. Persia being always an unstable country, the Convention that we all hoped so much from did not realize its full fruition. However, since then Persia seems to have fallen into strong hands, and history always shows, as the lecturer told you, that the strong man is what is required in Persia, as everywhere else in the world at the present time.

Mr. Donald Mellor: I have a question or two to ask the lecturer. Could he give any information with regard to the state of the country for anyone wishing to go there, say, for sight-seeing or on business? Could he say whether the main roads are in such a condition that you can go comfortably by motor from the frontier to Tehran, and then down to the Caspian at Resht, or could you go across country to Kum, or in the direction of Meshed? Then again as regards Shiraz, is it possible to go to Shiraz without much difficulty? I know the road is extraordinarily difficult. The road was built during the war; and I should be glad if the lecturer could tell us whether the roads are kept in passable condition.

The Lecturer: First of all as regards security. Generally speaking, Persia is in a more secure position for travellers than it has been for years. It is a long time since we have heard of anything happening to a traveller in Persia, such as happened when General Douglas and a companion were plundered. That is one of the things Riza Khan has done in the country. He has completely changed the question of security. As regards transport, from Khariskin on the frontier there is a motor service up to Tehran; whether it is continued to the Caspian I cannot say. The road from Meshed to Tehran is bad, and it is not advisable to traverse it by motor; but I think some

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steps are being taken, or will be taken, to put it in order. In the meantime the journey can be done in eight or ten days by good carriage. There is no difficulty in getting from Shiraz to Tehran or Bushire, but I cannot tell you what the road is like. There is a good deal of talk just now among the American advisers of making transport companies, and so on. But nothing more has yet been done. Whatever difficulties there may be, I think you can always hire a motor in each place to get to the next one, provided the road is traversable, and as regards the question of security you may be perfectly happy about that.

A MEMBER: Might I ask the speaker if he knows whether Riza Khan has any plans for railway development, and if so, does he think it probable that Riza Khan would be guided by British officers in the matter rather than by American or some other nationality?

The LECTURER: So far as Riza Khan is concerned I do not think he has any choice between English and American, provided as good terms can be offered to the Persian Government. But, of course, you must remember that the gentleman in charge of Persian finances is Dr. Millspaugh, who has been on leave to America, and is supposed to have come back with a very good thing in his pocket, and promises from financiers in America to give a loan for the express purpose of railway construction if the terms are suitable.

The MEMBER: Would there be any connection with the Chester concession in Anatolia?

The LECTURER: I have never heard anything of the kind, and I think I should if there had been any suggestion of it.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think you will agree with me that we have had a most interesting lecture from a man who knows this complicated story of recent events in Persia from the inside. I happened to have the privilege of being Commander-in-Chief in Mesopotamia and North Persia at the time of the Convention, and was in Tehran with Sir Percy Cox shortly after its promulgation, and met most of the Ministry. It seemed then as if the Convention was going through and would be a success, and it must have been a very great disappointment to Lord Curzon, the Foreign Office, and to Sir Percy Cox's successors in the Ministry at Tehran, that through causes perhaps beyond anybody's control—through the disturbed condition of the world, and the long delay after the Armistice in settling peace terms—it was almost impossible to keep things in Persia in hand. I am quite sure what the lecturer told you is true, that the Convention, or something analogous, was full of promise for Persia, but the jealousies of the other Powers allowed it to fall through. Personally, I feel sure that in due course Persia must come back as friendly disposed towards Great Britain, because I look upon Great Britain as the only

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adjacent friend Persia has—at any rate, the only really disinterested friend. Whether or no Riza Khan is going to be able to make good in whatever capacity he can develop himself I am not in a position, and I do not suppose anybody else is, to know, but undoubtedly he is what Persia wants, a strong man. He can keep things going. This absurd succession of tumbling bogus Cabinets leads to nothing. Under his control there is some hope of railways and roads being developed. Such roads as have been made, chiefly by the British Government or British enterprise, in the country are not being kept up in decent condition. We had a fine motor road from Baghdad to meet the Russian road at Hamadan, but I hear it is pretty bad now. Without a strong control the whole thing is hopeless. Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you will join with me in thanking the lecturer heartily for the extraordinarily interesting lecture we have had, and for the interesting slides. (Applause.)

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CAUCASIA AND THE COMMUNISTS *

By Mr. GEORGE YOUNG, M.V.O.

My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure, although in some ways a little alarming, to find myself, so to say, bringing Soviet Central Asia into Mayfair. I hope that we may all agree this afternoon, if only in view of the heat, that we will not take a fire in our hands in thinking of the frosty Caucasus, and that we will approach this rather burning question of Russian Communism from the cool and remote altitudes of Kasbek. Let us see if we cannot get a dispassionate bird's-eye view, in the short time that I intend to keep you, of the broad plain of the social system of the Russian régime that surrounds that island of the Caucasus.

Now, I do not propose for a moment to appear before you either as an authority on Central Asia or on the Caucasus. I have, to a certain extent, ever since the war, made as close a study as I could of the Russian social system. I was, I think, the first Russian-speaking Englishman, other than in the Secret Service, to get into Russia after the Revolution. I was out with the first Labour Delegation in 1920, at the time when the Russians had got their War Communism screwed up to its very highest pitch, probably the nearest thing to straight, theoretic Communism that any State, certainly in this stage of civilization, will ever reach. It was obviously a hopeless experiment. We told them so at the time, and about two months after we had left that whole experiment was abandoned, and they started their new system, which is not Communism really at all—although I have referred to it as Communism for convenience—but State Socialism. It is, therefore, purely as an observer of the relation between this State Socialism and the very peculiar condition of affairs in Caucasia, that I am speaking to you to-night. I want you to look upon me rather as a member of the rank and file, who has gone out across the front into the fog of war, and comes back with certain impressions—as he believes certain facts—which he is anxious to put before you as the Intelligence Service. It is for you to see the significance of these facts, and to draw your conclusions from them. My principal purpose is not to put my own conclusions before you. I merely want to give you the impressions that I got during this short visit, quite a short visit, to the Caucasus with the Trades Union Delegation last winter.

* Lecture given at 74, Grosvenor Street, on June 12, 1925.

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One of the difficulties in reporting about the Caucasus is that you go there, not only through the fog of war between races and religions, the smoke screens of various propagandas, and the poison gas of all manner of press reports; but you also go there in a sort of pink cloud of romance. It is the most romantic region, I suppose, that still exists on the face of the earth. You see this at first glance, when you get among the mountains, those magnificent snow-clad peaks, rocky gorges, and tremendous precipices, clothed with primæval forest, where are remote valleys in which relics of ancient races are living their own lives as they have lived since they first went there ages ago, entirely cut off from the world and one another. You have there, in fact, in these valleys of the Caucasus, cold-storage chambers in which are preserved specimens of the civilizations of Central Asia and Asia Minor for the past two or three thousand years. "Cold storage" may, indeed, be not a mere metaphor: I was told, when I was up there, that there is inside a glacier a Persian army of two hundred years ago. They marched in there, got frozen up in the snows, and drifted down into the glacier. They say that in a few years' time this army of centuries ago is going to come out at the foot of the glacier in perfect preservation, and that you can already see the advance guard behind the ice. I cannot say I saw them, so you need not accept them as one of the facts I have to report. Another more authentic cold storaging is that of the Second Crusade. That crusade, you may remember, happened to be conducting a great many of the leading ladies of Europe out to join their brothers and husbands in Palestine, but was overwhelmed in Asia Minor, and is generally assumed to have perished, been made prisoners, or, in the case of the ladies, been put into harems. But it seems that some of them escorting many of the ladies fought their way through to the Caucasus. In one of the remoter valleys there is a tribe that once a year puts on ancient crusading armour and holds a mediæval tournament. That gives you an idea of the mediævalism of the Caucasus—of the sort of contrast that you get there between mediæval feudalism and tribalism and ultra-modern Socialism.

Moreover, man is not the only wild animal in the Caucasus. It is a refuge for fauna as formidable as any "White" Cossack or "Red" Communist. The aurochs survives there, and I believe it is the last place in Europe where there still are tigers. Indeed, most of the species are peculiar. A few weeks ago I was asked by a young man if I would help him to go out there, as he was collecting for a museum. I am rather suspicious of people who go out shooting for museums, so I asked him what he was intending to shoot, and he told me that what he was after was a unique sort of wild white mice. (Laughter.) He was prepared to contract a reciprocity treaty with Russia by which he was to trade off a rhinoceros for a supply of these white mice. Let us hope he won't find they have been turned red. (Laughter.)

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There are about sixty distinct tribes in the Caucasus, but there are only four races that really count politically. Those four are: the Georgians, the Armenians, the Tartars of Azerbaijan, and the Russians. The problems of the Caucasus are a curious interplay of the rivalries between these races intertwined with the economic collisions between the world empires interested in the natural resources of that region. The Caucasus is generally considered as a citadel of Empire on which sits the Great Russian Bear and from which he descends imperially into Central Asia. But it would be more correct to look on it as an island of Nationalism that has never been quite submerged by the rising tide of Russian Imperialism. A hundred years ago the Russian tide flowed over the lowlands between the Caucasus and Caspian to Baku, and so round to the south of the range. Another tidal wave flowed more slowly between the Caucasus and Black Sea to Batoum. Fed by these two streams the Russian inundation spread swiftly southwards, gradually settling the fertile country with colonies of Russian exiles and other emigrants, until checked by the barren mountains of Armenian Turkey. But the more mountainous regions of the Caucasus, such as Daghestan, even after fifty years' fighting still remained practically unabsorbed. The Russian tax-collector, even under Tsarist military despotism, had hardly penetrated it, and even the British lady tourist hardly ever set foot in the remoter regions.

The three main Caucasian races are the Georgians, the Armenians, and the Tartars. When the Great War broke up the Tsarist control all these races went off on their own lines. The Georgians at the beginning went in with the Germans because they were against the Russians. For the Georgians had been fighting Russia for a century, and went with anybody who seemed willing and able to support them against the Russians. So they looked to the Germans. The Tartars, on the other hand, turned to the Turks, for racial and religious reasons. Nevertheless, Georgians and Tartars were never working together. The Armenians, having been terribly persecuted by the Turks and at times protected by the Tsar, were pro-Russian. Indeed, the Russian front in Asia Minor was largely supported by Armenians fighting for their national existence. When this front collapsed at the Russian Revolution, the Russian armies flowed back in a mob and their Russian rank and file filtered off into Russia, spreading the revolution to the Russian colonists as they went. But the Armenian soldiers, of which there was a considerable force, stopped in Baku and set up the Soviet System in that industrial region. On the other hand, a good many of the Russian officers stayed in the Caucasus, among the Cossacks and Caucasian tribes, and organized the "White" armies under Denikin and Korniloff which subsequently invaded revolutionary Russia. The Turks, following slowly up behind the retreating Russians, advanced as far as Batoum and Baku. But the Georgians, who are extraordinarily

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clever diplomats, had an agreement with the Germans by which the latter kept the Turks out of Tiflis and Batoum. So they pushed up between the Caucasus and Caspian, abolishing the first Soviet Government in Baku, and pressed on up the railway on the Russian side of the Caucasus. Incidentally, they drove out of Baku a detachment of our Dunsterville force. Then came the Armistice, the British took charge of Transcaucasia, and the Turk-German forces were all evacuated southwards. They took with them a good deal of loot, but it was a creditable feat that our small detachments should have cleared such a country of such armies without bloodshed.

There followed then the allied occupation of Transcaucasia, a system of British political officers working with middle-class, or, as they call them now, Menshevist Governments in all the Caucasian States. The British occupation might have lasted indefinitely had it been possible to establish relations of confidence between London and Moscow. But we could not maintain our occupation once it became a military menace to Moscow, and in our operations against Soviet Russia we were easily discomfited because we had not made up our minds what our policy was to be. We had two points of view following different policies. This is what the Russians told me: There are those here who know much better than I do our view of what happened—I am reporting the Russian view. There were, then, two centres of British policy: one in Meshed aiming at a pan-Islamic resistance to the Russian Revolution by getting all the Turcomans and Tartars and Turks together; and another centre of policy in Tiflis aiming at using the Nationalist movements of the Transcaucasian races, Armenians, Georgians, and Tartars, against the Russian Revolution. The reason we were forced to evacuate by the Russians was because we could not make up our minds as to which possible allies to work through. For, of course, a direct conflict between our small detachments and the Red Army was out of the question.

So the allied occupation came to an end, and our policy changed into supporting "White" raids and "White" risings against Revolutionary Russia. The raid that came nearest to success, that of Denikin, started from the Caucasus and got within a few miles of Moscow. But this policy, the military coup having failed, contributed to our discomfiture politically in the Caucasus, because in supporting Denikin our idea was to restore a liberal, constitutional, Russian Empire. That made it impossible for us to recognize the full national status claimed by the nationalist Georgians, Armenians, and Tartars. We therefore gave the Russians the opportunity of saying: "We Russians will make you nations; we are the people to look to if you want to retain your liberties. The British are for restoring the Russian Empire, which you fought for a hundred years." That is the appeal that brought the Russians back, first to Baku, where in 1919 they re-established their

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Soviet System with the help of the Tartar proletariat. The Tartar industrial population, working in the oilfields under conditions disgraceful to that very wealthy industry, easily abolished the Menshevist régime of the commercial middle-class and oil millionaires. These latter were Tartar oil magnates, who had not reached the stage of becoming public benefactors, and who were even more hated than the foreign companies.

At about the same time the Armenians and the Turks fell out. The Armenians having most of their territory in Turkey and only a small part in Russia, were primarily dependent on the new Angora National Government, not on the new Moscow Social Government, in respect of their national State. It had looked as though Europe might take on this task of establishing Armenia. Relying possibly on Europe and America, the Armenians now had a quarrel with Angora about their frontiers. We had lost all hold over the Turkish Nationalists, and could do nothing when the Turks simply overran Armenia. The Tartars then joined forces with the Turks, and got the unfortunate Armenians between two fires. We could do nothing for them in spite of our obligations. The Russians, to whom the Armenians have always been useful allies, did their best for them, but were hampered by the difficulty that at that time the Turks were the allies of Russia in resisting Anglo-French action in the Black Sea and Bosphorus. At that time the Russian Communists were still fighting against our "White" protégés for the possession of Moscow, while the Turkish Nationalists were fighting against our Old Turk protégés for the possession of Constantinople. So when the Russians made their Treaty of Kars with the Turks, they had to give up to Turkey the greater part of Armenia, including Kars and neighbouring Armenian districts. All that was left of Armenia was the old Russian-Armenian province, and even that rather reduced. This remainder of Armenia within the Russian frontier then set itself up as a Soviet State and entered the Russian system. Thus there were these two Soviet States of Tartars and Armenians almost encircling Georgia, which still retained a middle-class Government. For the Georgians were so anti-Russian that they would have resisted the Soviet System, if for no other reason, because it was Russian. But this middle-class Government in Georgia found itself in a very difficult position. It was continually at war with the Soviet States on its frontier. It was also sitting on the pipeline from the oilfield to Batoum which it was essential for Moscow to hold, or to have in hands it could trust. Further, it controlled some of the most valuable manganese mines in the world, whose foreign owners were suspect to Russia of working for an allied occupation. Finally, its own industrial population were very much attracted by the Soviet Socialism they saw all round, and were continually trying to set up a Soviet State in Georgia. So the middle-class Government of Georgia had about two risings every year, which they repressed

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with ever greater difficulty, driving the insurgents for the most part into the neighbouring Soviet States.

What finally brought Georgia into the Soviet federation is very controversial, and I am not going to go into that controversy. A Soviet State was set up in Georgia, without serious fighting, with the sympathy and support of Moscow. Exactly who did it, whether it was Georgian citizens who had been driven out of Georgia for being Communists, as the Georgian Communists say, or whether it was Red Army soldiers, more or less disguised as Georgians, as the Georgian Menshevists say, is still an open question. By insurrection as I believe, by invasion as you probably believe, there was established a Soviet State in Georgia that has lasted to the present day. It was that State which more particularly we were concerned in inspecting during the short time we were in the Caucasus.

I think there is no doubt at all that from the material point of view all these Caucasian States have been better off under the Soviet System than ever before. Georgia is financially, commercially, industrially, and socially better off than under the bankrupt Menshevist Government. It is not a point on which one can have any great hesitation in speaking, because it is a thing that is pretty obvious, even to a casual visitor. Figures, of course, one does not trust very much nowadays, but there are obvious facts that one can see. Moreover, not only did we come to that conclusion—that is to say, the Labour Delegation, who might be supposed to have been anxious to see the best—but Mr. Hodgson, our representative in Moscow, with Mr. O'Malley of the Foreign Office, now in the Caucasus, have subsequently come, in respect of material prosperity and progress, to the same conclusion. Therefore, I think we may consider that question of material improvement settled.

The moral advantages of Soviet rule in Georgia are not so clear. As against great improvements in education of the town workers and their social condition, combined with improved policing of the wild tribesmen and peace on the frontiers, we have to set the subterranean conflict between Georgian nationalist and individualist sentiment and the Russian Socialist and Centralist authority. The Georgians, as an autonomous State in a federation, resent Russian control as passionately as when not only their laws and liberties but even their language was suppressed by Tsarism. I think there is no doubt that the majority of the pure Georgians, the Georgian race, earnestly desire an independent Georgian State with full sovereignty. On the other hand, there is no doubt that a majority of the industrial population, which is mostly of Russian stock, would fight very hard indeed to maintain the present system. The Georgians are not a race to resist long odds, and I doubt much whether the Georgian Nationalists, the landed gentry and the peasantry who follow them, will go on rising as the Communists did in order to upset a Government they dislike. For

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example, there was a little rising just before we got there, of which we were able to see some of the melancholy results. That rising gives evidence that the present system will have to be accepted by those who dislike it, as having the support of a majority of the inhabitants of Georgia. The insurgents could only raise small bands in certain remote districts, perhaps some few thousand altogether, and that only by the most grossly fraudulent misrepresentations. Thus the leaders of the rising sent, in hearing of their followers, telephone messages—I did not get this from the Russians, but from one of the insurgent leaders—telephone messages that there was a French fleet coming up the Black Sea to Batoum and a British force from India detraining at Baku to help them. Further, they made the most unscrupulous use of messages of sympathy sent to the previous middle-class (Menshevist) Government by various British and French statesmen, as indications that the British and French Labour Governments would support them. The unfortunate Georgian peasants were so far deceived that they welcomed the first Russian aeroplanes as being French and British scouts. The result of that rising was a strong reaction against the emigré Menshevists who had misled them, and a very severe repression by the Communists—severer than circumstances at all justified; though there is always the argument in the case of repressions that it is kinder to be cruel—an argument that I do not hold myself. The repression of all opposition in Georgia was much severer than anything else we saw in the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics. Even the old Tcheka was at work there, though it had been abolished in Russia four or five years before. The very name of the Tcheka is almost enough in itself to constitute a reign of moral terror. Therefore, no impartial observer could consider the moral atmosphere of Soviet rule in Georgia as satisfactory, even though it has given Georgia peace at home and abroad.

On the other hand, if we want to help the Georgians—and those of us who are most in sympathy with the Russian Revolution want to help the Georgians as much as anyone—we must avoid doing anything that will encourage them to insurrect or intrigue against the Russians. All the Russians want with Georgia is to feel safe there. They want to feel safe as to the oilfields and the pipeline, and they want to feel safe against the risk of further foreign intervention raising the Caucasus and Cossacks against them again. They realize that the Caucasus, which they have never assimilated, and never will assimilate, is a weak spot. They want to feel safe, and as soon as they feel safe they are prepared to give the Georgian State a larger freedom from interference They have already adopted one recommendation the Trades Union delegation urged upon them, that they should amnesty the prisoners taken in the insurrection. They also told us they were ready to withdraw the small garrison of Russian troops in Tiflis and leave Georgia

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as they have left other Autonomous States, entirely to its own national militia. That could, I believe, be got now from the Russian Government by a British Government who could make them feel safe.

We must now leave Georgia, although I know that is what especially interests most of you, because the results of Soviet rule in Baku are really more interesting. The Communists have there got a very free scope for experiments in Socialism, and it is the result of such experiments that interests one most when one goes to Russia. It is no use reporting what they write about what they are doing—one wants to see what they have done. Well, here they have not had to rebuild from the foundations a ruined industry and restore its markets. The oil flows, and the world wants it, no matter how Russia is ruled. So in the oilfields they are a stage ahead of elsewhere. They began by entirely centralizing the whole management of the oilfields. The schemes of electrification and general centralization and co-ordination that were being discussed under private ownership, are now all in force, and are on an average about half finished. They have been able to do this because they take all the profits that previously went in dividends, mostly abroad, and put them back into reconstruction. A considerable proportion of those profits and a considerable part of that reconstruction is devoted to bettering the condition of the worker. This, at least, those of us who have known Baku will look upon with a great deal of sympathy. The position of the worker in Baku was very bad indeed under the old régime. He was generally a Tartar or a tribesman, a man of a very low type and standard of civilization. He lived in the Black Town of Baku under perfectly appalling conditions. They are gradually abolishing the Black Town and rebuilding it as what they call the White Town, a garden city of decent workmen's dwellings. It seems fair to assume that if they continue at the rate of progress that they have been working at for the last two years, in the course of the next five or six years they will have made Baku, not only industrially but also socially, the equal, if not the superior, of some of the American oilfields. That seems to me a very great feat, and may seem to you some compensation for any material sacrifices imposed on foreign investors and moral sacrifices imposed on Georgian Nationalists.

I cannot take you further into Central Asia, into States further east, because I did not go there. But undoubtedly the Central Asian States, like the Caucasian, all conform to the peculiar compromise that the Soviet System has established between Nationalism and Socialism. You have got to remember that what we talk about still as Russia is the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics, of which the Russian Republic is only the largest constituent containing the Central Government. But there are four other federations, or sub-federations, associated with the Russian Federation, which have an equal sovereignty with it. Below that there is a whole hierarchy of various forms of autonomy and

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home rule. For the Communist theory is this—that if you get people bound together by any relationship so strong as their Socialist system, then, without any great risk, you can allow them a measure of home rule which need only stop short of complete sovereignty. It is the old conception of the Christian super-State with Communists for clergy. The Federal Government retains control of foreign affairs, but the autonomous Republics manage their own national or local affairs, cultivate their own language and literature, raise their own finances and forces, and all this without the smallest hindrance, and even with every encouragement.

When you go to the Caucasus, and still more in Central Asia, you will readily see how far this works out—how far they are really able to allow lesser nations within their system to run their own show, and how or why the central authority intervenes. For example, after the Delegation left, I stayed on in Russia, and went down into Moldavia. There I found them starting up a new little Moldavian Republic, a State that was to cultivate the Moldavian language and literature, and be a little Moldavia within Russia. The experiment had some political importance because most of Rumania, and all Bessarabia now annexed to Rumania, is Moldavian. Not only were the Communists giving the Moldavians within Russia a right of running their own show, but they were also making it very awkward for the Rumanian Government, which was holding down by military force the Moldavians of Bessarabia. That is just the situation you find all along the frontier of the Soviet System. You find that this system, by being able to give these borderlands complete rights to run their own affairs, can make themselves far more unpleasant if they like to neighbouring Governments who are oppressing minorities than ever could the old Tsarist Imperialism by massing and moving troops. People often ask me whether the Russian Soviet System is becoming imperialistic. The answer is "No." They are becoming far more dangerous to people who cannot get on with them than was the old military imperialism, because they are able to enlist against a neighbour the nationalism of communities of which a large part are within the territories of that neighbour. You get such a situation in Armenia. The Russian-Armenians are absolutely devoted to the Russian system, and are prepared to fight for it to any extent. They prosper exceedingly under Russian Socialism, and hope that it will some day spread over Asia Minor at the expense of Turkish Nationalism, and recover for them their Armenian homelands in Turkey. And as Turkey has not been able to come to terms with the Armenians—for Turkey has not got any Socialism, only pure Nationalism, and is fighting both the Armenians and the Kurds—I think it is quite possible some day there will be a larger Armenia included in the Russian Federation. You find the same thing when you cross the Caspian Sea into Central Asia. The Communists

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have lately rearranged the States in Central Asia so as to be more effective exponents of this moral penetration of neighbours. They have set up an Uzbek State, for example, of which the authority is confined to a small territory, but the attraction affects all Uzbek tribesmen far across the Soviet frontiers. There you have the Nationalist method of the Russian menace in Asia. It must not be confused for a moment with any menace there may be to European Governments from Russian Socialism. This working on the new Nationalist forces of Asia is entirely a different thing from the possibility of the Russian Soviet System spreading into countries like Germany, or still more, countries like Great Britain. Panics as to this possibility have their origin in press stunts and party tactics. No one, who like myself has been a student of Communism ever since it sprang full-armed from the Great War, could really fear a Communist coup in England. On the other hand, our Empire in Asia may suffer considerably from Russian support of Nationalist and Socialist forces.

If you want to understand what the Soviet policy is towards European Governments you must look to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs under Tchitcherin, which is pursuing a restoration of commercial and political relations under the *status quo*. But if you want to understand what the Soviet power in Asia amounts to, you can best do it by studying the methods of the Comintern under Zinoviev. The Comintern is a missionary organization which is having great effect in Central Asia, and which comes consequently into collision with the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs very much in the way as do our Foreign Missions with our Foreign Legations.

Now I have spoken for as long as anybody could be expected to listen on so hot an afternoon as this. But there is one thing I want to put before you before I conclude. The Russians, of course, are supposed to be very hostile to us in Central Asia; and one hears a good deal about the propaganda they are making against us. I heard a great many of these libels on our rule in India, Persia, and Transcaucasia during the short time I was in Baku and Tiflis. But there was only one story that had made any real impression on the minds of Transcaucasian and Transcaspian peoples. When you said to them of any yarn, "This is absurd; you know perfectly well that is not the sort of thing that British troops do," they always returned to this one story. They said, "This story anyhow is true; and if you can do this you are capable of doing anything; and if you doubt this story, if you doubt that it was the British that murdered the twenty-six Commissars, you have only got to go to the central square at Baku, and there you will see where they are buried, and you will see the plan of the monument that is to be put over them, and the inscription that is to be put on the monument."

This story that it was the British authorities in Central Asia who

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murdered twenty-six Russian Commissars has done an infinity of harm to British prestige. The absence of any attempt to refute it has been most unfair to British officers of the highest standing, especially to certain British political officers in Transcaucasia and Transcaspia. It has made it impossible for some of them to continue earning their living in the Middle East. One in consequence lives under a false name. For those twenty-six Commissars were some of them men who had acquired the affection and admiration of the wild peoples they governed, by whom their murder has never been forgotten. Now the story that British officers were responsible for the murders rests, I ascertained, entirely on the report of spy-propagandists who were sent by the Central Asian Communists on a secret mission during our occupation to intrigue against us. One of these two men on whose evidence the report rests has now thrown over the Communists, fled to Paris, and entered the service of the principal counter-revolutionary organization. I had an opportunity recently of confronting him with his report on the Commissars and forced from him a retraction. We are now therefore in a position to clear it up, and some of us of all parties are trying to get something done. It has gone on now for nearly five years, that story taking deeper and deeper root. Moscow, I believe, would now join in a joint enquiry, and would subscribe to a report that would exonerate the British Army of this charge. They would, I think, do this no doubt for diplomatic reasons; but anyway, if we could get them to join in such a report, then the story would be definitely and finally killed. I consider this is our duty, not as a party matter at all, but as a matter of pure patriotism. It is our duty as civilians to clear the good name of British officers and officials who cannot do so themselves. It is our duty as Englishmen to clear our good name as a nation. I have been very glad to have this opportunity of speaking to this audience, in order that I might bring this particular matter forward as something we might all join in doing. (Applause.)

Among other speakers in the discussion—

Mrs. Harold Williams said: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I wanted to point to two mistakes. First, Russia has never had a single war with Georgia—never in the history of Russia. The first war with Georgia was during the Soviet régime, and if you look up the history of Georgia and Russia you will see there was never any war between the two countries. Russia was fighting the other nations of Caucasia, but never Georgia. The second point is that I think in a scientific lecture it is best to be very strict in terminology. The lecturer used two words, Russia and Soviets, and Russian Government and Russian people interchangeably. But it is not the same. You know that the Soviet Government has not the name of Russia on their official Government documents, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, when he

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was Foreign Minister, followed their example, and gave an order in the Foreign Office not to use the word Russia when speaking of the Soviet Republics; and he was quite right. In the same way the lecturer says the Georgian people do not like the Russian rule; it is the Bolshevik rule they do not like. I want to make things clear and not give different meanings to the same word. The word Russia is not to be used when you speak of the Soviet Government, and the words Russian people should not be used until the Russian people have some possibility of explaining. As they have no freedom they have no voice, and you do not know what is the Russian nation. Those are the only two points I wanted to make. (Applause.)

Sir Louis Dane: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Nobody else seems to have a local knowledge of Caucasia; perhaps, as one who has studied in the past for a good many years the Russian system of advance in Asia, I may be able to add something to what the lecturer has told you, showing that names may change and systems of government may alter, but the intention of Russia is the same as it has been for centuries, and I do not believe has altered a little bit.

In addition to making a general study of this part of the country, which is very important from the Indian and other points of view, I had occasion to make a special study of what was going on there, as in the autumn of 1913 I was asked by Prince Sayid Halim, the Grand Vizier of Turkey, to take up the post of Governor-General of the six or twelve eastern *vilayets* of Anatolia. It was said to mean a real attempt on the part of Turkey to introduce reforms, and I was to have a staff of twelve British officers, six military and six civil, no one over me except the Grand Vizier, and a separate budget provision in the Ottoman Bank. It was said that Russia would accept such a proposal, but our engagements with her blocked it. The Turks appeared to be very keen on the proposal, and suggested that I might go as Special Adviser to Talaat Pasha, Minister of the Interior, with practically the same powers. There were demurs even to this, and then the war broke out. I often wonder if this handful of British officers could have kept Turkey out of the war. Stranger things have happened. At any rate I can claim a special interest in that part of the world, and my opinion is, with great respect to the lecturer, that a great deal of the intrigues and measures and those devices of holding out flattering promises of autonomy and almost entire independence, which are no doubt granted when the matters are not important, is very much what Russia has always practised throughout the ages on its neighbours in the East. It has happened in Afghanistan, Persia, China, India—the same devices, the same things, under the Tsars and under the Soviets—and I am afraid that will go on. Because in one or two places they have shown sufficient intelligence to leave the people to manage things in their own way, and make them comfortable, you must not suppose from that that

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the idea of the country is changed in the least thing as regards internal autonomy, and as regards its interests in the Mediterranean and the East. As regards those three cardinal points, I believe Russian policy, no matter what the government may be, will be more or less the same. I believe under the somewhat disorganized Soviet System which now exists it is even more difficult to cope with than it was under a more regular and more ordered government under the Tsars. The lecturer has referred to one rather shining instance of Soviet good government (I think it almost amounted to that), and it was at Baku. No doubt it is exceedingly desirable that they should have made excellent buildings on the cliffs above, a White City for the Tartar workmen in the oil wells, but I would rather like you to observe the way it has been done. I speak subject to correction, but I believe that the wells have been practically expropriated, and the buildings and improvement of condition of the workmen have been carried out at the expense of the former wretched proprietors. Is that so, sir?

The LECTURER: Oh, yes. (Laughter.)

Sir LOUIS DANE: I am afraid that even an Indian administrator with such admirable arrangements as that for expropriating the great tea, jute, cotton and coal industries could make the most excellent advances in the material uplift of the masses of India, but, unfortunately, we have not yet seen our way to carry out such things. As regards the Armenians, I am very glad to hear that the wretched fragment in the East of that portion of an ancient and brave old nation, which I hoped to be more intimately associated with at one time, is now fairly content. I can imagine they will be. They are rather well out of the way for the moment, and exceedingly useful to the Soviets; I have no doubt that they will be treated as well as can be expected.

The LECTURER: I do not intend to be drawn into controversy, for, as I said before, it is very much too hot. Besides, I am not here as a Devil's Advocate. If you consider the Bolshevik as Diabolos it is not my business to defend him—I am only here as a witness to throw light on any point that I can. A speaker at the back of the room asked how the present system affected the tribes. Of course it does not affect the wild tribes at all anywhere within the Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics. The wild tribes are as yet unaffected, though already they have come up against the Communists' sanitary campaigns. There was found one tribe, for instance, that never had known any use for water except to dilute strong drink. They got one man to wash himself as an experiment, and he died of fright. (Laughter.) More important tribes like the Avkhazes of the Caucasus have no complaint against the system. They are not Socialist in the least, and all it means to them is that they run their own show with such an amount of help as they ask for. One reason why the Georgians in the end would inevitably have been defeated if they had tried to

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fight the Russians, is that the Avkhazes, Tchetchens, and other Caucasian tribes all support the present system. There were two technical questions raised by Mrs. Harold Williams: one was whether Tsarist Russia had ever gone to war with Georgia. I am quite prepared to let it go at this—that if the invasion of Georgia and overthrow of the Georgian kingdom by Tsarist armies a century ago and the suppression of subsequent risings was not war, then certainly the overthrow of the Georgian Republic by a few thousand irregulars of mixed race three years ago was not war, but revolution. The fact remains that Georgians hate Russians. As regards nomenclature and the use of the word "Russian," it is very difficult in speaking colloquially always to be perfectly accurate, and I dare say I have sometimes said Russian when I should have said Federation of Socialist Sovietic Republics. But I explained the difference very fully, and, in speaking of Georgia, I intended to speak of the Russians and not of the Socialist Soviet Federation. Georgia is a Republic of the Transcaucasian Federation, which is one of the four Sovereign Federations. Georgia has an autonomy within that Transcaucasian Federation which enables it to have an army of its own, and its own budget—which is as much as the Irish Free State has. But that does not satisfy the Georgians. They don't like the Russian race, and it is because there are a lot of Russians in Georgia, settled there intentionally by the Tsarist Government as Cromwell settled Ulster, that the present difficulty has arisen. Imagine a Communist Ulster, supported by London and the Dublin workers, ruling all Ireland within the Empire, and you get an idea of the split in Georgia. Sir Louis Dane raised the question of the oilfields. Of course there is no question about the Russian system being based on expropriation, and expropriation is very unpleasant to the interests expropriated. Nobody is questioning that at all. What one has to find out is whether anybody benefits by it, whether the money that is taken away from shareholders and proprietors, whether Tartar and American millionaires, or British and French middle-class investors—whether that money is being spent to good advantage. The question of compensation is a different matter and does not concern Baku.

Finally, I want to thank you for the very patient hearing given me by numerous dissentients among you. Although I hope I have dealt with Communism in the Caucasus from the altitudes of a remote objectivism, I have no doubt some of the things I may have said have given offence to some of you as unreasonable or possibly nonsensical.

The Council wish to express to Mr. Young their regret that in a report of his lecture, which appeared in the press without their authority, currency was given to a misunderstanding which arose at the meeting regarding a portion of his lecture.

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CHINESE NOTES

CHINESE POINTS OF VIEW

"Divided long—unites," so runs a Chinese proverb.

LATTERLY many eyes have been turned towards China, and a few remarks from one who has had nearly twenty years' intercourse with them may be of interest.

The Chinese are a proud and, some say, a conceited people, but they have very good reasons for both their pride and conceit. They have for thousands of years been living their own life with their own civilization, while other races have been striving to better the world with a so-called civilization and a set religion.

The main idea of Chinese cult is filial piety, and in no other country has the commandment "Honour thy father and thy mother" been so fully given effect to; it is the foundation of their family, social, and national life.

The Chinese possess quite as many admirable qualities as other nations which are characteristic of the race. They are well behaved, intelligent, economical and industrious, they can learn anything, and there is nothing under the sun they cannot do. They are most polite, admire talent, and believe in right so firmly that they do not comprehend why it requires to be supported by might.

They rarely if ever forget a favour, and make rich return for kindness shown them; they are wonderful workers, greatly gifted with common sense, and are famed for good faith in their commercial dealings.

Many people look on China as a land with an enormous population, but so wanting in all that other nations possess as to be ready and eager to purchase whatever is offered for sale. The reverse is true, for China needs neither import nor export trade, and she can do without foreign intercourse.

The Chinese can produce any kind of food; their soil is most fertile. The climate is such that any class of fruit or vegetable can be produced; and agriculture, the industry which feeds and clothes, is their principal occupation. They have the best of clothing—cotton, silk and fur; one of the best of drinks—tea, and a tea that has no tannin, and is therefore harmless; and rice, one of the most sustaining of all cereals.

The Chinese are born traders; their population is so great that the sales to each other make up an enormous trade in itself alone, and

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foreigners can only hope to dispose of their wares by creating new wants.

Taxes are very light, and if they become too burdensome the traders have merely to close down, when a remedy is soon found by the officials.

With the advent of the foreigner, however, changes began; and though at first these changes only affected the coast towns, they gradually made themselves felt inland.

Treaties have had unwholesome effects; foreigners approached the Chinese in a more or less submissive manner, and the Chinese agreed to treaty relations, which, once exchanged, the advantages became "treaty rights," and China has to look out for herself if she does not live up to the letter of the treaty. These treaties are, therefore, a thorn in the side of the Chinese, and the native population will always feel sore when supplanted in business by privileged foreigners. The fact that concessions made in one part of China are applicable to the whole, without the general consent, causes ill-will.

Time on time the railways constructed by foreign enterprise have been torn up and destroyed, which is a clear sign of the resentment of foreign intrusion.

China has an immense trade of her own, beside which foreign trade is a mere fleabite, and although foreign commerce is growing, there is a tendency for it to pass finally into the hands of the Chinese themselves.

There would seem to be no bounds with such a huge population to the demands of consumers; but taste for novelty has to be cultivated and customers' wishes consulted; eagerness on the part of the foreigner to supply does not mean a corresponding demand, and success will only be attained by the consideration of native prejudices and sentiment.

To live and let live is a common ideal with Chinese traders; their strength lies in business organization and combination, and they are quite, if not more than, a match for the foreign trader who is inclined to the idea that competition is the very thread upon which the life of trade hangs. It will be difficult for China and the foreign Powers to come to a better agreement unless a better understanding exists between them.

The Chinese are suspicious, and naturally so, of the aims and objects and demands of foreign Powers. At present she is in a state of chaos, and some people are inclined to think that the only salvation for China is to divide her up—possibly because they believe the Chinese easily ruled—and that such a suggestion would meet with welcome from the Chinese. Anyone who knows their character will, I think, agree that all the so-called progress, civilization, and liberty that foreigners could offer would be nothing more than a curse; the only civilization, liberty, and progress that the Chinese really appreciate is their own.

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A divided China will ultimately be the means of cementing the will of the people against the foreigner, and if the joint Powers were to set up an emperor, and later withdraw their support, the imperial edicts would have no attention paid them. The whole idea of a divided China must ultimately meet with failure and futility in the end. The detestation of the foreigner will not cease until we treat China and the Chinese in just the same way that we treat other civilized Powers—like the French, for instance.

We desire that our people shall be safe, and receive as much protection in China as in other foreign countries.

Missionaries, who from the medical side do admittedly a great deal of useful work, have from time to time irritated the people and officials in many provinces by giving support to the scheming of certain unscrupulous converts, and again by the intervention of the priests between their converts, the non-Christians, and the officials.

A more friendly attitude towards China by the Powers is desirable, and something done to remove the sting of humiliation which the irritating privileges given to foreigners undoubtedly have on the Chinese.

The Chinese are not a military race, and a Chinese once said to me, "The Chinese, as you know, are a peace-loving nation, and I think we make more of learning and learned people than you English do. When in London I noticed that the majority of statues set up to great men seemed to be chiefly on account of the fact that they had won some great victories, entailing, of course, the killing off of a great number of people."

If there is to be a "Yellow Peril" it is because China is being forced to change, though it cannot be her real wish; in just the same way that businesses successfully started by Europeans in China usually fall into the hands of the Chinese, so may the Powers govern this or that part of China for a while, and she will at the start probably not be able to object, yet all the while she will be assimilating knowledge and Western information likely to be of use, and without any ostentation quietly developing herself, then one day the European will wake up to realize that he who laughs last laughs best. That last laugh will come from the intelligent, sober, industrious, cultivated Chinese living peaceably in their own fertile and well-watered land; who, after thousands of years, have been forced by circumstances into relations with the rest of the world, a position from which they can see no benefit. They are only looking to the day when they may do away with foreign intercourse and interference, and revert to that seclusion which they have enjoyed for thousands of years.

Common sense will doubtless keep the Chinese from going to extremes. They never invited foreigners to enter China; when they came they agreed to allow them to trade—opium smuggling was the result. The Chinese kicked against that—war was the outcome; they

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lost and Hongkong fell into our hands, and this island has become a refuge and home for many Chinese who have flown from justice in their own country.

In many of our Government officials in the past we have been lucky. The most acceptable and successful in dealing with Chinese is he who is a gentleman always in the best sense of the word, polite and tactful, avoids fussiness, and only steps in with a touch that settles and does not upset, who can readily sympathize with the Chinese; who will not be constantly ramming down their throats that foreign methods are best, appreciating the fact that all crops will not grow on the same soil, and realizing that with the Chinese there exists an innate pride of race, pride of civilization and intellect.

Those who know the Chinese and admire them can only hope that the present differences may soon come to an amicable settlement, and that our officials may tactfully bring round matters to a successful and closer understanding with this most ancient and civilized of races.

One reads in the papers that our trade with China is at a standstill; can anything be more deplorable? Chinese are by no means an impossible people to deal with, and left alone to manage their own affairs in their own way will be in the long run the better for all concerned, but the fact that the present trouble is very real must not be lost sight of.

Everything, it appears, is being done by the Bolshevik agents in Canton to enrage the Chinese against the British, and as China is in a state where no responsible Government can be appealed to, little or nothing can be done. The majority, the ignorant labouring classes, will naturally listen to the various war lords holding power in their districts, and disobedience to orders would at once meet with the severest punishment.

Those who can read the papers are swayed by the lies with which they are filled, and they read only about the worst side of the British. The Bolsheviks naturally introduce all sorts of laws directly against the Chinese ideals of life and their customs, and let it be known that such are British ideals, striking at the very root of Chinese ideals.

Though our trade has been so enormous with China, it is surprising how little the people at home know about the Chinese, and how little they realize the great necessity of sending out gentlemen who will not only interest themselves in their business, but in the people with whom they come in contact.

I have seen Europeans coming to the East as travellers who have gone out of their way to make friends with the Chinese traders, entertaining them and being entertained in return; they studied the people, and by their friendly manner and the way they went about their business were always welcome on their annual visits, while others simply went about their business without associating or trying to

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associate with the people with whom they desired to trade. Such men though handsomely treated by their firms in the matter of travelling expenses and allowances, are, from a business point of view, of little value to their firms.

The enormous amount of damage done to our trade in China is a good example of the benefits that Bolshevism and Communism, etc., are to us, for it is chiefly through their medium that the present conditions of China and the hate of the British are fostered.

The introduction of all that is bad is ascribed to the British. The loss of our big trade with China will throw more people in England out of work and cause further discontent, and they will probably be the last to realize the real cause. MALACCA.

THE VIEWS OF A CHINESE STATESMAN ON THE FAR EASTERN PROBLEM (1921)

BY W. G. STIRLING

SHORTLY after the conclusion of the Great War a correspondent put certain questions before an eminent Chinese statesman since deceased. This statesman's answers throw considerable light on the points of view of the educated Chinese, and the Council consider that they may be of interest to Members of the Society.

Q. 1.—Can Japan exist in the world without contact with the rest of the world? I venture to think in the negative, for she must expand.

A. 1.—The community of interests among the different nations of the world being so close, can any nation now exist in the world without contact with the rest of the world? There is plenty of room for Japan's surplus population in the undeveloped northern part of Japan and Formosa. The assertion that Japan must have room for expansion is merely an excuse for her aggression in China and Siberia.

Q. 2.—If, however, she asserts herself and goes so far as to take control of Northern China, can she then exist? The chances would appear to be in her favour, because China can be self-supporting, and she does not need contact with the outside world to keep her going.

A. 2.—Even if Japan went so far as to take control of Northern China by force she could not hope to remain there permanently, for the Chinese people are now unlike the people twenty years ago. They are now too patriotic and nationally conscious to tolerate foreign usurpation. Moreover, Japanese people are accustomed to warm climate and picturesque surroundings, and the cold plains of Manchuria are not suited to Japanese colonization, where they cannot compete successfully with the Chinese either as farmers or traders, as experiences have shown.

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Q. 3.—New China, having no traditions, has a very different task to perform compared with the former Empire. Tradition no doubt had a great deal to do with the success of the Manchus. But New China would appear to be purely superficial. The New Chinese retain all the old and inborn characteristics, which may be temporarily set aside but to which they will inevitably revert.

A. 3.—The Chinese have traditions, and they have not set aside any inborn characteristics. It is generally believed that their retention is the factor that keeps China intact and makes an insolvable problem for Japanese swallowing.

Q. 4.—China would seem to be a conquered nation for many years of its history, but it remains like a huge piece of blotting-paper, conquered as it were by the colour of the liquid it absorbs, but remains blotting-paper all the same. If the Japanese took possession they would ultimately become absorbed into China. China is a huge helpless country; her vastness makes government difficult, and the northern people appear different to the southern. Certain national traits make unity seem impossible—one of them seems to me to be mutual suspicion.

A. 4.—Japan may have encroached in many parts of Chinese territory, but as Japanese morality and equity have not won the Chinese heart and spirit, which are the essentials of conquering a nation, her encroachments will only become sources of trouble and danger to themselves. China is, no doubt, a vast country, but she never had, and will not have, any difficulties in government if she is not hampered by foreign intrigues and interference. "North" and "South" must be understood as political terms and denote no geographical division; for the people of the North and those of the South have no quarrel with each other.

Q. 5.—As a business people of high moral repute, the Chinese rank in the first line. Would not the combination of English and Chinese business seem to be impregnable?

A. 5.—There are no two opinions on this—viz., that the combination of English and Chinese business would be impregnable.

Q. 6.—It is surprising to me that as Japan would appear to be a danger to China, so many officials have Japanese advisers. One cannot help wondering whether these Japanese do anything in the shape of fomenting trouble between the North and South to serve their own ends.

A. 6.—Japan will be no real danger to China for long, for her methods are too disagreeable to the world. Japanese advisers are in most cases appointed owing to diplomatic pressure. Except the pro-Japanese crowd, most Chinese officials do not have Japanese advisers. The Japanese may mean to foment trouble between North and South

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to serve their own ends, but the gulf is not deep, and China will soon be reunited when a few of the northern militarists are removed.

Q. 7.—How can one have much sympathy in its present state with this great nation, who were civilized long before a nation like the English could read, write, and do anything but behave like the savage people they were?

A. 7.—It is a great mistake for one to judge the Chinese as a savage nation by taking a few things which may be different to his own, especially at a time when she has trouble and there is so much intrigue directed against her own free will and action. Could Europe be called civilized in the Chinese idea during the last Great War? Those so-called civilized Great Powers of the world do not seem to show any sympathy to any country which is militarily weak, though exceedingly civilized—*e.g.*, Korea. On the other hand, England's sympathies with Japan have not resulted in any protest against her action in face of the savagery and atrocities inflicted upon the poor Koreans by the Japanese. The world seems only to sympathize with might.*

Q. 8.—The Chinese would not appear to relish foreign assistance. Certain Chinese state that a tranquil China is essential to peace in the East, and yet there are so many examples which only prove that the Chinese cannot manage their own affairs, such as the government of the country.

A. 8.—The Chinese have a great relish for foreign assistance in the ways of modern developments. So far no foreign countries have offered it in an unselfish, fair, and honest way. "Tranquil China" should be interpreted in the sense that China should be militarily strong enough to keep tranquillity herself—*i.e.*, to ward off foreign grabbing; otherwise there will be a scramble for interests by foreign Powers. What are the other examples that the Chinese cannot manage their own affairs? She has been managing her affairs for thousands of years quite smoothly.

Q. 9.—It would seem that even to-day many Government officials, Consuls, etc., are able to purchase their posts, whether fit or unfit, and have eventually (or rather do eventually, or are tempted) to recuperate themselves for the initial outlay.

A. 9.—No official posts can be bought nowadays. Foreigners may mistake some of the farmers of monopolies for officials.

Q. 10.—Many Chinese officials seem to be strongly influenced by Japanese; Japan must be a far greater source of danger to China than America or England?

A. 10.—Some of the officials in the North are no doubt influenced by Japanese because they are corrupted by Japanese money. America

* The question here was misunderstood; the questioner referred to England as a once savage country

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or England may not be a greater source of danger to China, but they have been weak and selfish enough to help or allow Japan to exercise her sinister designs.

Q. 11.—It is difficult to understand why Japan does not now take the upper hand in China. What is to stop them? She can force her will on China at the point of the bayonet step by step; she can deal with those in power; the masses can be overpowered in a drastic way; she can repeat her policy in Korea on a more cruel basis.

A. 11.—The answer is very simple. Prudence stops them. Japan knows her own morality and China's real strength. Overpowering a nation at the point of the bayonet is one thing, and keeping the people in peaceful working order to their benefit is another. Japanese policy in Korea has begun already to show indications of its failure.

Q. 12.—Presumably Japan is not afraid of England or America; they cannot interfere. They have no bases, ships, or army in the East. Japan has everything near at hand, with the finest fleet in the Eastern waters. She will, it may be expected, take a large lump of China very soon, and no doubt is playing for this at the Washington Conference. England or America can say or do nothing.

A. 12.—It is an open secret that Japan is not afraid of England or America, for she knows their positions. The Washington Conference was prompted by the anxiety of America and England to find out the way of how to grease Japanese hands or to prevent her from giving trouble.

Q. 13.—It would appear that possession or control of the Yangtze River for the North, and of the Canton River in the South would go far to stop any export from the interior.

A. 13.—Possession or control of the Yangtze and Canton Rivers may go far to stop any export from the interior. But the Chinese can do very well without exportation or importation.

Q. 14.—If England starts building a naval base in Singapore, it will take ten years to complete anything of any use. Japan is not going to stand by and wait till England is ready to argue the point?

A. 14.—Japan will not permit England to do anything of the kind.

Q. 15.—America may build ships till she is black in the face; it will avail her nothing at all, having no supply base in the East. Manilla is not a factor to be reckoned with, and would be seized by Japan easily should war break out between these two nations.

A. 15.—If America once begins to build ships, Japan will challenge her to fight.

Q. 16.—England is approaching a stage when she will be too big and unable to control her own house. Her interest in China would appear to only maintain business relations with, and the concessions she has in that country; but I do not think she would care to be out

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of it and allow Japan sole rights in China. I also do not think England is anxious to have any more.

A. 16.—It is doubtful that England can prevent Japan from getting more concessions out of China in spite of England not getting any. Japan is obtaining them now.

Q. 17.—The Chinese dislike the Japanese and other foreigners—probably the Japanese most of all—as they, the Japanese, understand them better than any other nation in the world.

A. 17.—It is a natural instinct for one to dislike another who robs him of his properties. On the contrary, the Chinese would like foreigners better if they studied their institutions without prejudice.

Q. 18.—The average Chinese is so keen on business and making money that they have no time, so to speak, for Government matters. It is a remarkable thing that an individual Chinese can run a huge business in the most capable way in the world. But set down in a Government office, he fails hopelessly.

A. 18.—The average Chinese is getting to be as keen in governmental matters as in business. But as the foreign Governments support a few corrupt officials by recognition and loans in order to create chances for them, it will take some time for the honest Chinese to adjust matters. Withdraw the recognition and loans, China will soon be in order. It is dangerous for foreigners to generalize about China without seeing recent changes.

Q. 19.—Can education alter the ingrained national characteristics of the Chinese?

A. 19.—Chinese national characteristics are not at fault. They need no alteration, but modern education will prepare the Chinese to meet modern circumstances and environments.

Q. 20.—Can the Chinese prevent the action of the Japanese? With the almost fanatical patriotism imbued in the Japanese, who put their backs into anything for the benefit of Japan, the Japanese would, by degrees, force themselves on China, to be eventually absorbed. The history of China makes one think that they are used to being conquered. They cannot help themselves, and I cannot help but think that the Japanese will gain from the Washington Conference a large slice of China, the resources and wealth of China being far too great a temptation to them. A very old friend of mine who was on the staff of a mission in Paris told me, when I enquired how the Chinese military experts were getting on, that they stayed at their hotels the whole time gambling and enjoying themselves, paying no attention or trying to learn anything from the War, while the Japanese were searching about for every kind of information.

A. 20.—The Chinese are no less patriotic than the Japanese, but they believe that patriotism in disregard of justice will eventually

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bring demoralization of the race. The Chinese strictly observe justice and will invariably survive. Japan cannot possibly conquer China, but in time will be absorbed by latter in accordance with the Law of Mass. The Japanese may gain through the Washington Conference a large slice of China, but it will only be a temporary matter. It is wrong to say that the Chinese are used to being conquered. In four thousand years of history they have had foreign rulers but twice, aggregating about 350 years. Compare that with the history of any European country, say England. Your friend must understand that the so-called Chinese military experts sent to Paris by the Peking Government were the old mandarins whom the progressive Southern Government have been striving so hard to eliminate. To put the matter in a nutshell, if China is left alone without interference in any way by foreign Powers—and the continued recognition of the Peking Administration should be withdrawn by the Foreign Powers—China would soon be reunited and peace be restored.

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REVIEWS

MANUEL DE POLITIQUE MUSULMANE. Editions Bossard, 43 Rue Madame Paris. 1925.

The writer of this remarkable book hides his identity under the *nom de plume* of "Un Africain," having spent many years in the French African Empire—Morocco, Algeria, Tunis.

His aim is to define the policy which should guide France in dealing with her African Islamic subjects and with independent Islamic states. He does this with a precision of thought and clarity of style characteristic of the best French writers. Incidentally he refers frequently to the British experience in handling similar problems in Egypt and India, and the book is therefore full of interest and instruction to all who are concerned with the politics of the Near and Middle East. The policy advocated by "Un Africain" is one based (to use his own words) on a knowledge of Islamic sentiment and aspirations, and at the same time calculated to further the moral and material prestige of France.

He defines the four cardinal principles of that policy as follows:

1. To understand Islam and its followers and thus steer clear of the perils of an Islama mania, founded on ignorance and sentimentalism. In this connection he makes scathing comments on the general ignorance of French official and political circles; on the false sympathy with Islam derived from the misleading pictures of the Sheikh and the desert presented by the bazar and the theatre; on the folly of those who, having come in contact with a few cultured Musulmans, hastily conclude that all the Arabs and Berbers are ripe for full citizen rights. He points out that the ignorant masses, often steeped in superstitions of an earlier date than Islam itself, are France's most loyal subjects and bravest soldiers, if tactfully handled and capably led; while the young Intellectuals of Algiers and Tunis, who talk so big about their national rights and "war services," took good care not to risk their skins in the war. (In this he finds a striking parallel with Egypt and India in the same crisis.)

2. To establish by material force and moral superiority France's influence over Islamic peoples, whether subject, protected, or independent. This principle the author sums up in the phrase, "*memento tu regere*"—*i.e.*, "govern or go." He rightly points out that European conquest must from the nature of the case be unpopular to start with. The force behind it causes it to be accepted with resignation; and pacific penetration, with the material advantages it brings, tends to overcome the hostile sentiments with which it is at first regarded.

The author has some interesting remarks to make on (*a*) the relative advantages of direct French administration, as in Algiers and Tunis, and (*b*) the protectorate system so successfully worked in Morocco since 1912 by Marshal Lyautey and others. On the whole he is inclined to favour the latter as being more elastic and offering an economy of time, labour, and money. He vigorously attacks the French legislature for having, in 1919, deprived the heads of villages in Algeria of their summary powers of punishing evil-doers, and for having given the people at the same time the rights of French citizenship, including the unrestricted possession of firearms. The results were a wave of crime and lawless-

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ness which shook the whole administrative fabric and drove many French colonists to sell out their property and leave Algeria.

The rights of summary punishment were then restored; indeed, the village headmen insisted on exercising them, whether the French agreed or not, and the restrictions on firearms were reimposed. But in the meantime immense mischief had been done by the levity of the French Chamber.

He further describes how, as the exploiting trader and the annoying petty civil official take the place of the conquering soldier, respect for the conqueror diminishes. This tendency is furthered by the fact that in broadcasting French education, France has raised up a discontented Intelligentsia who already look on themselves as equal, if not superior, to their rulers.

Hence has arisen an unrest (malaise) from the contact of two different civilizations, in which a sentiment of nationality, hitherto non-existent, at least in Algiers and Tunis, and only very vague in Morocco, may grow strong and may prove very dangerous in a time of crisis. To meet this, French policy, while benevolent and just, must always be based on the principle, *memento tu regere.*

3. To grant to those under France's rule or protectorate their reasonable claims in a form suited to their needs and mentality—*i.e., bienfaits nécessaires.* These are:

(*a*) Religious liberty; respect for all religious rites, customs, and institutions; no interference with religious grants or with the authority of religious heads; but a close surveillance of educational institutions which may be used to promote fanaticism and racial hatred. (*We* have the example of El Azhar to reinforce this.)

Not to encourage Islamic propaganda among heathen tribes. Your new convert is often the most dangerous fanatic.

(*b*) Security and honest, efficient administration. To start with, a national system of taxation and the restraint of the gross abuses in collection associated with the grossly oppressive indigenous system. Later, material development by roads, bridges, irrigation works, medical relief. These are what the masses desire and appreciate.

(*c*) Allow all equal justice—which is the more appreciated as it is commonly sold and bought all over the East. But the author does not advocate European judges, for they are presumably ignorant of Muhammadan law and local custom.

(*d*) To carry out the above theories France must provide executive and supervising officers, who understand the people, speak their languages, love them without being duped by them and thus win their confidence. Frequent transfers of officials are to be avoided.

The failure of Spain in Morocco is, according to the author, traceable to neglect of those principles. Her attitude there has been that of Pizarro towards the Peruvians.

4. To avoid granting the people *bienfaits périlleux—i.e.,* institutions which they do not *as a whole* want and the working of which they do not understand.

Among the dangerous "gifts of Artaxerxes" the author notes:

(*a*) Education, distributed in the past broadcast like quinine, instead of being reserved as an honour for the limited number who could profit by it. The results of fifty years of the system in Algeria have not been encouraging, and this has been frankly admitted by successive Governor-Generals. The tone of the native press before the war gave testimony to this; the hostile attitude of the "Young Algerians" and "Young Tunisians" during the war underlined it. A surfeit of western education may well become a poison, stimulating vanity and idleness, creating *déclassés.*

(*b*) Electoral rights. Foolish theorists think that education alone fits the

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native for liberty and civic rights. To impose on an old social system, based on authority, Western liberal and individualist principles is to bring about a revolution and to prepare a whip for our own scourging. France should have taken warning from the ever-recurring scandals attending on the elections in French India, based on so-called universal suffrage.

But in an orgy of sentimentalism and in crass ignorance of Islamic mentality the French Parliament of 1919 (compare the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of the same year) gave the franchise and civil rights to the majority of male adults in Algeria. The result was that at the ensuing elections all candidates well-disposed to France were denounced as renegades and were beaten at the polls; French influence was largely shattered by appeals to fanaticism and race-feeling. The author quotes the remarks of the great Governor-General, Jules Ferry: "We must have the strength of mind to recognize that French institutions cannot be transported blindly; they do not possess the magic quality of 'francising' the soil to which it is sought to import them."

5. France's rôle in Islam is that of tutor and guide. The premature application of doctrinaire liberalism is infinitely dangerous. The masses are not yet ripe for the direction of their own destinies, their only conception of the liberty which foolish idealists would force on them is as a means of gratifying passion or oppressing weaker peoples. The so-called *élite* only want power for the personal advantages it will bring them. Such powers as can be suitably transferred should certainly be given, but without undue haste and after prior training and experience to prevent its abuse or misuse.

It was from the want of such preliminary training of the electorate that the 1919 reforms in Algeria broke down (many will say the same of the Indian reforms of 1819). The more cautious policy followed in Tunis of granting the native population increasing control of local administration is proving more successful.

6. Conclusion. France's future is in Islam, or at least with Islam. The day when she allows her African provinces or protectorates to rally to a Muhammadan federation headed by Turkey, and become again Turkish dependencies, her existence as a Mediterranean power and a great power will come to an end. Turkey aims at the hegemony of a reawakened Islam. With Islam behind her, with the open or secret support of Russia, and, if Germany wants to throw in her lot with Mongol and Slav, the vanquished powers of the Great War would fling themselves against an over-civilized extreme West. The remedy is to bring Turkey into the Western European sphere by wide concessions. The author envisages a Mediterranean alliance of France, Italy, and Turkey, which would dominate the great Mediterranean basin. But strangely enough he leaves Great Britain, the greatest Muhammadan power, out of the picture.

Apart from this omission the book is a most forcible and convincing exposition of the policy which should guide France in North Africa and the Near East. M. F. O'D.

THE HEART OF ARYAVARTA. By the Earl of Ronaldshay, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Constable and Company Ltd. 14s.

If, as may be hoped by anyone honestly desirous of seeing a serious effort made to grapple with the problem of modern India, Lord Ronaldshay goes to Delhi next year as Viceroy and Governor-General, he will go to his task equipped as none of his predecessors has been—not even excepting Lord Curzon. A successful and distinguished term of office as Governor of one of the great Indian provinces may or may not of itself indicate the possession of those rare qualities which are

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requisite to a successful tenure of the highest office under the British Crown. But Lord Ronaldshay has not rested on the laurels he gathered in Bengal. He has had the courage to place on record the results of a deep and sympathetic study of the problems which are agitating modern India—the India of the twentieth century—which have hitherto completely baffled the statesmanship of Great Britain. And it will readily be conceded by serious students of the subject that his trilogy, the last volume of which is the subject of the present review, marks him out not only as one of the greatest administrative philosophers of our time, but as the person most obviously suitable to be entrusted with the task of carrying out a policy—his policy—which alone affords any hope of a satisfactory solution of the greatest problem confronting the British Empire.

Whatever the distant future may hold in store for us and India, self-government within the British Empire is and must, perhaps for a generation, remain the one and only practical aim to which the statesmen of this country and its great dependency should direct their efforts. That is, for all practical purposes, the declared policy of His Majesty's Government. But their failure to secure the active co-operation of Indian statesmen to that end has been the result of a radical and genuine divergence of opinion as to the methods to be pursued. We have during the last twenty years been content to pursue a negative course. We have step by step sought to dam the flood let loose by a century's evolution on Western lines, and step by step we have had to recede before the impact of the unmanageable waters. We have persisted unwisely in regarding the problem as "what it originally was, a mere question of administration . . . one with which British genius is particularly well adapted to cope." In other words, we have been working on wrong *data* at an impossible task, and Lord Ronaldshay's greatest service to this country has been to point out and to explain in these pages that "a factor of fundamental importance in the present problem is the *spirit of modern India*."

With skilful touches of a master's brush he has portrayed the basic elements of Indian psychology as it has developed through the ages out of a maze of dialectic and metaphysics, whose ultimate bedrock is after all the same divine inspiration to which all other religions appeal, postulating a God whose existence cannot be proved by any method of human reasoning. He then shows—in point of fact he reverses the logical sequence and deals with this aspect before considering the sources of Indian psychology—how the spirit thus fashioned amid the forests and glens of old India came, about a century ago, into violent collision with the material civilization of the West. He is inclined to minimize the blameworthiness of Macaulay and his associates, who, being utterly unable and unwilling to understand the art, literature, and philosophy of a country incapable of turning those assets to material account, deliberately connived at the process of soul-destruction to which India in the first glamour of a widened knowledge of the world delivered herself with whole-hearted contempt for her own great traditions. Great indeed is the blame attaching to them ; greater even than that attaching to our modern statesmen, who have failed to realize that not India but their own predecessors sowed the harvest which has already too long awaited the reaper.

Lord Ronaldshay then tells us of the inevitable reaction against Western civilization and of the frantic efforts of the leaders of Indian thought to rescue their country from the toils which can never be altogether thrown off. A century of European influence has left an indelible mark on the genius of the country. The old religion is restored only to provide a sanction for anarchy and assassination—it is only through religion that the masses can be approached. Yet Tolstoy is shown to be the real *guru* of Gandhi ; Rabindra Nath Tagore, for all

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his world-wide reputation as the poet of India, is but the interpreter of his own country on Western lines; while Sir J. C. Bose has shown how European "analytical methods of experimental science can be grafted upon the genius and character of the Indian nation." Indian psychology can never again be what it was. The real danger is that it may lose its native characteristics. Reactionary movements in the direction of archaic simplicity cannot but be artificial and even detrimental to an India already irrevocably committed to membership of the civilized world. At the best they but illustrate the striving of all that is best in the country towards the ideal of Indian nationality. In the peaceful realms of art, literature, and philosophy they have already produced substantial and admirable results in alliance with the ideals of Western civilization. In the troubled field of politics they have produced murder and arson, not for the sake of crime itself, but in the name of an ideal in conflict with a Western point of view, which will not yield its ground or yields it only grudgingly.

Lord Ronaldshay is not deterred by the obviously undesirable effects of such a movement from seeing the ideal behind the veil, and realizing how that ideal can be brought out and encouraged for the permanent benefit of humanity. For him the conflict between Britain and India is as unreal as is the material universe to the Vedantin. For all the importance attached by the British Government and the British Press to the oscillations of the political balance between the "extremists" and the "moderates"—the ideals of both parties are essentially the same, as has been shown time and again when the "moderates" have been temporarily in the ascendant—the real conflict is in the Heart of Aryavarta itself, where the consciousness of essential good in that which is Indian struggles with inevitable recognition of the fact that there is also good in the Western civilization which has come to stay.

And so Lord Ronaldshay, out of the depths of his experience and sympathetic study, draws the inevitable conclusion that Great Britain, instead of struggling vainly with the task of tempering Indian participation in the government of India to the imagined but evanescent requirements of the moment, should devote her efforts to the achievement of a more positive object—the direction of the blended good of East and West into a channel which has already been dug, and which leads to the goal long since marked out for itself by the idealism of India under the sanction of an Imperial Government which has directed the destinies of that country for two centuries. The spirit of India must be conciliated and nourished into self-realization by a policy of positive effort on educational lines rather than girded into an attitude of hostility and intransigeance by what it cannot but regard as the arrogance of the West.

In the space of a few pages it is quite impossible to do full justice to Lord Ronaldshay's great effort to educate his countrymen to a true understanding of the Indian problem. He deliberately limits his field to the Heart of Aryavarta or Hinduism, and necessarily draws his illustrative material from his rich experience of Bengal. But his analysis and his conclusions are none the less generally applicable to India as a whole. Whether or not the model constitution suggested for Mysore, by which he is obviously impressed, will provide the basis of a settlement for all India it is yet too early to judge, and Lord Ronaldshay himself would probably not desire to be understood as accepting it in advance of that further study of the Indian problem which—let us hope—he is yet to make. No one will gainsay his general conclusion that the Parliamentary institutions evolved in a Western atmosphere are unlikely to provide a suitable framework for the web of self-government which is envisaged for India. The framework must be essentially Indian in design, and must be sought in the golden mean which lies somewhere between the philosophy of the Vedas and the

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materialism of the modern world. To find that mean is the task to which the future Viceroy must devote himself with singleness of purpose, disturbed neither by the clamour of the extremists nor by the diffidence of the old British administrative school.

H. St. J. B. P.

Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand. By Ella R. Christie. Seeley, Service. 21s.

This is the record of two journeys in Russian Turkestan. The first, which occupies the greater part of the book, was from Krasnovodsk, by the Trans-Caspian railway to Charjui on the Oxus; thence by river steamer to Khiva and back; then on by rail to Bokhara, Samarkand, Khokand, and the remote terminus of Andijan. The authoress was impelled, as she writes, "by the desire to see for herself what lay on that bare part of the map east of the Caspian, and lured by the magic names of Bokhara and Samarkand."

Miss Christie's enthusiasm as an explorer survived the difficulties and discomforts of Central Asian travel. Both journeys were made before the war, so the reader must not expect any lifting of the veil that is now drawn over Turkestan; only the concluding chapter relates, by hearsay, the ruin wrought by Bolshevik rule.

In her descriptions the writer has interwoven her personal experiences with past history in such a manner as to give realistic impressions. The simple narrative of her intercourse with Russian officials and their families gives a good idea of Russian life in Central Asia before all was changed by the revolution, while visits to native dignitaries and wanderings in the bazaars gave the writer an insight into the life and manners of the indigenous races.

The story opens with the dreary journey from Krasnovodsk to Ashkabad—a journey that illustrates the Russian railway enterprise and engineering skill in constructing a line through a desert of shifting sand. The engines are not run on petrol as is stated, but on crude oil, known as "mazut."

A true picture is given of the typical Russian settlement at Ashkabad, but my recollection does not bear out the statement that the town has a river, the Murghab. The stream that waters Ashkabad may have the same name as the river of the Merv oasis, but it does not attain the dignity of a river.

Passing on to Merv, over ground that has acquired new fame by the subsequent campaign of 1918, the writer relates how the ancient glories of the "Queen of the World" have crumbled till little more remains than a desolate expanse of shapeless mounds. The mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar stands up alone and conspicuous, and it, too, was falling into ruin when I visited it seven years ago. Modern Merv is, indeed, in sharp contrast, and still more so the Emperor Alexander III. model settlement of Bairam Ali, with its up-to-date system of irrigation. Some features are so conspicuous that their omission from the book suggests the possibility that they were not completed at the time of Miss Christie's visit. The golden dome of the beautiful Russian church formed a landmark visible from afar. A well-equipped power station twenty-five miles up the Murghab river lit Merv and Bairam Ali by electricity and worked the modern machinery of the oil and soap factory at the latter place. The handsome stone residence mentioned on p. 42 was occupied by British Headquarters in 1918-19. It was built as an Imperial Palace, the furniture and appointments bearing the Russian double eagle. A marble pedestal in front had formerly borne a statue of the Tsar Alexander III., destroyed by the Bolsheviks in their insensate fury. A first visit was to have been made by the late Emperor Nicholas in February, 1918.

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The journeys by river steamer between Charjui and Khiva were an experience that can be known to few of Miss Christie's fellow-countrymen. More notice is given to the amenities of life on the crowded steamer than to the country on either bank, and it may be inferred that the lack of inspiration to be derived from the desolate regions of the lower Oxus led the writer to fall back upon romantic quotations from others who knew it only by ancient tradition. In the visit to Khiva perhaps the most interesting incident is the introduction to the colony of the strange Mennonite sect. A chapter entitled, "Battle, Murder, and Sudden Death," exposes a murky page of Russian ruthlessness in their Asiatic conquests.

A graphic picture is drawn of the bazaars of Bokhara, but it is in the description of Samarkand's wonderful market square, "the Registan," that the writer's enthusiasm rises to its highest pitch. There is a womanly touch in the abrupt transition from sublime heights of admiration before the soaring monuments of ancient splendour down to—the contents of the food stalls in the market below!

The second journey is narrated briefly in the latter part of the book. It was made by the Orenburg railway to Tashkent, with General Sukhomlinoff, the Minister of War, as a fellow-traveller.

A description of the capital city and of the neighbouring "town of Turkestan" brings to a close the story of a lady's plucky adventures, in which she was hampered rather than helped by her inefficient interpreter couriers. There are numerous illustrations from photographs.

J. K. T.

THE PEOPLE OF THE STEPPES. By Ralph Fox. Twelve illustrations and map. Constable and Co. 1925. Pp. 246. 8s. 6d.

Here we have a book which might well have been notable—at least amongst the descriptions of Central Asia. It is, however, spoilt by the propaganda which permeates nearly every page. The author, who has the gifts of observation and sympathy, has allowed himself to be mazed by the "brittle intellectualism" which nowadays trots anæmic and puking at the coat-tails of red-blooded revolution. He deals it out to us in all its mawkish nastiness, its emasculate sneers at virile ideals and loyalties and its palavering with internationalism.

Mr. Fox has very clearly allowed himself to be blinded by the sentimentally harmless and good-natured aspect of the Russian peasant taken superficially as an individual. He makes much of this, and cannot see any evil in the "mujik." Patently he has not encountered the "mass-psychology" of that same Russian peasant, otherwise he could not but realize the savage ferocity of the Russian crowd. He has never seen the queer workings of that mongrel half-Mongol mind, when it reverts as it does to the brute beast.

This is one of Mr. Fox's mistakes, and a sufficiently big one. He adds to it by a hearty misconception of the abyss between the theory of Communism, depicted as it is as a sort of early Christian Garden of Eden or New Jerusalem, where all are good and unselfish and the reality of its practice, the spates of blood, the unimaginable tortures, the stupendous injustices, violations, and robberies which are the real Bolshevism.

Curiously enough, our author appreciates the existence of the spirit of Changiz, Timur-Leng, and Hulaku to-day, both in Central Asia and in Moscow, its appanage. He even seems to be able to trace the tradition of slaughter by which Hulaku attacked urbanization and capitalism down to its renascence under Lenin.

He fails, however, to see and point the moral. Yet again, he displays some

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perception in appreciating the almost idyllic life of the Kaizak-Kirghiz of the Steppes. He sees the beauty of its primitive simplicity, its lack of individualistic emulation and competition between man and man, its aloofness from the corruption of unclean gold and its close affinity to Nature.

He blunders again in hinting of such a mode of life as being applicable to Western Europe, merrily oblivious of the fact that five-and-twenty million English stomachs are every day fed by means of a foreign imperial trade whose very being is capitalism and imperialism.

Perhaps, however, Mr. Fox, with the "pacifist" ruthlessness and fiendish cruelty of the humanitarian of the idealistic intellectual sort, would like to alter England to suit Communism.

He is, perhaps, an advocate of the method of both Procrustes and Lenin.

Apart from the author's maniacal ideas on sociology, the book has its points.

It contains a charming picture of the Central Asia of the Steppes, those levels which spread over three million square miles from Afghanistan to the Arctic.

It hints, as we have seen, at the psychic origins of those outbreaks of frenzy which really have their home in these same Steppes, and are born, perhaps, of the bottled energy which their endless monotony, not century long, but cycle long, accumulates.

Central Asia is to-day moving and seething again with the great forces that impelled Attila and Changiz, and Central Asia is now no more remote from the hearths of the English people than was Frisia or Aquitaine in the days of the third Edward. Chaucer had cause to write of "Tamburlaine" as a very present affliction. Mr. Fox begins, dimly it is true, to realize that our writers of the next ten years may find that Moscow will make the Steppes once more the *place d'armes* of the "Scourges of God."

L. V. S. B.

A Thousand Years of the Tartars. By E. H. Parker, Professor of Chinese in the Victoria University, Manchester. Fourth Edition. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. 1924.

Tartary lies north of 45° of longitude, and extends from the Caspian to the Pacific; it consists of rolling plains, sparsely diversified by mountain ranges. A third of this vast region, now a waterless desert, in prehistoric times was thickly peopled. It is probable that the cosmic upheavals of the third millennium B.C., which drove our Aryan ancestors from their lush pasture-grounds, were equally felt in Tartary. Professor Parker has undertaken the stupendous task of tracing the history of its inhabitants from Chinese records. His narrative opens in the third century B.C., when Tartary was occupied by nomad tribes which had much in common. They lived on horseback, moving from place to place with their herds of cattle in search of fresh grazing grounds. They were expert bowmen, and in the brief intervals of peace they hunted assiduously. Raiding was, however, their normal pursuit, and their young warriors enjoyed the lion's share of booty, the aged being relegated to menial employments. The Tartars were loosely organized in tribes, each of which had a recognized territory until it fell under the dominion of a more powerful neighbour.

All were ramifications of two hordes, known as the Hiung-nu and the Sien-pi: Professor Parker believes that the Scythians and Huns of old and the Turks of our own day were different phases of the Hiung-nu. These freebooters developed a royal or imperial caste system, which afforded ample scope to supermen born in the purple. The history of Asia was moulded by conquerors whose exploits rivalled those of Alexander and of imperial Rome. Amongst them was a Hiung-nu chieftain named Baghdur, who, ere his death in 173 B.C.

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had established an empire extending over the whole of Northern Asia. The following century witnessed the rise of a great empire in the south of Tartary. A chieftain named T'sin succeeded in crushing the innumerable feudal clans scattered over the territory which is now known as China, and founded the Han dynasty, which lasted from 206 B.C. till 220 of our era. One of his generals named Mêng T'ien pushed the Tartars far northwards, and consolidated previous barricades into a fortified wall, which often proved an effectual check to their inveterate raiding. This, however, is not the "Great Wall" of our day, which dates only from A.D. 555. The Chinese custom of beheading failures in war and diplomacy furnished the nomads with a succession of able advisers, who joined them in order to escape from death. Moreover, Chinese Emperors were wont to plant a princess of their house in the harem of a Tartar leader; but their hopes of peaceful penetration were often defeated by the claims to the imperial throne which thus arose.

> "Western civilization," writes Professor Parker, "possessed much in art and science for which China never cared, but, on the other hand, the Chinese developed a historical and critical literature, a courtesy of demeanour, a luxury in clothing, and an administrative system of which Europe might have been proud. In one word, the history of the Far East is quite as interesting as that of the Far West; it only requires to be able to read it. When we brush away contemptuously from our notice the tremendous events which took place on the plains of Tartary, we must not blame the Chinese too much for declining to interest themselves in the doings of what to them would appear insignificant states dotted round the Mediterranean and the Caspian."

The Sien-pi, or Tungus horde roamed over a vast territory eastwards of the Hiung-nu empire. They were able, vigorous, open to new ideas, and in every way superior to their neighbours. Supreme command over their tribes passed by election, and the democratic principle seems incompatible with unity or lasting empire. But it brought a great conqueror to the front in the person of Dardjegwe, at whose death in A.D. 190 the Sien-pi had ousted the Hiung-nu from their far-flung realm.

In the fifth century of our era the Turks emerged from obscurity as a conquering race. They were a branch of the old Hiung-nu, and inherited their ancestors' ineptitude for administration. However, they made short work of the decadent Sien-pi, but were soon rent by schism. A branch, and that the weaker of the two, founded a dynasty in Northern China, but their empire fell to pieces after a stormy career of two centuries. They were succeeded by the Kitans, a ramification of the Sien-pi, whose designation was popularised by Marco Polo as "Cathayans." They overran the Turkish Empire, but fell under the all-conquering sway of Genghiz Khan (A.D. 1162-1227).

Professor Parker's work, though a monument of industry and linguistic attainment, fails to give the Western reader any connected view of Tartar history. The task was, perhaps, impossible of achievement, for, as he says with perfect truth, "no nomad empire was ever more than an ill-digested political agglomeration," and their kaleidoscopic changes become wearisome in the extreme. The contempt for exotic religions which characterised early Chinese chroniclers serves to explain his reticence with regard to Islam, which so profoundly influenced the course of Asiatic history from the seventh century onwards. It is to be hoped that in future editions of this valuable work dates will be substituted for the meaningless proper names which appear in the margins, and that its index will be remodelled to serve the purpose of reference.

F. H. S.

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MOSUL AND ITS MINORITIES. By Harry Charles Luke. Martin Hopkinson. 10s. 6d.

Until a few years ago Mosul and its Vilayet was an inaccessible province of the Turkish Empire. The world war, however, which changed so many frontiers and affected so many remote regions, has brought this province into closer contact with the West. The dispute between this country and Turkey as to the disposal of this town which has now been referred to the League of Nations for decision, has given this region an additional interest; so that Mr. Luke's book appears at an opportune moment. In the opening chapter the author describes briefly his journey to Mosul. His reference to the Crusades reminds us how long the European Powers have been concerned with the fate of Christianity in the East. was Charlemagne who, after the victorious Arabs had been checked at Poitiers, first obtained from Baghdad the right of protection over the Christian minorities in the Holy Land. The author insists on the essentially Eastern outlook of Damascus and traverses Maurice Barrés saying that "Là Damas se rencontrent, non pour tâcher de se détruire l'un et l'autre, mais pour se comprendre et s'unir l'Orient et l'Occident." Recent events in that city give considerable point to the criticism. In the chapters on Mosul is included a short account of the strange mosaic of races which inhabit that part of the world. They constitute an ethnographic puzzle which no one has succeeded in unravelling as yet. Even of such an important race as the Kurds, who number five-eighths of the population, the Mosul Commission was fain to remark that "its ethnical composition was as obscure as its history." In the long era of conflict and racial intermixture, in the chequered history of this region, the origin of many of its inhabitants has been completely lost. The Assyrians claim, for instance, that large numbers of so-called Armenians who perished in the massacres were, in reality, Armenian-speaking Assyrians. It is a pity the author has included no illustrations of the churches in Mosul.

In the two following chapters are traced the causes of the separation of the Eastern and Western churches and the rise of the Nestorian Church. At this distance of time it is surprising to read of the angry passions which were aroused by the controversy between the Monophysites and the Nestorians. It was apparently a conflict between two opposing schools of theology, that of Syria and Egypt, which was heightened by the rivalry of the Patriarchates, when Constantinople was elevated to the second place in order of importance. It is not an edifying story in the history of Christianity, and resulted in a disastrous division of the Eastern Church.

The author next deals with the missionary enterprises of the Nestorian Church. Their mission to China in the seventh century to spread the "Luminous Religion," as the Chinese called it, is surely one of the most remarkable undertakings of this kind the world has seen. Though they must have made a considerable number of conversions all trace of them seems to have disappeared and their very existence was forgotten until the discovery of the famous Nestorian monument by the Jesuits at Hsi-an-fu in A.D. 1625. A replica of this monument has been set up on the top of Mount Koya—the Holy Land of Japan—and the reviewer was informed by a member of the Assyrian Delegation to the Lausanne Conference that the Japanese representative was so interested to find the Assyrians were the descendants of the Nestorians referred to in the monument that he did all he could to help their cause. The author does not seem to be aware of the important work of the Japanese scholar, Professor Saeki, on this subject.

In chapter vii. the author brings down the story of the Nestorians to the present time. The Assyrian mountaineers are a brave and hardy race and, as

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the writer remarks, are very much a Church militant. The reviewer, who was on the Repatriation Staff during the Arab rebellion in Irak, can testify that they set out for war with much the same light-hearted zest that the Englishman sets out for his cricket and football match. They are ready not only to fight their enemies, but also to quarrel among themselves, as there is a good deal of tribal jealousy. The author offers no suggestion as to the future of these people. The question is of considerable importance to the future of Irak. At the Conference at Constantinople in May, 1924, it was the claim made by our representative for the cession of the Hakkiari country to Irak that largely caused the breakdown of the negotiations. Since Mr. Luke's book was written the Turks have cleared these unfortunate people out of this country. After an interesting chapter on the monasteries of Monophysites the book deals with the Yezidies. This curious people have excited much interest, but their religion and origin remain very obscure. They have suffered much persecution at the hands of the Turks and Layard describes how on one occasion the Great Elchi intervened successfully on their behalf. How much more might have been done for the minorities in the Turkish Empire if in these later years we had possessed at Constantinople an Ambassador with the personality and commanding influence of Stratford Canning! Professor Bittners' book on the Yezidees, "Dei Heiligen Bücher der Yeziden oder Teufelsanbeter," might have been included in the Bibliography. Mr. Luke's interesting book should prove welcome to those who wish to study the problems connected with our mandate in Irak.

F. F. R.

With Lawrence in Arabia. By Lowell Thomas. Hutchinson. 21s.

Mr. Lowell Thomas does not profess to be a historian of the Arab campaign (1916-1918) of the Great War, and one must not expect to find in the volume, which is the subject of this review, either a complete account or even an accurate summary of the events which led up from the revolt of the Sharif of Mecca in June, 1916, to Faisal's triumphal entry into Damascus with the vanguard of his Arab army in October, 1918. And yet Mr. Thomas' story is far from being a romance of the "Books for Boys" type with which G. A. Henty used to entertain the British schoolboy of a quarter of a century ago. He has to some extent sought to combine the methods of Henty with those of the serious historian and the journalist to create a legend round the person of a young Englishman of extraordinary distinction, who did in fact play the leading rôle in a campaign as strange as any that has ever been recorded in the annals of war. Lawrence's reputation is safe for all time without the legendary halo with which an importunate biographer has sought to proclaim it abroad, and it is a pity that the true and unadorned narrative of the part he and his fellows played in the Arab campaign has been reserved by him for the delectation of a generation yet unborn and of a few discreet persons who are prepared to read and hold their tongues. In the circumstances he has only himself to blame if others step in to glean in a field that is peculiarly his own, and the tale told by Mr. Thomas, for all its frequent and excessive fulsomeness, is not unpleasant reading.

It would be interesting to know where Mr. Thomas got the story, which he first made public in his travelogue and with which he persists in this volume, of Lawrence's elevation to the rank of Prince of Mecca and of his admission into the already by no means small circle of the family of the Prophet. There would seem to be no solid foundation for it, and the mere fact of his wearing princely raiment—for which he seems indeed to have had a very human weakness to judge by the admirable series of photographs of his hero with which the author adorns his book—provides no authority for such an assumption. Nor would

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there seem to be any solid reason for believing Mr. Thomas' tales of the wholesale reconciliation by Lawrence of tribes long separated by blood-feuds and other differences. If such reconciliation ever took place it was but skin-deep and temporary, as anyone knows who had any experience of those same tribes—Ruwalla, Huwaitat, Bani Sakhr and the rest—during the years immediately following the war. The appearance of reconciliation, which deceived the author, was due to another cause than the new-born spirit of Arab unity under the ægis of a Sharifian prince—save the mark!—it was due to the simple fact that Lawrence was for the time being an inexhaustible gold-mine to which the Arabs flocked from far and near to receive of his bounty regardless of their own petty feuds, which could be looked to at leisure in the future. In truth the outstanding feature of Lawrence's personality was not so much his knowledge of the Arab character and his ability to turn that knowledge to good account, as his supreme contempt for British gold and British red-tape. He had a single object in view—the urgent military necessity of keeping the Turks on the Arabian frontier in a state of constant alarm and nervousness, while Allenby dealt with their positions in Palestine. In that object he succeeded brilliantly by methods entirely his own—by riding roughshod over the restrictions inherent in the methods of British officialdom. His triumph over British officialdom was by no means the least of his triumphs, but such methods were only possible under abnormal conditions; and Mr. Thomas, in what is perhaps the best part of his book, tells us how the triumphs of wartime were followed by the disappointments of the peace, when his hero found the drafts he had made on British good faith dishonoured by the officials, who had by then once more come into their own.

The Lawrence drama has ended on a tragic note. It is true that Faisal has a throne in Iraq to console him for the loss of his Syrian crown, but the Sharifian foundation on which Lawrence built the Arabian empire of his dreams has already, within seven years of the great victory, been swept into the sea by the Wahhabi flood presaged even in those days by a cloud no bigger than a man's hand afar off above the deserts of Central Arabia. There is no doubt whatever that the Allied cause profited very substantially by the revolt of the Sharif of Mecca against the Turks, and by the subsequent operations of the Amir Faisal guided by Lawrence, but it was a blunder of the first magnitude to suppose that the Arab campaign could be the starting-point of a new era in the history of Arabia. New eras generally begin with apparently insignificant events, and the new Arabian era had in point of fact started in 1912 with the founding of the first *Ikhwan* colony at Artawiya. But these matters are beyond the purview of Mr. Thomas, whose tale—limited to the adventures of a certain Arabian Knight and other Arabian Knights with occasional Knights of the Air and sons of Ishmael and others—may be commended to the attention of the reader. And if it so be that he played himself any part, however insignificant, in that strange campaign he will find himself suitably commended for his exploits or his acumen or his good looks or, maybe, the colour and texture of his beard. Mr. Lowell Thomas knows how to use paint and he puts it on in great daubs. Everybody he can think of is a hero, but the hero of heroes is Lawrence.

THROUGH INNER DESERTS TO MEDINA. By the Countess Malmignati. Philip Allan and Co. 10s. 6d.

In Part I. of the Central Asian Society's *Journal* for 1914 it was announced that "the exploration of the Ruba el Khali desert . . . is the object of an expedition by the Countess Molitor." The book, which is the subject of this

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notice, is by the Countess Malmignati, whose primary object was to traverse and explore the same desert, and who appears on her own showing to have consoled herself for failure in that object by making a remarkable journey through the "Inner Deserts" to Madina, where in the motley throng, which one would expect to find in that famous centre of Muslim pilgrimage, *she* finds a sprinkling of Chinamen and Japanese. The book is so full of mistakes or misprints that one is tempted to read "Javanese" for "Japanese." It is natural enough to speculate whether the Countess Molitor and the Countess Malmignati are in fact one and the same person. And a careful reading of the book forces one instinctively to echo a question asked of herself by the author in the closing paragraph: "Those last three months—were they but a dream?" One is tempted to answer in the affirmative, while applauding the brave words with which she takes leave of her readers: "And the Ruba-el-Kali will still be my goal. *Inshalla!*"

Countess Malmignati is a romantically-minded lady, always ready to find a page or chapter of the "Arabian Nights" in the least likely places. She feels herself "transported back into the times of Abraham," and her heart is "gripped" by the sight of Arab women marching by their camels "barefooted, with elastic step, singing their wild, passionate Bedouin songs." She is mildly put out at discovering that the Shararat are not "too proud to beg," but is consoled to find that the fellow who had offended her "really only wanted a new *abba*." The Ruwalla Arabs are her *beau idéal* of what mankind should be, and she admires their "clean-living" manliness. She does not appear to be, and does not claim to be, a fluent speaker of Arabic, but she explains the fact that she conducted her conversation with the Sultan of the Ruwalla through her dragoman, a Syrian dentist by profession, somewhat naïvely: "First of all, because it is not considered good form for persons of importance to speak directly to one another, but always to use an interpreter; and, secondly, because on these evenings . . . the language was of such great beauty and eloquence . . . that I felt it impossible sometimes even to understand, much less to answer in the same words." Golden bowls are produced in the Ruwalla tents for her to wash her hands in after meals, which even in mid-desert consisted on special occasions of "a regiment of roasted chickens swimming in brown butter." But these are minor blemishes in a work which is open to criticism on far more serious grounds.

The author is as sparing of chronological and geographical details as she well could be. It is not quite obvious whether she means her travel record to be taken seriously or not, but no serious student of matters Arabian can afford to dismiss as nonsense the claim of a European lady to have travelled from Damascus to Zilfi and thence to Madina—Zilfi and Madina have never yet been visited by a European lady—without subjecting the personal narrative of her journey to the closest examination. Countess Malmignati's book provides the evidence on which one would seem to be justified in believing that she has not made good her claim to have visited these places. And the carelessness with which it has been written (or published) adds to the exasperation of the reader who knows anything about Arabia. The well-known town of Homs, for instance, defies identification in the guise of Houss on p. 61 and elsewhere. And it takes some thinking to realize that the "Têdem" (p. 61) and the "Tedan" (p. 73) tribe is none other than the Fad'an, while on p. 73 the Saba'a tribe becomes the "Gabâa." And we hear a great deal about the "Dalma Desert" (*e.g.*, in the heading of Chapter IX.) before we realize that the author means the Dahna. Minor mistakes are too frequent to notice in detail—*e.g.*, Sahiya (for Salihiya), Rachmed (? Ahmad), *craci* (p. 20, ? *raqi*), *beben* (p. 108, for *liban*), etc.

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Finally, the climax of the story turns on the attitude of a certain tribe described as the Ruwalla "Sultan's fiercest enemies, the El Faidassi." Who are they? It is impossible to identify them even though we are told they were camping at some wells south of Zilfi.

The Countess does not tell us in what year her travels took place, though she gives us a date or two within that year—unfortunately for her. Internal evidence helps us to fix the year as 1914 or possibly a year or two earlier. At any rate, there was still a *Wali* at Damascus, and the guide, philosopher, and friend selected by the Countess to share her adventures was no other than that delightful individual, Muhammad al Bassam (she invariably refers to him as Mahmoud), who, as we are told on p. 57, was considered to be "absolutely trustworthy," as he had previously been with Gertrude Bell. The latter certainly, therefore, penetrated the "Inner Deserts" before the Countess, whose travels, whatever may have been their extent, preceded the Great War. We take her at her word, and are prepared to believe (1) that she went to Zilfi, (2) that she went to Madina, and (3) that she started from Damascus during the month of *Ramdhan*. We are not prepared to accept any one of these three claims as established in preference to any of the others, and she gives us ample reason to believe that two of them are inconsistent with known facts.

Muhammad al Bassam having gone off to buy camels for the great adventure, the Countess "really did not mind very much having two weeks longer in Damascus as the Ramadan had just begun." A few days later, being "rather sick of Damascus by this time," she goes off on a visit to Mount Hermon. And on June 5 she leaves Damascus to join Muhammad al Bassam at Adra, whence she would start on the great expedition. At Adra she stays a few days, on one of which she "heard the cry of the *muezzin*, announcing that the time of fasting was over." We are justified, from the Countess's account, in assuming at the least that June 5 fell in that particular year during the month of *Ramdhan*, but we know that in 1914 the month of *Ramdhan* did not begin till about July 21. In any year earlier than 1914 it would have begun later still, and the earliest year in which June 5 could have fallen in *Ramdhan* would be 1919, when the war was over and there was no longer a *Wali* at Damascus. It is quite obvious either that the Countess is romancing about her *Ramdhan* experiences at Damascus or that she did not start on her great adventure on June 5. In either case her credit is seriously shaken.

At any rate, she gives us an itinerary of her five days' march from Adhra to Palmyra via Mossul (*sic*) and Homs. At Palmyra she finds the house of the local *Shaikh* "built like a fortress, surrounded by four strong walls, but once inside it was a dream of beauty and peace. It was a small oasis, full of the most exquisite fruit and flowers, with fountains and small lakes everywhere." That is all she has to say about Palmyra!

Leaving Palmyra after a sojourn of some days she arrives with the Ruwalla after three days' march at the northern border of the Hamad, and camps in Wadi Majsar (*sic*). Thence moving in a south-westerly (*sic*) direction, she enters the desert of El Wadian, crossing Wadi el Fuhr (*sic*) and Wadi Handra (*sic*), to reach the wells of Mbehara (*sic*). After that—presumably in the month of July—she passes "many Wadis which would have supplied the whole caravan with sufficient water to remain for weeks at a time." She then enters a stony desert east of Wadi Sirhan, marching with all the impedimenta of a great tribe at the rate of sixty miles a day towards the "vapid desert." In due course the procession heads for Wadi al Umstarri (shown as Wadi al Mustawi in a very inadequate sketch-map), and the Ruwalla Sultan takes it into his head to go to Zilfi to exchange camels for horses, and at Zilfi they duly arrive on September 3.

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The Countess here presents us with an initialled sketch of the mosque of Zilfi, which, to say the least, is a pure fiction of her imagination. Zilfi is entirely innocent of anything so beautiful as the dome and minaret of the sketch.

From Zilfi, recognized as a European and a Christian, she is conducted by ill-mannered *Shaikhs* to Buraida and across Arabia to Madina. Before entering that holy city she had "to take off my Arab dress, and adopt that of a Moslem woman." Her troubles were now over. She was able to visit the Prophet's tomb, and after a bout of severe fever she returned to Damascus by the Hijaz railway. And then apparently she woke up to write an account of her experiences which leaves us entirely in the dark as to how much of the "Inner Deserts" she ever really saw. It would certainly be interesting to have Muhammad al Bassam's account of the same adventure. But perhaps Countess Malmignati does not intend us to take her story too seriously.

H. St. J. B. Philby.

The Lost Oases. By A. M. Hassanein Bey. Messrs. Thornton Butterworth, Ltd. 21s.

In this book Hassanein Bey, who holds the Founders' Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, describes his memorable journey over some two thousand miles of desert from the Mediterranean coast down into the Sudan.

Starting from Sollum, Egypt's most western port, he travelled to Kufra, which he had visited in 1921 with Mrs. Rosita Forbes, now Mrs. A. McGrath. Leaving Kufra, he struck south into desert which had never previously been traversed by a civilized man. It was his ambition to locate and to fix upon the map the two oases of Arkenu and Ouenat, whose whereabouts were unknown to geographers, and whose very existence was almost a legend among the Arabs of the Libyan Desert. He discovered these "lost oases," and found in them a permanent water supply and a population of Tebu and Goran tribesmen. From there he trekked southwards, through the eastern edge of Wadai, through Darfur, and to El Obeid in Kordofan, the terminus of the Sudan Railway, which he reached almost seven months after his start from Sollum.

The journey was an important geographical achievement, and much valuable scientific information was collected by the author, which is contained in the appendices at the end of the volume, and the separation of this technical information makes the body of the book all the more interesting to the general reader.

Only a brave man and an intrepid traveller could have attempted and succeeded in making such a journey, but it has been the ambition of several men to accomplish this feat which Hassanein has performed. I have heard it discussed many times on the Western Desert, and some time before Hassanein visited Kufra in 1921 the Government refused permission for an attempt to make this journey.

The difficulties and the dangers which were met with are so modestly described that people with no experience of the desert would hardly realize how serious they were. There was the constant possibility of the caravan losing its way in that trackless desert which is so often swept by terrific sandstorms, and that would have meant a certain and terrible death. Although the Senussi chiefs were friendly to Hassanein, many of the Arabs resented the idea that he was spying out their land, and the demeanour and the number of the tribesmen in the two oases were unknown. Hassanein's caravan never contained more than twenty men.

The description of the journey is an intensely interesting and human story.

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It is written in plain, straightforward English, without any of those literary flourishes which one associates with books which are written in a language which is foreign to that of the author. There is a careful study of the history of the Senussi, and many descriptions of local customs and superstitions, which are of great ethnological interest.

But, perhaps, the most interesting feature of the book is the point of view of the author. He is an Egyptian gentleman, a sincere Mahomedan, and of Bedouin descent; at the same time he is a scientist, a scholar, and a man with not only an English University education, but with many of those traits which are typical of English University men. In the Middle Ages there were many famous Arab travellers, but in later years Egyptians have not been so much associated with enterprises of this description. Hassanein Bey's journey is eventful not only in itself, but also as a sign of the new spirit of Egypt to-day.

The book is dedicated to His Highness King Fouad of Egypt, who was largely responsible for the expedition, and it contains an appreciative introduction by Sir Rennell Rodd. It is illustrated by numerous excellent photographs; those of Arkenu and Ouenat remind one of some of the small uninhabited oases which lie south of Siwa. There is only one photograph of the author, which is rather a change from many travel books, in which photographs of the authors appear in almost every chapter.

The discovery of the oases is of military and political importance. According to Hassanein Bey, Arkenu is within the Egyptian frontier and Ouenat lies inside the borders of the Sudan. These places are valuable because they contain a water supply, and because of this they could be used as a base, possibly for further exploration of that part of the desert which lies between the oases and the Nile, which is now one of the few unexplored parts of that country. Now that they have been marked upon the map, it is possible for a camel caravan to travel from the Mediterranean coast to Darfur, and where camels have gone motors may follow. During the war British forces were fighting against the Senussi on the coast and against the army of the Sultan of Darfur in the Western Sudan. One wonders whether this route was used at that time for conveying arms, which were landed on the coast, down to the Sudan.

Altogether "The Lost Oases" forms a valuable contribution to the literature of the Libyan Desert, and Hassanein Bey is to be congratulated on a most fascinating and admirable book.

C. Dalrymple Belgrave.

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1. The Early History of Bengal. By the late F. J. Monahan, Indian Civil Servant. Oxford University Press. 1925.
2. The Early History of Bengal. By R. C. Mazumdar, Professor of History in the University of Dacca. Dacca University Bulletin No. 3. Oxford University Press. 1925.

A book and a pamphlet on the Early History of Bengal. Professor Mazumdar's pamphlet is of twenty-seven pages only. In the absence of any explanation as to the ground which a Dacca University Bulletin is intended to cover, it is difficult to see what useful purpose this bulletin is intended to serve, unless as a cram book for the Professor's students. Its perusal leaves one with a sense of confusion. The opening pages appear unintelligible except to a Sanscrit scholar or student, and such scholar would expect something more detailed. In the absence of definite information regarding the details of early Bengal and Bihar history, social or political, the ethnological origins of the

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people deserve more than the passing notice given. No effort has been made to explain the political geography of early Eastern India, until, two-thirds through the pamphlet, and dealing with the seventh century A.D., the author has "placed" certain petty kingdoms under their modern divisional and district names. For the rest, the pamphlet, confining itself to a record of the rise and fall of obscure dynasties, without telling the general reader anything about the religious, social, and political developments of the people, appears neither up to the standard of a learned paper to a historical society, nor sufficiently clear and interesting to act as an introduction to the study of the history of an important part of India. Altogether it is a disappointing production for the Dacca University. The bibliographical referencing is well done.

It is refreshing to turn from the pamphlet of the professional to the book of the amateur historian. The late Mr. Monahan, of the Indian Civil Service and the Bengal Presidency, had the reputation of being a revenue officer of deep and extensive knowledge—and revenue officers are generally credited with the clearest insight into the real India. His sympathies, his abilities, and his opportunities all tended towards a study of the language, religion, and social life of the people rather than towards administrative success, although at the close of his career he was Member of the Board of Revenue, Bengal. After his retirement he set himself to the task of writing a history of Bengal from the earliest times covered by historical records rather than legends and religious myths. His unexpected death set a quick limit to this task, and in the result all that had been completed was a history of the institutions, manners and customs of the Maurya Empire, with its capital at Patna in Bihar, and of which Bengal was but an unmentioned province, though doubtless extremely high in the estimation of the Maurya Treasury officials. The book is a delight to read and should appeal to a wider circle of readers than those immediately concerned with Indian polity and problems, and its survey of Maurya institutions should form a useful corrective to such as are carried away by sympathy for the anti-Government diatribes of certain Indian political groups.

After a comparative study of the geography of Eastern India and a brief résumé of outstanding events in the reigns of Candragupta, Bindusāra, and Aśoka, Mr. Monahan has dissected the Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, a handbook for Princes by Kauṭīlya or Cāṇakya, the Minister of Candragupta. This as a dissertation on the elements of politics cannot compare with Aristotle, but as a picture of the Maurya governmental machine and of the manners, customs and trade of Bihar and Eastern India generally, it is most illuminating, and Mr. Monahan has treated it with sympathetic humour and historical perspective. He has then compared Greek and Roman accounts of India with what he found in the Arthaśāstra, and finally has briefly examined the evidence to be obtained from Aśoka's Edicts, Rock, Pillar, and Cave.

The picture is one of a bureaucratic despotism, not too scrupulous in its methods, yet working for the people, when the king's interests are not contrary. There was an astonishing amount of royal interference with the flow of trade and the level of prices. Other features that have impressed themselves upon the reviewer are the privileged position of the Brahman, and the power of the priesthood generally; the cynical frankness about the dishonesty of ministers and officials, the activities of the C.I.D. and of *agents provocateurs* and spies, and the striking similarity—which on analysis is not really so striking—between the measures to be taken for dealing with badmashes in Maurya times and under sections 109 and 110 Criminal Procedure Code to-day. The description of how a bad character behaved in 300 B.C. reads like the final report of a bad livelihood case in 1920; which makes one all the more amused at the support given to the

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anti-Government agitation to wipe out 109 and 110 from the Criminal Procedure Code.

In Service gossip Mr. Monahan was often credited with a distrust of the police. This distrust, if it really existed, may have had its origins in Mr. Monahan's nationality and in his early experiences in Bengal before Police Reform had gone very far. It must have tickled his sense of humour, therefore, to have transcribed the passages in the Arthasāstra about the utility to the Maurya polity of *agents provocateurs*, political assassins and spies. It is pleasing to think of the cleanness of the Bengal Police in these days.

Mr. Monahan's referencing is excellent.

D. S. F.

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1921. Vol. IV.: BALUCHISTAN. By Major T. C. Fowle and Rai Bahadur Diwan Jamiat Rai, C.I.E.

"Each successive census advances towards the ideal of statisticians, but perfect records cannot be expected without the employment of well-trained and intelligent officials."

Baluchistan could not have secured a higher-trained, more intelligent or enthusiastic official than Diwan Jamiat Rai, whose every interest is bound up with what may well be called the country of his adoption. Trusted by high and low, he is equally at home with Baluch or Pathan. Major Fowle had a congenial task to one of his literary ability and deep interest in the people of the frontier. We can sympathize with him in his desire to have had charge of operations from the beginning of the census to the final report, but he will never regret the knowledge he has gathered in the compilation, even though the data were collected under another's authority.

The interest of the report under review lies when read in conjunction and compared with that of the 1911 census, and will well repay such a study to anyone interested in India frontier problems. One might even suggest that all successful British candidates at the India Civil Service examinations should attend a few lectures on the psychology of the people based on the gazetteers and census reports of the province to which they were to be posted. They would probably be able to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest these valuable but, when unexplained, forbidding tomes with pleasure as well as profit to themselves and the people they will later on have to rule over.

It is true that the report of 1911 was most comprehensive, and the compiler has quoted freely therefrom; however, one cannot but think that some fresh material for "descriptive matter of interest" must have been forthcoming during a decade of such exceptional interest. The World War, the Afghan War, two or three tribal outbreaks have surely left some mark worthy of note even in a census report. For one thing the war caused a great revival not only in the province, but all along the borderland, in religion, and the condition of the Muslim faith throughout the world; this interest will not easily be laid aside, and will affect the numbers of the priestly class.

The Marri and Jalawan outbreaks, as well as the raids on the Persian border, caused much dislocation of tribal life as well as definite losses in lives and prisoners.

When the innate prejudices against census operations prevalent among the more backward tribesmen are taken into account, the fact that the census was completed without any untoward incident gives yet another proof of the excellence of the Sandeman policy, under which the administration is conducted as far as possible by and through the natural leaders of the people.

The author need not excuse himself for following in the footsteps of that

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wise headmaster who only just sat about and smoked cigars while subordinates carried on. One may be sure that Major Fowle, like that same headmaster, got good work out of his staff because they knew he was all the time watching and noting their labours without too much fuss and unnecessary interference. If only some of our super-efficient administrators would learn this useful lesson, how much greater would be the content and happiness not only of the harassed officials, but of the poor, over-administered people.

The population of India is the most extensive aggregate in the scope of uniform census, and probably nowhere, even in India's widely differing lands, are such natural physical difficulties to be encountered in enumeration work as in Baluchistan, remembering at the same time that the larger portion of the population is nomadic.

In these circumstances the importance of a preliminary record, even with a very simplified schedule, as well as the necessity for non-synchronous areas, can be readily understood. Considering all the difficulties, the information obtained is truly wonderful, and reflects the greatest credit on all those who have laboured in this important work.

An innovation, and a useful one, in this census was the enumeration of cattle. The maps also are of great value.

It is well to note that "though the province is distinctly larger than the United Kingdom, its total population is only about that of Liverpool." This population is practically stationary, except for a decrease, as in this decade, due to war, pestilence, and famine, chief of which was the exceptionally virulent outbreak of influenza. It was not the number of new graves that caught one's eye passing near some lonely village after the visitation, but an entirely new "God's acre" with a full harvest.

Although there are plenty of fine open plains in Baluchistan waiting for agriculture, they are all valueless through the lack of water for irrigation, and desiccation is going on apace. The desert is advancing, not retreating, and this over some of the most fertile valleys, such as Mastung.

Great interest in the report of 1911, and continued in the present one, was shown in sex questions; perhaps another reason, in addition to all the hypothetical ones mentioned for the paucity of female births, may be that well known to the Baluch horse-breeder in determining sex!

The person who probably knows more about the women of Baluchistan than anybody else is that well-beloved and devoted missionary doctor, Miss Stewart, and a note by her would illumine any future report.

It does not appear to have been noticed that similarly to the seasonal migration to Kachhi from the highlands there is a similar migration to Sind by landed proprietors—that is, a considerable number of Sardars and tribesmen own land in Sind as well as in Baluchistan, the former being Darbaris in both provinces.

The best term in the "Analysis of Occupations" used by the author is that of "Jack of all trades," as applied to the indigenous tribesman, for this he truly is. Primary malik of his own plot, as he prefers to call himself, he is flock-owner, camel-owner, levy sowar, railway employee, petty trader, transport worker, or in fact good for any game that pays. If only these census reports help towards a better understanding of the problems concerning the tribesmen, and a closer and more sympathetic bond between the provincial administration and the Government of India, they will be worth much more than only their statistical value. We must not forget to commend the valuable appendices, especially No. 3, by Diwan Jamiat Rai.

ALIF SHABNAM.

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ENGLISH-BALUCHI COLLOQUIAL DICTIONARY. By Major George Waters Gilbertson, assisted by Ghâno-Khân Haddiani. Published by the Author.

Those to whom the study of Baluchi is a necessity will with difficulty liquidate their debt to the author, already great on account of "The Baluchi Language." He has evidently laboured long and with care to compile a work so full of detail. Departing from the system used in an ordinary dictionary, he has presented what might perhaps be better described as a live dictionary. Each English word carries a Baluchi sentence embodying that word, or its meaning when no particular Baluchi word is available, and thus prevents the risk of translating a word in a wrong sense.

This system is surely sound if it is true that "The influence of climate and of religion have to be considered, as well as the character of the people, if we wish to obtain a real hold on the language of our study." It is only by learning the everyday idioms and context in which words are used that a language can be truly mastered. Leitner always maintained that the ethnographical study of a people best explained the grammar of its language. In fact, the present work recalls to mind Leitner's "Languages and Races of Dardistan."

In the foreword it is stated that Baluchi has no literature; but in all primitive languages literature in its early stages is chiefly in verse, and this is not only so with the Baluch, but practically all the poetry, history, and records of that quaint conglomerate, called "The Confederacy of the Kalat Brahui Clans," contained in its sagas, such as "The Brahui-Jadgal War," are in the Baluchi language.

Baluchi is the household speech of many Brahui chiefs, as well as that of H.H. the Khan—either western or eastern, according to the recruiting centre. In the Khan's house the western, since all the slaves came from Mekran; in that of the Raisani Sardar's the eastern, because, originally Pathans, their wealth and property is chiefly in Kachhi and Sind.

Baluchi took its rise in Baluchistan maybe, but in Persian Baluchistan—not the British Baluchistan of to-day. The Baluchi-speaking tribes are not a large proportion of the population of Baluchistan. We may note that nearly all Baluch are bilingual, mostly speaking Jatki or Lahnda as a second language. It is certainly correct in a general sense that idioms and not words indicate nationality, and this is probably because the idioms are acquired with the original mother-tongue. Take the Marris and Bugtis, recruited originally by "Hamsayahs" from anywhere, and, having proved their fitness, were then given women and became clansmen, the offspring naturally learning pure Baluchi from their mothers.

The author has no doubt made an exhaustive study of the connecting link between the Iranian and Indian languages, but it would be hard to forgo one's lifelong opinion that the Baluch is originally of Iranian stock. It is doubtful, of course, if a race like the Baluch are not destined to be absorbed by other people unless carefully fostered by Government, and one of the best ways to ensure a future for these very interesting people would be a confederacy embracing all Baluch from Dera Ghazi Khan to the Mekran border. Perhaps this could hardly be hoped for from a foreign and utilitarian administration.

It is perhaps more difficult to agree entirely with the author on the subject of Appendix V.—one on which opinions widely differ, more especially so amongst the leaders in pedagogics. We join issue with him on the subject of Borstal, which is yet in its early stages and needs improvement, but has done a world of good in many instances. The stick is no more infallible than other methods, as the records of the time of its general use prove, keeping in mind, of course, the increase in the population. Probably the truest word in this sermon on how to

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learn is at page 817: "It is the one and only key to a knowledge of a people. If you would govern a people you must know them. And the better you know them the easier the thing becomes." One might also say that a living language can only be learnt thoroughly by living amongst the people whose mother-tongue it is.

We may hope that Major Gilbertson will meet his loyal and helpful companion later on, even without the aid of Messrs. Oliver Lodge and Conan Doyle, and the present writer trusts they will not mind his sitting on a lower step to hear a Baluchi hymn of praise sung by professors in the language:

"Wa*th*-i chana án jawá 'eṅ gusho*kh* eṅ."

ALIF SHABNAM.

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NOTICES

The following books have been received for review :

"Mosul and its Minorities," by H. C. Luke. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 161. Illustrations. (London : Martin Hopkinson. 10s. 6d.)

"Things Seen in Constantinople," by A. Goodrich-Freer. $5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 158. Illustrations and plan. (London : Seeley Service and Co. 3s. 6d.)

"The Lost Oases," by A. M. Hassanein Bey. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 316. Maps and illustrations. (London : Thornton Butterworth. 21s.)

"Periods of Chinese History." Chart, folded in manila container. 8s. 6d. Also obtainable on stick as wall map. 22s. 6d. (Messrs. Gunn and Co., Boston and London.)

The Council wish to thank Mrs. Frazer for a copy of "Un Manuel de Politique Musulmane," by Un Africain. Éditions Bossard, 43, Rue Madame, Paris.

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the *Journal*.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

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JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

Vol. XIII April, 1926 Part II

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN TRANSCASPIA, 1918–1919*

By Brevet Lieut.-Colonel D. E. KNOLLYS, D.S.O.

(*Lecture given before the Central Asian Society on December* 10, 1925.)

Before starting on the operations we must briefly review the circumstances that led to their being undertaken.

During the war the Indian Government was called upon to supply large forces in many theatres, and in order to comply as far as possible

* The Chairman (Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn): Ladies and gentlemen, before I introduce the lecturer to you, the Hon. Secretary has an announcement to make.

The Hon. Secretary: I have to announce that nine new members have been elected by the Council. On each occasion when the Council has met, five, six, or eight have been elected, and our members now amount to 850 or 860, leaving a small margin for us to attain the number we should like to attain, of 1,000, and I am sure there are amongst the audience those who are not already members who are likely recruits.

The Chairman: Ladies and gentlemen, Colonel Knollys, of the 1/14th, formerly 19th Punjabi Regiment, is going to lecture this evening on the military operations in Transcaspia in 1918 and 1919, and before I call upon him I should like to say a few words for the benefit of anyone who is here to-night, who does not happen to know what these astounding adventures in Transcaspia amounted to. While in the Western theatres of war millions were opposed to millions, and while Lord Allenby's forces were gathering in Palestine for their final smash up of the Turkish army, and while several divisions were on the Tigris, there was a small force in 1918 and 1919 that had been pushed up hundreds and hundreds of miles away into Central Asia, and hardly anybody knew what was going on. There were two dangerous anti-civilization and anti-British movements going on. Firstly, Pan-Islamic, because though the Young Turk had thrown Islam by the board, yet at the same time they were not slow to use Islamic propaganda as a means of disturbing India generally; and, secondly, because the Turks had tried to throw their influence right across into Manchuria and form a Pan-Turk association with the Central Powers and Turkey. To stop this a force was gradually pushed up into Transcaspia to interpose a cordon between Afghanistan and the West, and also if need be to help any Russian party that could contribute to the same end. The story is one of great adventure, of intense difficulty at the time, when the resources of the Government

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with these demands it adopted a policy which I think was described as that of maintaining a minimum force in India for the passive protection of her frontiers. How dangerously low this minimum was may be judged from the difficulty experienced in bringing to a conclusion the Third Afghan War, which took place after the Great War had ended and India's obligations had been greatly lessened elsewhere. Had Afghanistan attacked us during the critical period of the war we can imagine how very seriously she would have embarrassed us. It was, therefore, of paramount importance to keep peace with Afghanistan while the Great War lasted.

Fortunately the Amir, Habibullah, was a far-seeing ruler, who realized that his best interests lay in peace with India, and who kept loyally to his treaty with her throughout the war. The autocratic powers of the Amir are, however, more apparent than real, and Kabul exercises but little control over Herat or other distant centres. Communications are bad, orders travel slowly, and punishment follows disobedience at a long interval, and there are many and various ways of diverting it. There was already in Afghanistan an anti-British faction headed by Nasrullah, the Amir's brother, and Germany established two notorious Indian agitators, Mahendra Pertab and Barkatullah, the self-styled President of the Provisional Indian Government, in Kabul, which they used as a centre to foment trouble in India.

Establishment of Cordon.

Afghanistan was for all practical purposes only approachable for agents and propaganda work from the north or the west—that is to say through Transcaspia or Persia. The former route was closed by the Russians, but the latter was an easy and open road. In order to close this as far as possible a cordon called the East Persian Cordon was established along the eastern boundary of Persia, and, in accordance with the pre-war division of that country into spheres of influence, Russia held the northern part of this line and we the southern. Several Indian revolutionary agents from Kabul were captured trying to get through this cordon.

Taking over from the Russians.

In 1917 came the Russian Revolution, shortly followed by the first signs of Bolshevism, and by the beginning of 1918 the Russian troops

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and the Indian army were strained to the utmost, the operations demanding hundreds of miles of railway, hundreds of miles of motor roads, on which every sort of heterogeneous motor transport alone was available, and thousands of camels were also required, which died in large numbers. I have great pleasure in introducing to you Lieut.-Colonel Knollys, of a regiment that was the mainstay of that force, the 19th Punjabis, and I will now ask him to tell you some of the adventures the force met with.

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in Persia had decided it was time they went to look after their own homes, and incidentally to share in any loot that might be available, and walked out of Persia.

We accordingly extended our line north to Meshed, and by March one cavalry regiment (29th Light Cavalry) and one infantry battalion (19th Punjabis) were spread out from Khwash to Meshed, a distance of 800 miles.

Geography.

As regards the geography and nature of the country over which the operations took place.

From Meshed a reasonably good road runs to Askabad, a distance of about 160 miles. In addition there are alternative routes, suitable with more or less difficulty for mules or camels, running directly north through the mountains from Meshed to Dushak and from Kuchan to Mohomedabad, but very little information seemed to be available about these at that time.

The portion of Turkistan with which we are concerned consists of a flat sandy desert with here and there areas of small sandhills. In the few places where water is available it is extremely fertile, producing grain, cotton, and grapes of excellent quality. The two main oases are those of Tejend and Merv, watered respectively by the rivers Tejend and Murgab, which, flowing down from the Persian hills, lose themselves in the sand after most of their water has been taken for irrigation.

The climate is one of extremes, varying from about zero in winter to somewhere round 100° in the shade in summer, and no rainfall at all so far as I know. The railway is a broad-gauge single line running from the Caspian at Krasnovodsk through Askabad, Merv, across the Oxus, and so up to Samarkand and Tashkent.

Water is only available at a few stations along it, and the remainder are supplied by the trains for which oil was the main fuel used.

The country had made a remarkable development in the forty years or so the Russians had been in possession of it, and from the point of view of creature comforts, such as electric light and accommodation for troops and the railway employees, compared very favourably with India.

Situation in Turkistan.

By the beginning of August, 1918, a strong Bolshevik centre had been established at Tashkent, and, being dissatisfied with the mildness of the rule of their brothers in Askabad, they sent a commissar to instil the new gospel into their backward brethren. This he proceeded to do in accordance with the best tenets of Bolshevism by shooting down the representatives of the railway workmen who had come to discuss

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matters with him. Thereupon the Askabadis gave a practical demonstration of their readiness to learn and shot both him and his wife and set up their own committee, calling themselves Mensheviks. This committee was, however, just as Bolshevik at heart as those against whom they were fighting.

These Mensheviks got together a scratch force and the Bolsheviks were driven back beyond Bairam Ali. Reinforcements were sent down from Tashkent, and it was obvious that the Mensheviks could not keep them back.

At this point they approached the British missions which had been established in Meshed under General Malleson, asking for moral support.

Situation in Persia.

Now let us look at the position as it affected us. The end of the war had not arrived in sight. The Turks were advancing on Baku on the western shore of the Caspian, where another mission had been established under General Dunsterville but was obviously in great jeopardy. With Baku captured, Transcaspia Bolshevik right up to the Caspian, we have the realization of German dreams—an open road to Afghanistan and the East, and a very serious situation for India.

Let us look at the local situation. Troops in Meshed: two squadrons cavalry, one battalion infantry less one company; and troops moving up the line: two squadrons cavalry, one company infantry, all practically untrained—anyhow the infantry, owing to three years work as road-construction coolies. Meshed itself in a disturbed state.

Move to Transcaspia.

First one company and one sub-section Vickers guns were sent up to the border at Mohomedabad to supply moral support as requested, but, somehow, *moral* support seemed to have no effect on the Bolshevik advance.

It was therefore decided that all available troops should be sent to give practical support, and the available troops were assessed at the battalion of infantry, less one company, and one section field ambulance.

Accordingly we received orders to march as quickly as possible and endeavour to get astride the railway and do our best. If the Bolsheviks had got past us on the railway when we got there we must try to harry their communications.

We should be nominally under the Russian commander, but could agree to differ if we found it advisable. We should have no line of communication, our sick and wounded must accompany us, the Russians would feed us, and no maps were available—a very pleasant roving commission from which, I fancy, more was hoped than expected.

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The route selected for us to take was via Kuchan and the Allahoa Akbar Pass to Mohomedabad on to the border.

Opening of Operations.

On arrival at Mohomedabad we found that the company we expected to be waiting for us there had already gone on ahead, and had joined the Mensheviks at Kaaka, where they expected to be attacked next day, and were not at all sanguine as to the result; the sub-section of the machine-guns had returned to Mohomedabad *hors de combat* from influenza and casualties, as the result of a short campaign they had already had with our allies, and from their description of this we were able to gather some inkling of what was before us.

The march was continued to Artik, the nearest station on the railway, and on the way we were met by the British liaison officer, who painted us a very gloomy picture of the state of affairs.

He reported that an attack on Kaaka was in progress, and our presence urgently required. Accordingly a train-load of fighting troops was immediately made up, and baggage, animals, etc., were left to follow. It was late in the afternoon of August 24 when we reached Kaaka, where we found the Mensheviks full of self-congratulation in having beaten off the attack. All that had really happened was a reconnaissance on the part of the enemy to find out our position; but that would probably have been quite sufficient excuse for continuing the retreat had it not been for the presence of our one company and the knowledge that more were coming.

The weather was very hot, so we elected to bivouac in an orchard next door to the railway station in preference to the railway barracks that were offered us.

Composition of Forces.

We now learnt something of the composition of the forces and the method of warfare adopted, though much of what, for the sake of clearness, I will say now was only learnt by slow degrees and bitter experience.

The Menshevik force with whom we were to ally ourselves consisted roughly of about 1,000 infantry, of whom a very small number, about one hundred, were either old Russian officers or soldiers. The rest were almost entirely Armenians, about whom the less said the better.

The artillery consisted of four modern field-guns, of which one was on the armoured train, manned at first entirely by ex-officers, and extremely good. Later, the Committee said this was *contre-révolutionnaire*, and had the officers dispersed. In addition were four old muzzle-loaders which helped to make a noise, quite an important factor.

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Turcoman.

Then came the Turcoman, a more or less wild race that was gradually settling down to peaceful pursuits, such as growing cotton, corn, and fruit, living under the tribal system, and most bitterly opposed to Bolshevism, whose houses had been destroyed, crops looted, women and children outraged and murdered. They were mounted on small wiry ponies capable of covering immense distances, were utterly undependable, came and went as they liked, were of no use in attack or defence, but had their value. They would go miles to scupper a small Bolshevist looting party or any stragglers, thus making it hard for them to collect supplies from the outlying villages. They could collect information, usually very belated and very inaccurate, as, during the Bolshevik advance, they spread outwards from the railway, and took to their nomad life in the desert, keeping close to the flanks and stretching far to the rear. They were, in fact, poor friends, but unpleasant enemies.

Now we come to the most important item of all—the armoured train. Ours was armoured by means of bales of compressed cotton and wooden sleepers, carried one 16-pound field-gun and two machine-guns. In addition we had a subsidiary train, armed with one machine-gun, for protecting the line in our rear from our friends. The armament was later improved, and by the end we had two reasonably good trains, but we never got anything in the way of guns to equal those possessed by the enemy as regards range.

The nominal Commander-in-Chief of this formidable army was Oraz Sirdar, a Turcoman chief, son of Tokme Sirdar, who put up such a good fight against the Russians and was finally defeated by them at Geoke Teppe. He was a very charming man, who had had a superficial military education at the Russian Military School, where he had been left by his father when he returned to his country after heading the deputation to lay the homage of the Turcomans at the feet of the Czar. The appointment was more political than anything, as he was the only man who could in any way hold together the Turcoman, and he made little pretence of commanding. His staff, mostly Russians, were hopeless, and had not the most rudimentary knowledge of tactics or organization—this appears only to have been taught to officers specially trained for the staff. There was no pretence of discipline; men chose their own officers and N.C.O.'s, but never dreamt of obeying them, nor were they allowed to wear any distinguishing badges. Men came and went as they liked, generally liking the former on pay-day and the latter on all others. You never knew the size of the force, not that it mattered much, nor whether any picquets that might have been posted were there or not, though you could pretty safely assume that they were not.

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Enemy Forces.

Against this what was opposed? An army made up truly of a heterogeneous collection, but stiffened by a large number of released Austrian prisoners who had been imprisoned in Tashkent and Samarcand, and told that once they reached the Caspian they could go home. Ruled with an iron discipline, supplied with almost unlimited material which they had obtained from that enormous Russian fortress and arsenal, Kushkh, on the Afghan border, which the Mensheviks had let them take complete without an effort to save it or to destroy or remove the material. In fact, it seemed to change hands, complete with garrison, etc., each time the ebb and flow of the tide passed it.

On their armoured trains they had 4·5-inch guns, also field-guns and machine-guns as many as they could man, and all manned by Austrians.

As regards aeroplanes each side had one at intervals, but they were usually out of order. The Bolshevik pilots were ex-officers and when one went out the remainder were imprisoned, to be killed if he did not return. Our aeroplane only reached us on the fall of Baku, having been flown across the Caspian by its Russian pilot, and we got very little use out of it.

Nature of Warfare.

The method of warfare adopted to date had been as follows:

Each side lived entirely in trains. These moved about in long processions, headed or tailed, as the case might be, by their armoured train or trains. On these trains water was carried in huge butts, field-kitchens on open trucks, men, horses, food, guns, and, in the case of the Bolsheviks, all their loot, a supply of women for use of the troops in accordance with Bolshevik principles, and a printing press to produce the pay of the army. There were also hospital trains with a staff of nurses, and, incidentally, I may here remark that had the Menshevik army had one-quarter of the pluck of the nurses who accompanied it it would have been a fine army. When the retiring force thought it time to make a stand they would get out of their trains and take up a position on either side of the line. The advancing force would see them halted, fire a few rounds from the armoured train, and, if this had no effect, get ready to attack. The procedure for this was to disembark your guns and troops during the night and advance at dawn. When you got close to the enemy, say, 1,000 yards, one of two things happened—either the retiring side bolted for their trains, scrambled on board, leaving behind what couldn't be got on quickly enough, and steamed away; or the attacking side, being met with firm resistance, which meant anything other than a precipitate

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bolt, quietly returned to their trains, retired to a convenient distance, and considered what they should do next.

The arrival of the Austrian prisoners on one side, and of ourselves on the other, somewhat modified this procedure, but it remained substantially the same. You will now begin to see the immense advantage to the side with the greatest range from its armoured train. Except in certain circumstances, which I will explain later, it could compel the weaker train and all the others behind it to retire without coming within its range; you could not leave your trains and fight independently of them, as you had no other means of transport for supplies and nowhere else to get your water.

Both sides were expert railway men. They could repair a line quicker than you could destroy it; culverts and small bridges were replaced with incredible rapidity by building up piers either of crossed railway sleepers or even cotton bales. The trains were carefully guarded at night, and a certain length of rail removed in front of them in case you should send down a runaway engine to try what a collision would do. All tricks for laying mines, etc., seemed useless; they were not to be caught. The most successful device I saw was a very slight and gradual widening of the distance between the rails just sufficient to drop the engine between them, by which the Bolsheviks nearly caught our armoured train but just didn't.

Description of Kaaka.

On the morning of the 25th we had a look round the position. I have here a rough map of Kaaka and its surroundings. The railway station was full of trains but these were now insufficient to accommodate the whole force, so in the event of things going wrong it was obvious we should not have much of a look in. We appropriated enough trucks to carry our kits, spare baggage, and rations, and if the worst came to the worst could probably extricate ourselves and get across the frontier into Persia.

The railway station, together with its associated buildings, comprises a group of solid well-made buildings, and includes a large barrack for the railway employees. Surrounding this is a fair-sized village consisting mainly of mud-built houses, and surrounding the whole are orchards and vineyards enclosed in mud walls. The streets are narrow and tortuous and not remarkable for cleanliness. To the north, about 2,000 yards from the station, is an old mud Turcoman fort, consisting of a wall about twenty feet high in a very fair state of repair. To the east, and dominating the whole position, is a large flat-topped hill rising sharply from the plain at a distance of about two miles from the railway station, and extending for about a mile north and south and perhaps two miles east and west. The railway runs round the southern slopes of this, and south of the railway, about 1,000 yards west of the

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large feature, is a long low ridge running north and south. A stream, which the railway crosses on an iron girder bridge, runs below the western slope of this and out into the plain to the north, where it causes a considerable area of broken ground. South of the village is another hill, but this did not come into the picture.

The disposition of the troops was somewhat remarkable and gave us our first hint of the Russian staff's idea of tactics. The ridge south of the railway was packed with all the available Russian troops and heavily entrenched, and one machine-gun section was placed on the extreme right. The company which had gone on in advance was in so-called reserve at the bridge across the stream. The Commander-in-Chief's personal bodyguard, whose equivalent in our Army would perhaps be the Chelsea Pensioners, were in general reserve at the railway station, and the remainder of the Turcomans were in the old fort. The three Russian field-guns were south of the railway behind the ridge and the muzzle-loaders just north of the bridge. Two points were at once obvious. Firstly, an attack was practically certain to come against our left flank, and this was entirely unprotected except for the Turcomans in the fort; secondly, in view of the weakness of the left flank the reserves should be back by the station and not pushed forward as they were. The first point was noted for remedy, but the second was ruled out by the Russian staff, and we had not yet assumed command. The occupation of the large plateau north of the line was altogether too big a business to be undertaken, but I have not time to go into that here, and we had to risk it being used by the enemy as an artillery and observation position.

I now want to emphasize this question of the armoured train, to which I have already briefly referred, as on this the whole operations hinged. It is obvious that if two trains carrying guns of unequal range are matched against one another on a straight line of rail across an open plain the weaker must always be driven back. It is therefore essential, if the weaker is to hold to its position, that it be under cover from view and able to fire over that cover. This can only be attained when the line curves round a hill, such as it does at Kaaka. The procedure then was for the train to lie behind the hill with an observation post on it, or to one side, and fire over it. Further, an engine must breathe—so it did this after the manner of a whale, letting off great puffs of steam at intervals, then retiring or advancing, so as to be out of harm's way while the enemy had shots at the smoke. Should the opposing train be brave enough to poke its nose round the corner it would immediately be within close range and at a great disadvantage, as the other would be sitting ready for it.

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Battle of Kaaka.

Late that same afternoon, before steps could be taken to strengthen the left flank, news arrived that the Bolsheviks were disembarking from their trains behind Arman Sagat, the next station up the line. We were asked to proceed to the bridge and join the company there as reserve. On arrival we found that the company had been sent up further to strengthen the right flank, as the attack was expected there. This was rather too much, and we insisted on the Vickers guns and one company being sent to extend the left flank and on keeping two companies in reserve. This change had to be made in complete darkness. I propose to describe the small action that took place next day in some detail, as it gives a clear insight into the difficulties against which we had to contend, both at the moment and throughout the operations, and which had a considerable influence on our future actions.

The attack began to develop at about 7.30 a.m. with considerable gun and rifle fire from the top of the hill. This was carried on throughout the day and several half-hearted attempts were made to advance down the hill but were promptly stopped by artillery and rifle fire and the roar of the muzzle-loaders. It was estimated that twelve guns were in action on the hill, but their fire was very badly directed and they did little damage. Needless to say, no attack was attempted against our right flank.

At about eight o'clock a large turning movement against our left flank began to develop, and was directed on the old fort held, or rather occupied, by the Turcomans. We watched this with considerable interest from our position at the bridge, and saw our worst fears realized as it came on and on, without the slightest sign of a check, past the fort and into the orchards where we were told, with the usual Russian optimism, the bodyguard would doubtless stop it. It was, however, as we learnt afterwards, held up for some considerable and very valuable time by a party formed by our Quartermaster from the details left in our camp. Urgent messages for assistance now reached us, and the reserve company was immediately despatched. This was directed so as to strike diagonally into the orchards with its left flank on the station. We reached the station at the psychological moment, just as the enemy also entered it and began to throw bombs at the trains behind which the bodyguard and all the rest of the mob were seeking shelter. The company charged straight in with fixed bayonets, and the enemy, completely taken aback by this unprecedented form of warfare, immediately started to retire. The line wheeled north, and a running fight ensued through the orchards and over the mud walls, where practically nothing could be seen. Our line was continued to the left by such of the Russians and Turcomans as could be collected by two of the Mission officers, who were attached to the force as

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liaison officers, and—this I want to emphasize—such of the enemy as had not got away fast enough also joined this line, since there was nothing to distinguish friend from foe where all were probably friends except the former officers and the Turcoman. On clearing the orchards we saw a party of men standing up in the open ; some said they were friends, others enemies. The only available interpreters at the moment were a Punjabi-speaking sepoy, who could speak a little Persian, and a Russian, who also knew a little of that language. This did not get us very far towards the solution of who were our friends and who our enemies, but presently one of the liaison officers arrived, and it transpired that the Bolsheviks wished to inform us that they had no desire to fight against the Indians, and that if we would surrender they would be very kind to us. It was therefore decided that the battle had better continue, and each side made ready by occupying the most convenient positions that were handy. During this friendly discussion the water mules and other first-line transport, and also Russian hospital nurses, had arrived on the scene, and before things were properly straightened out someone let off a rifle and the battle continued. The enemy soon cleared off and vanished into the desert, abandoning four machine-guns. Now all this sounds very comic, but it had also its serious side. Firstly, there was the question of casualties. Out of the one weak company and camp details engaged these amounted to 3 British officers and 24 rank and file killed and wounded. Secondly, there was the question of treachery. The casualties amongst the British officers included both the liaison officers—one of whom died of his wounds—who as you remember advanced with the mob, and there was no room left to doubt that both of these were shot from behind. Thirdly, there was the question of how this would affect further operations, and the one point that stood out clearly was that in any future fighting we would keep ourselves to ourselves. Lastly, it brought out the urgent necessity of a proper supply of interpreters, but this we were never able to obtain as they were not available.

Next morning a welcome reinforcement arrived in the form of a company of the 1/4th Hampshire Regiment from Krasnavodsk.

After the bad fright they had received the previous day, the staff were only too willing to fall in with our suggestions. Accordingly we reorganized the position as follows : Our troops took over and made themselves responsible for the left flank, and also kept one company to support the Russians as required at the bridge. This served the double purpose of having men on the spot to stiffen and encourage the Russians in case of a frontal attack, and also, if necessary, to stop them from running away before we were ready and taking all the trains.

The left flank was protected by constructing a series of posts, and a barbed-wire fence was erected which eventually reached all round the left flank and front of the position. This part of the work was carried

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out by the Russians and was extremely well done. The reserves were kept in our orchard by the railway station. Our posts were, for the most part, situated in vineyards or melon gardens; the grapes were excellent and the melons superb, being treated somewhat after the manner of vintage wines, the choicest being kept for a considerable time in dark cellars to mature. We did not, however, reap much benefit from these excellent fruits as cholera was nearly always present among the Russian troops, owing to their insanitary methods, and our medical officer put fruit on the forbidden list. Tantalus could scarcely have been tried as highly as we were, living, as we did, in the midst of it in that heat and with very little variety of food.

We also established a line of communication to Askabad, where we put all our sick and wounded in Russian hospitals, where they were well looked after.

Two further attacks were launched against the position on September 11 and 28. The general plan was similar in all three but the turning movements grew wider, the last reaching the line in rear of our position, and the number of guns brought against us increased considerably. These attacks were easily dealt with and never reached our position, but an attempted counter-attack came to nothing, owing to the refusal of the Russian troops to advance. For the third attack the enemy arrived in eighteen trains.

Between the two attacks our force was again increased by the arrival of one section of the 44th Battery R.F.A., which, like the company of the 1/4th Hampshire Regiment, had come across from Mesopotamia, and after the last attack by two squadrons of the 28th Light Cavalry from East Persia. This was the most important addition we received, as the lack of cavalry in this open country had absolutely paralyzed us both for reconnaissance and for counter-attack. On the debit side, however, we had to place the toll taken by a severe epidemic of influenza, which, as you probably remember, was at that time sweeping over the world, and deprived us for the time of the services of 10 per cent. of our already somewhat inadequate force.

At this time also the Committee began to add to our troubles, and continued to do so till we got beyond their reach to Merv, reaching their climax while we were actually engaged in the action which led to our obtaining possession of that place. I shall not, however, allude to them again, so must say a few words about them now.

As you know, of course, everything in Bolshevik Russia is nominally run by a Committee or Soviet and, as I have tried to point out, our allies were, to all intents and purposes, Bolsheviks. The president was a butcher, the vice-president an engine-driver. A very small minority were engaged in trying to defeat the enemy, and these were soon removed under one pretext or another. The remainder were occupied in lining their pockets and arranging for the disposal of the ex-officers

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at the front and the Turcomans as soon as the campaign had been brought to a successful conclusion through their instrumentality. They openly avowed their intention of doing this, and retained at Askabad both men and rifles, which should have been at the front, for this express purpose.

Agreement to Advance.

This Committee now became most insistent that we should attack, and related all sorts of terrible things that would happen if we didn't advance. The most convincing of these, and one which had the appearance of truth, was that unless we could get the oasis, at least of Tejend, they could not feed the force through the winter. Lies and half-truths were well mixed up, and finally having, after a very stormy interview with them, obtained their promise to carry out a long list of demands, and a new chief of staff, with some pretence to knowledge of his job, having arrived, and above all the arrival of our cavalry, we agreed.

While carrying out preliminary reconnaissance for the advance, an incident occurred that will show that our enemy could not be despised as entirely incompetent, though he had clearly shown he was not formidable in attack. It also illustrates the advantage of command of the railway. A cavalry patrol had gone to reconnoitre towards Dushak. They were spotted by the armoured train, which was standing near Aman Sagat; the news was telephoned in to Dushak, whence a strong mounted patrol was immediately despatched with their horses by train. These detrained near Arman Sagat and rode across to cut off the patrol, who escaped with great difficulty, and the loss of one horse.

Problem of Attack.

Now I want to draw your attention to the problem offered in making a plan for the attack, as it sums up the whole tactical difficulty against which we were competing. Our objective was the enemy's force, not his position, as Dushak could never be held if we took it unless the enemy was first beaten, as it did not possess the essential corner for the armoured train. Anyhow it was useless as we wanted Tejend, and nothing short of that was of any use to us.

The enemy's force was to all intents and purposes as if it were contained in a movable fortress armed with guns which far outranged anything that could be brought against it. If you marched against it in force it moved away. If you posted your guns within range at night it merely moved out of range and shelled you at leisure, as there was absolutely no cover for them. If you marched round into the rear it would move forward, and, as you could get neither water nor supplies, you had to return whence you came, if you could. A night bombing attack or any similar scheme was impossible.

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Plan for the Attack.

The plan finally adopted for the attack consisted of a double night march north of the railway for the artillery and infantry, and south of the railway under the cover of the foothills, where they could move by day, for the cavalry; the northern force was to spend the intermediate day concealed in a ruined village north of Arman Sagat. The attack was to be delivered simultaneously at dawn on the second day by the artillery and infantry from the west and the cavalry from the east. Somewhat elaborate arrangements were also made, through the medium of the aeroplane, for the destruction of the line east of Dushak by a party of reinforced Turcoman, in order to prevent the enemy from escaping, or reinforcements from being sent to them from Tejend. These, however, for reasons which you will shortly appreciate, did not work out according to plan, so I will not elaborate them. Taking into consideration the knowledge we had so far acquired of the enemy, this appeared to offer some hope of success, but we were as yet far from plumbing the depths to which our allies could descend.

Preliminary Operations.

All started well, and the northern column was not more than four hours late in getting under way. The ruined village was reached, the troops remained apparently undetected throughout the day, and the cavalry set out on the second stage of their journey. That is all that did go well. When the time arrived for the start of the second night march the Russian troops refused to move on the ground, very possibly true, that they had no food.

Steps had then to be taken to recall the cavalry, which fortunately extricated itself before it had come to any harm; but any possibility that may ever have existed, with so many enemy friends in our own camp, of surprising the enemy had, of course, gone, as also the plans for destroying his line to Askabad. Outposts were put out, food obtained, and it was finally decided to carry on with the original plan three days later.

Action at Dushak.

Now, in case you should think that I am not doing justice to our allies, I propose to read you the Russian official account of the action as published in their papers, making a few comments at the end to point out the main omissions and inaccuracies.

"Our detachment received orders to make a large detour round the enemy forces between Arman Sagat and Dushak with the object of destroying the enemy in Dushak. On the night of October 13-14, absolutely unnoticed by the enemy, they attacked Dushak from the south-west at 6.30 a.m., and by 8.30 all Dushak and neighbourhood was

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in our hands. The enemy, seeing his hopeless position, blew up his ammunition dumps, stores, etc. At Dushak station seven trains were captured; the eighth, retiring to Tejend, was stopped by our artillery fire, and being surrounded by Turcomans, the enemy in the train, 300 in number, were killed. When Dushak was taken, the Bolsheviks left alive fled to the hills, but by our earlier dispositions they were met by Indian cavalry, and every man was destroyed. In Dushak we captured 152 prisoners, 3 guns, 22 machine-guns, 300 rifles, 200 riding horses with saddlery, and much small-arm ammunition. Thus ended the operation of destroying Dushak and its war material.

"When this operation was finished the troops began to search for food in two of the captured trains loaded with stores. Many were now found to be very busy looting, so that when at 11.30 the enemy attacked from two sides—from the east new forces from Tejend and from the west those who had been cut off towards Arman Sagat—we were forced to take up a defensive position, facing two ways, and were unable to hold it owing to many free citizen warriors being occupied looting the captured booty and loading it on the horses captured from the enemy, and then making off towards Kaaka. Owing to this, from 11.30 to 4.30 p.m. the only troops resisting the enemy were the Indian sepoys, some Russians, and a small number of Turcomans. These troops were under fire from 12 guns and 22 machine-guns of the enemy. The enemy attacked twice in large numbers. We resisted for five hours, when, seeing ourselves beset on three sides, we were forced to retire. The captured guns and some machine-guns were destroyed by us and left. The remaining machine-guns were carried away by our cavalry. We burnt the enemy's trains. Covered by the Indian cavalry the troops returned to their original positions, where they arrived at 6 p.m.

"Our losses were about 170 wounded and 40 killed; the great majority of these were almost entirely the heroic sepoys and Indian cavalry. The enemy lost about 1,000 men.

"Giving their due to the heroic sepoys and Indian cavalry and part of our troops, one must with sorrow remark on the conduct of those who by their disgraceful conduct spoilt such a great chance, and prevented further extension of such a golden opportunity, which might have made it possible to annihilate the enemy."

Well, you may have noticed that, at the beginning of the report, the enemy was annihilated. What really happened, however, was as follows: Delays in the night march resulted in dawn finding the force about a mile from Dushak. It therefore deployed at this point and made an immediate advance in the following order: Russians on the right, two companies of the Punjabis in the centre, with the third in support, and the Turcomans on the left. The ground to be covered was absolutely flat and afforded no cover, except for scattered bushes

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about 2 feet high, a few cultivation channels close up to the station, and one or two nullahs which ran in the wrong direction. The attack was supported by the British and Russian guns, firing in the open. The enemy was not taken unawares, but appears to have made his dispositions very hurriedly, with his guns on the higher ground immediately east of the station, a line consisting mainly of machine-guns, of which not less than thirty were in action, occupying a line along the fringe of the trees west of the station, and a line of skirmishers thrown forward in advance.

At about 1,000 yards the attack came under very heavy fire from guns and machine-guns, whereupon the Russians, with the exception of the 100 or so officers and old soldiers whom I mentioned earlier in the lecture, went to ground in the nullahs, the Turcomans vanished, and the Punjabis were left to advance unaided.

The station in the meantime had suffered severely from our guns, and, together with much of the rolling stock in it, was going up in flames, and the Punjabis were soon amongst the guns and machine-guns with their bayonets to the accompaniment of a terrific explosion, caused by a shell detonating some trucks full of explosives. The enemy fled towards the hills, where they fell into the arms of the cavalry, and the rest of the army arrived and proceeded to loot as described in the Russian report. While this had been taking place, a large portion of the enemy force, still in their trains, pulled out of the station to the west under cover of their armoured train, probably because the line to the east had already been blocked by wrecked trains, etc. This movement of the trains could not be prevented by our armoured train for reasons I have already explained, and had been anticipated by us, and we had insisted on the Russians placing a reserve on the right rear of the attack to deal with this very contingency. Needless to say this reserve could not be found when wanted, and it was from these trains and fresh troops brought up from Tejend that the counter-attack came. By this time everyone except the remnants of the original attackers had left the field. The retirement was most admirably covered by the 28th Light Cavalry and the artillery, both Russian and British. All our wounded were got away. The actual figures of the casualties tell their own tale: 28th Light Cavalry, 6 killed and 11 wounded; 19th Punjabis, 47 killed and 139 wounded, which represented 100 per cent. of the British officers and between 40 and 50 per cent. of other ranks of the regiment actually taking part in the attack; Russians, 7 killed and 30 wounded, practically all from among the 100 previously mentioned.

A small force was left at Arman Sagat to watch the enemy, as it was thought he would not be able to remain in Dushak, and the remainder withdrew to Kaaka.

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Enemy Retirement.

Three days later news was received that Dushak had been evacuated, as was indeed almost inevitable considering the state to which it had been reduced. The delay had been caused by the difficulty of clearing a line by which the trains that had moved west of the station could be got away.

Our troops were in no condition to follow up the retirement, but the Russians got into their trains and were quite prepared to advance as long as the enemy retired. By the 23rd Tejend was reported to have been evacuated, and it became evident that the enemy was even more demoralized than we had thought, and the British troops moved up to that place.

The retirement continued slowly, and the Russians were not prepared to do anything to hasten it, nor, indeed, could they do much in the circumstances, owing to the superior range of the enemy armoured train. It hung fire seriously just short of Merv, so a party of our cavalry and Turcomans were sent to make a large detour and threaten their rear. This had the desired effect and Merv was apparently evacuated in a hurry, as no damage was done to the town or the important railway centre. They had, however, delayed the advance long enough to empty Kushkh, but did no damage there either, not even to the powerful wireless station. The retirement continued, and the British troops moved to Bairam Ali, leaving the company of 1/4th Hampshire Regiment to keep order in Merv. Bairam Ali was a model estate made by the Czar to instruct the Turcomans in growing cotton, etc., and was equipped with an up-to-date ginnery. It afforded excellent accommodation for the troops, which was badly needed, as by now the weather was extremely cold. Orders were now received that no further offensive action was to be taken by the British troops beyond Merv.

At this juncture one of those unfortunate accidents occurred which show the utter uselessness of undisciplined troops in an emergency. The Bolsheviks had retired steadily, with no sign of turning, for nearly two hundred miles. They were now half-way between Merv and the Oxus, and showed every appearance of meaning to cross the river and evacuate Turkistan. They had additional troubles in their rear from Bokhara, Ferghana, and Orenberg. Suddenly the gun on our armoured train had a premature burst, which set fire to the truck and did considerable damage. The army turned and fled to a man, and a successful advance was changed in a moment to a rout. A very serious situation now arose. Between Annenkova and Ravnina were the essential corners for the armoured train; behind this there appeared to be no position we could hope to hold short of going back to Kaaka. If Merv, therefore, was to be held, this appeared to be the only place

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from which it could be held. Accordingly, a squadron of cavalry was despatched to Annenkova to restore confidence, and a British officer was placed on the armoured train for the same purpose. This had the desired effect, and the armoured train endured two days' constant bombardment most gallantly.

The position gradually stabilized itself by our holding Annenkova, with our trains and escort about six miles in front of it, and the Bolsheviks Ravnina with their trains west of it. The country here is a mass of sand dunes, heaped up anyhow, and very favourable to the attack. Both sides were back at the old game of living in the trains, which stood in a long line on the single railway. Every third day or so the armoured train required refilling, and since this involved the whole row moving behind the station, the night would be spent in shunting trains backwards and forwards. On these nights the army virtually ceased to exist, as it would not be separated from its trains. The weather now was extremely cold, the temperature falling at night to the neighbourhood of zero, the Russian morale was getting lower and lower, and the night picquets would not remain at their posts, with the result that the train crew, the hardest worked unit in the force, got none of their much-needed rest. The only solution, therefore, was to send up some of our infantry for night picquet duty, and this was arranged.

Such was the position at the end of December, and a very unsatisfactory one it was. The Bolsheviks were receiving reinforcements, and could attack us when it suited them, knowing, as they well did, that the British troops were forbidden to take further offensive action, and that the Russians would certainly not do so alone. The advance troops were more or less isolated forty miles from the main force, the severity of the weather making it essential to have the men decently billeted when back from their turn at the front, and there was no suitable intermediate position which could be occupied.

At this point General Beatty arrived at the front with his staff, the forerunner, I believe, of a larger force which it had been proposed to send up, but which was stillborn, and the force was transferred to the control of the War Office, coming under General Milne, commanding the Army of the Black Sea. Shortly before this proper supply arrangements had been made, and we ceased to be dependent on the Russians for our daily bread.

Action at Annenkova.

On January 16 the inevitable occurred. At the front was one company of infantry and half a squadron of cavalry, with the usual motley assembly of our allies, which had now been reinforced by a small detachment of swaggering and blustering Dagastani Cossacks. The morning was bitterly cold and misty. At about 8.30 loud

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explosions were heard in rear of the position and also west of Annenkova station. Cavalry patrols were at once sent out along the line and also to the north and south-east. The line was reported to have been destroyed, and a German, captured from the demolition party, stated that a large attack had been organized from the north and east, and should have taken place simultaneously with the demolition of the line. Information was sent to Bairam Ali, and one company was immediately ordered to move up by train and the remainder of the cavalry by road. It was not till noon that the cavalry patrols reported the enemy concentrated in force about three miles to the north. Armenian and Turcoman infantry were sent out to attack them, but were soon reported to be retiring before the enemy, who were outflanking them to the west. At the same time the enemy armoured trains opened fire from out of the mist, and rifle-fire was heard along the railway. Thereupon all the Turcoman cavalry were sent to protect the armoured train, and two platoons of the 19th Punjabis to stem the advance from the north. This they succeeded in doing, meeting the enemy in the mist about 700 yards from the line and driving him back some distance in their immediate front, but were still outflanked on their left, and a third platoon sent up to extend this flank suffered a similar experience. The enemy guns with the northern attack were busy all this time, but fortunately, owing to the mist, were firing by guess-work, and guessed wrong, and their shells fell over the position. It was now about 3 p.m., and there appeared to be nothing to prevent the enemy from reaching the railway and rolling up the left flank. At this critical juncture the train bearing the company from Bairam Ali arrived on the scene. The company disembarked under a storm of bullets and went straight for the enemy. It was not, however, till all four platoons had been deployed that the enemy's right flank was eventually found, and even then contact had not been made with the company on the right. By 5 p.m., however, the enemy retirement became general, and was followed up so long as light lasted, but it was only on reaching the camp that the two companies had sight of each other. In the meantime the enemy had been attacking the armoured train and its supporting picquet positions in a most determined manner, and it was not until the latter had been captured and the crew of the former had left their train and charged the enemy in a most gallant manner, worthy of the gallantry with which they had fought throughout the operations, and the last platoon and the last troop of the original escort had gone to their assistance, that they were finally driven off.

Thus ended a most critical day, for the saving of which the honour due to the troops who put up such a stubborn defence must be shared with the God of War who sent down the mist.

Our casualties were comparatively light, amounting to 10 killed

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and 36 wounded out of the two companies; while of the enemy, 176 corpses were found next day on the scene of the flank attack alone, and many more were known to have perished from frostbite during the retirement.

It was afterwards discovered from prisoners and deserters that a most elaborate plan had been devised for the complete destruction of the force. Transport had been collected to carry three days' rations, large reinforcements brought up the strength of the enemy to 11,000, and the plan was to destroy the line in the rear of the advanced troops so as to prevent a retirement or the bringing up of reinforcements. The trains and their escort having been overwhelmed, the force was to ignore Bairam Ali and march right round it to Merv, where the inhabitants and the railway men would undoubtedly revert to Bolshevism, and Bairam Ali be completely isolated. Fortunately the scheme miscarried in its first phase, so there is no need to speculate on the fate of the force had it been successful. The result it did have was finally to convince the Bolsheviks that they had better let well alone till the British force had been withdrawn, and we were left in peace till, in March, orders were received to evacuate the country.

Had general policy permitted, there is little doubt that we could have driven the enemy across the Oxus without appreciable loss to ourselves, such was the terror the sowar and sepoy had instilled into them both here and at Dushak, and so suitable was the ground for the offensive. It was not, however, to be, and we withdrew unmolested to Meshed at the end of March, and in a few months all our work was undone and the Bolsheviks were in Krasnovodsk, but too late for the Germans to make any use of their success. And so our task was accomplished.

Discussion.

General Dunsterville: Sir George MacMunn has asked me to speak, and I do so with pleasure, but as I do not wish to occupy too much of your time I will make my remarks as brief as possible.

It is a great pleasure to me to be here to-night, and to hear, for the first time, something of what was happening in my own immediate neighbourhood seven years ago, when I was busy on the west and south of the Caspian Sea, while Colonel Knollys was carrying out the exploits he has just described to us to the east of the Caspian.

It is interesting to note the points of similarity between my own and Colonel Knollys' force, the principal one being that both were run entirely on mechanical transport.

I was running about in motor-cars, but he went one better and carried out his operations entirely in railway trains. When I speak sometimes of my own experiences while conducting an expedition in motor-cars, people have naturally, but quite wrongly, assumed a

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"cushy job." We had very little in the way of roads, and I think I had to push my car a good deal of the way between Baghdad and Enzeli. I hope the lecturer did not have to get out and push his train, but very likely he did.

My own experiences under extraordinary and incredible conditions, with a very small number of troops, often remind me of "Alice in Wonderland," but the fascinating account of the operations which Colonel Knollys has just given us seems more like a page out of "The Hunting of the Snark."

Another point of similarity is the difficulty of dealing with revolutionaries. When all men are equal no one does any work, and soldiering becomes impossible.

On one occasion I complained to the Russian Commander-in-Chief in Baku that a certain battalion of the town troops had not put in its appearance at a certain point where it had been promised. He replied to me: "I am very sorry, but what can I do? I have told him to go there three times, and he won't go."

War becomes impossible under such conditions. Farcical situations such as I have just described make us smile, but we must not forget that it is just these "funny" incidents that cost us the lives of many brave men.

Another serious difficulty from which we both suffered was the impossibility of telling friend from foe; there is nothing to distinguish a Bolshevik from a Menshevik.

Revolutions appear to run on resolutions. Instead of taking action —such as an attack on a position—the apostles of freedom "unanimously resolve to attack," and by the time the resolution has been carried the opportunity for attack has gone.

I thank the lecturer for his lucid account of the battle of Dushak, the details of which I do not think any of us had heard before—a very brilliant episode, bringing out the finest qualities of our best Indian troops and their gallant leaders.

In conclusion, while I repeat how very much I have enjoyed Colonel Knolly's lecture, I am sorry that he does not tell us why he chose to support one side instead of the other. Both Mensheviks and Bolsheviks are tarred with the same brush, and there is hardly a pin to choose between them. The only difference appears to have been that the Bolsheviks had the only long-range gun, which made the artillery duel rather uphill work for Colonel Knollys and his Mensheviks.

Colonel Tod: I am very glad to have the opportunity of making a few remarks, though I was not with Colonel Knollys during the earlier and more interesting stage of the operations.

There is an historical importance in the events that have been narrated from the fact that it was the first time that British troops

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have ever been employed in Turkistan. It was well that the British army was represented by such regiments as the 19th Punjabis and the 28th Light Cavalry, for they left a lasting impression of valour and good bearing. It is well known that the events in the main theatres of war overshadowed those of minor operations. Nowhere was this more the case than in this campaign in Transcaspia. If the gallant deeds of Colonel Knollys and his little band of Punjabis had been done in normal times, their fame would have rung from end to end of the Empire.

With regard to the incident of the Camp Quartermaster, who rallied the camp followers to oppose the Bolsheviks' turning movement at Kaaka, and so saved the situation, I believe I am right in saying that the officer's name was Captain Stewart of the Madras Civil Service, who joined up for the war.

Towards the end of the time at Bahram Ali there was an act of gallantry on the part of the 28th Light Cavalry that deserves special mention. The fog that enabled the Bolsheviks to make their surprise attack on January 16 made it possible for them to bring up their troop trains from the rear unobserved by the reconnoitring patrols that used to be sent out from our front. The lack of water and supplies in the desert made it impossible for more than a very limited number of troops to be maintained permanently at the front. Therefore warning of an impending attack could always be obtained, unless there were fog, by patrols reporting the arrival of enemy troop trains behind their front. On one occasion a patrol of about a dozen men of the 28th Light Cavalry under a duffadar was thus reconnoitring, when on topping a sand-dune they found themselves face to face with a party of Bolshevik cavalry about ten times their number. Without hesitation they charged through them, turned and charged again, and then scattering made their way back to our front by ones and twos. All came back within the next few days except two, who were taken prisoners to Tashkent, but eventually escaped and rejoined us at Meshed. The Russians marked their admiration of the feat by conferring the Cross of St. George upon all members of the patrol. (Applause.)

The meeting closed with a very hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer.

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INDIA'S DEFENCE AS AN IMPERIAL PROBLEM*

By E. HAWARD

It is not easy to say exactly when the position of India as a factor in Imperial strategy began to be realized. The early doings of the British in India were, of course, mainly concerned with the almost accidental

* A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1, on Thursday, January 21, 1926, and a paper read by Mr. Edwin Haward entitled "Some Thoughts on India's Defence." Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn presided.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in introducing to-night Mr. Haward of the *Pioneer* who is just going out to India to take up the position of editor of that paper. You who know India know what an important paper in India is the *Pioneer*, and you all know that of all the English papers it is the most read by Indians. He is going to talk on the defence of India, a subject of which he has made a great study; indeed, a pamphlet of his on the subject is used officially at the Indian Staff College; and I need hardly say, from the official point of view, and the British point of view, how very important and satisfactory it is that a man who is the editor of the *Pioneer* should take so much interest, and make the great study that he has made of the very difficult question of the defence of India. You all know what a very great strain this problem has put on the finance of India from time immemorial, and at a time when the Government of India wants every penny it can spare for internal development, for the many things in which India is behindhand in the modern amenities of civilization—which the people of India are beginning to want more and more—the Government of India is still compelled to have a very heavy military budget. When the Great War was over India hoped for an easement; when the Russian Empire crashed we hoped that the very great expense which Russian movement had put India to for many years—we all know how much Lord Kitchener's organization to meet the advance towards India cost—would be unnecessary. We thought peace was coming, but instead of that the situation allowed the Amir of Kabul to march his armies into India when we were in the throes of demobilization: when almost every class of unit was in the process of demobilization it pleased His Highness to launch his unprovoked attack on India. By so doing he upset the work of almost generations, and disturbed the whole of that great mass of frontier tribes, so much so that it will be a generation more, if ever, before the frontier gets into that state of comparative peace and content that it was in before the war began. Because the old frontier raids on the peaceful inhabitants inside the border have changed from the small raids that we knew of for so many years to almost invasions; because the Mahsud is pleased to come down in organized bands leaving behind him an alley-way to go back by with all the points defended by his own riflemen, we are compelled to do what is really a very unmilitary thing. To prevent this Government has been compelled to open up in the middle of Waziristan a large and expensive canton-

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purpose of trade; conquest, with the object of pacifying areas in which good trade results could be obtained, came later. Then eventually Great Britain was confronted with her possession of what was practically an oriental Empire; Disraeli, some time after the Mutiny, did the rest. And Disraeli, too, perceived the importance of the Suez Canal in the Imperial Chain. He acted on that perception.* During the Great War India's chief military value to the Empire lay in her release of large numbers of highly trained troops for service overseas, her ability to swell those numbers, and her provision of bases for the campaigns in Mesopotamia, Arabia, and East Africa.† Her strategic position could not be endowed with more importance. The protection of her frontiers, involving, as it did, the employment of large numbers of troops, did not directly influence the main currents of the struggle. It may be doubted whether, in the event of there being another world war, India would be able to occupy so comfortable a detachment.

The pact of Locarno has been signed; it is not world-wide in its direct influence. Ostentatiously hostile to it is the Soviet Government at Moscow. That Government is using all the power of its dictatorship to carry on in Asia a campaign avowedly directed against the British Empire. It is endeavouring to dominate the chaos in China, where it has already annexed Mongolia and obtained control of the Red Government at Canton. It is also extending into Afghanistan the very policy which has enabled it to overrun what once were Turkistan and Bokhara, and which, but for the enlightened patriotism of that remarkable man Shah Reza Khan Pehlevi, might have reduced Persia to the level of a Soviet Republic stringed up to Moscow. A glance at the map will make clear the significance of this. India stands as a breakwater against the waves of Red Communism which the Moscow oligarchy seeks to send rolling over the territories to her north-west, north-east, and east. Furthermore, the currents of world politics have, since the war, moved rapidly and restlessly in the direction of the Pacific. An Asiatic Russia in the throes of the Bolshevik upheaval, a China in chaos, Japan troubled by economic and labour difficulties, are all important figures on that stage. It is most improbable that the British Empire

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ment, and troops which may be wanted against Afghanistan and a possible soviet menace have to be locked up on the frontier. These are points on which the lecturer proposes to tell you. He has the advantage of having been on the frontier lately as military correspondent, and also when trouble was possible he was himself serving in a defence force unit which held the Punjab in the days of the Punjab rebellion which took place just before the Amir launched his invasion. I will ask the lecturer to begin. (Applause.)

* Indian troops were first employed in 1842 in China, in 1850 in Persia, in 1868 in Abyssinia, and in 1885 in Malta.

† India, in the event of a European war, was expected to provide 3 divisions and 1 cavalry brigade. Actually she supplied 8 divisions, 7 infantry brigades, 2 cavalry divisions, 2 mixed brigades, and other troops.

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can ever afford to be indifferent to the developments which may, from time to time, occur in the Far East. And in the Imperial Chain from London through Aden, Singapore, to Hongkong and Australia, India is a most important link. The importance can perhaps best be gauged by imagining what would be the position of the Commonwealth of Australia in the event of trouble in the Far East in which a hostile Power held control in India.

How would East and South Africa fare? The base at Singapore, the defences of Aden, the wonderful harbours of Ceylon.

Ceylon would be of little avail were the Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal able to give their spacious hospitality to hostile armaments and forces. The severance of the Mother Country from her Australian, if not her African, Dominions, would be practically complete. Still, the defence of a country is primarily a matter of importance to the country itself. Putting politics aside, the obvious conclusion is that India herself, in her own interests, must regard the creation of a sure policy of defence as essential and vital. Briefly, what is the problem of her defence? Possessed of a land frontier of some five to six thousand miles and a sea frontier of about the same length, she is confronted by difficulties experienced by no other country in the world. Her sea frontier—thanks to the British connection—is protected by the British Navy at an annual cost to her of £100,000, the price of a gunboat. Moreover, the construction of the Singapore base has probably relieved her of further expense in strengthening her harbour defences. But the land frontier is a different matter. To the north and north-east the gigantic Himalaya Range presents a comfortable barrier against the invader. In the East the continued disruption in Yunnan, the friendliness of the relations between the British and French in Tongking, and the neighbourliness of the progressive kingdom of Siam give India little cause for anxiety. The uncertainty of the Chinese situation, however, has made it necessary for more attention to be paid to the conditions on the Sino-Burman frontier, and the latest official report of the Government of India, in noticing the establishment of a Burma Frontier Service in 1923, says, "From time to time the peace of this section of the Frontier is threatened by occasional incursions; for the state of lawlessness in Yunnan has increased during the present unsettled condition of the Chinese Republic, and brigand bands are numerous. Until such time as the course of Chinese politics brings into power a Government strong enough to reassert its authority over the outlying provinces, minor incursions into Burmese territory are always possible. Nor must we forget that, at the present time, there are over a million armed soldiers in China. It is true that these are divided among a number of provinces and under numerous leaders, mostly fighting against each other; but if the time should come when China is again welded into some measure of unity, these large armies may constitute a potential danger." The

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report observes that the official relations between the British and Chinese administrators on the borders remain cordial.

The real frontier problem in India to-day is that which has persisted for centuries. It is geographically expressed in a line drawn from the Pamirs south-west to the point on the outer entrance to the Persian Gulf where Persia meets Baluchistan, and therefore British India. This tract is divided into four sections: First from the Pamirs to the Kabul River, a rugged mountainous country comprising Chitral, Gilgit, Swat, and Dir, governed by powerful chieftains who, as they war among themselves, are united in their friendliness towards British administration in India, and therefore give hardly any special consideration as part of the Frontier problem.

South of the Kabul River is the Tirah country, which has a turbulent history, but is for the moment comparatively peaceful, notwithstanding its dangerous potentialities, because the tribesmen in that territory have so many material interests in British India, as distinct from their independent area, that hostile action on their part is plainly impolitic. Their independence and their possession of an ample supply of arms make them, however, a constant source of danger. The southern boundary of the Tirah is roughly the Kurram valley, whence to the Zhob valley stretches Waziristan, which to-day really enshrines the main problem of the Frontier, for, from the Zhob to the Persian border by the sea, British Baluchistan is administered right up to the Durand Line—or Afghan and Persian Frontiers—and quietness and ordered progress reign. Mention of the Durand Line usefully comes here. It is the agreed-upon boundary between Afghanistan and India, but, except for its coincidence as the boundary of Baluchistan, it is not coterminous with the administrative frontier of British India. Between the administrative border and the Afghan border there is a belt of territory inhabited by independent tribesmen owing but a loose allegiance to the British administration, allied by kinship, not only to the inhabitants in the settled districts, but also to tribesmen in Afghan territory, which is theoretically, if not actually, administered by the Kabul Government right up to the Afghan side of the Durand Line along its whole length. In this belt there are 500,000 fighting men, about a quarter of whom are armed with modern rifles and supplied from various sources with adequate quantities of ammunition. In a rugged country the uproductiveness of which persistently fights with the forces of nature against the primitive husbandry of the tribesman, the occupation forced upon its inhabitants by economic conditions is obviously that of raiding the more prosperous and less warlike settled districts in British administered territory. The independent tribesmen breed faster than they can increase the natural productivity of their land, to which they are nevertheless ardently attached.

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In 1919 the outbreak of the third Afghan War showed their dangerous potentialities. They swept away the militia posts in the Tochi, and it took the British administration more than two and a half years to restore order and bring them to their senses. The campaign attracted little attention at the end of a great world war, but it was the most costly and arduous in our Frontier history.

This brings us to consideration of the different schools of Frontier policy. On the one hand, there have been those who maintain that the best course is to hold the administrative border, and when serious tribal misdeeds occur carry out swift punitive expeditions and retire. On the other, there are those who, condemning what they call the "burn and scuttle" policy, believe in occupation and administration up to the Durand Line, contending that is logically and psychologically impossible to condemn half a million men to a life of perpetual savagery, and that to acquiesce in the perpetual existence on the Frontier of so serious a menace in the time of invasion by the enemy still further without the gate, is the negation of statesmanship. In Baluchistan the second policy has been long adopted with complete success, but conditions were specially favourable. Now it is generally recognized that an immediate advance to the Durand Line along its whole length would involve very costly military operations beyond the bounds of practical financial policy. Therefore, after restoring order in Waziristan, the Government have adopted the "half-forward" policy. That means that they have established at Rasmak (7,000 feet) a healthy cantonment — still requiring fortification from hostile tribal attention—a garrison including British infantry and artillery, and they have linked it up with Jandola and Dera Ismail Khan by a road running through Piaza Ragsha and Sorrogha. The road is protected by scouts and khassadars, and the garrison at Rasmak is held as a striking force in the event of tribal developments requiring swift and drastic action in order to prevent a more formidable rising. This circular road, as it is called, is supplemented by one from Jandola to Sarwakai, which eventually will stretch to Wana, and in the long run, by extension to Makin, form an outer circle more effectively dominating Mahsud country. The scouts and khassadars are irregulars recruited from among the tribesmen. The scouts are more military in character, officered by British officers, and are a really effective force. The khassadars provide their own arms, obtained in circumstances about which no indiscreet enquiries are made, and command themselves. They are paid allowances, and at the best may be regarded as being an improvement on the old levies, at the worst, successful blackmailers. They are, however, cheap as compared with the regular garrison which would be required in their place in a country which has little to recommend it from the point of view of the serving soldier.

The Royal Air Force must not be forgotten. Situated at con-

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venient places in the administrative territory are the headquarters of squadrons of the Royal Air Force, and they have already shown their usefulness in bringing the tribes to heel by day and night bombing, both independently and in co-operation with troops. They have also contributed to the record of heroism which the Frontier has collected in full measure. The dangers of flying across a country intersected by deep gorges and ravines, and averaging in height 4,000 to 6,000 feet above sea-level, will be appreciated. The Royal Air Force does not advertise; if it did, some of the doings of its officers and men on the Frontier might challenge the achievements of our world flyers for attention and admiration. I do not propose to say how far the use of the Air Force on the Frontier might be extended to effect that economy for which Indian critics are pressing. Whether the operation of aeroplanes is more effective independently rather than in close co-operation with ground troops is a matter for settlement by experts, and, as the last despatch of the Commander-in-Chief shows, there is some difference of opinion on that question. It should, however, be emphasized—and the point will be elaborated further on—that the adequacy of the strength of the Royal Air Force in India needs careful examination. From what I have said, it will be noted that India on one part of her Frontier is always in a state of war. Waziristan is now a "peace" area officially. But the hard facts of the situation have compelled the authorities to treat the officers and men of the units engaged there as on active service for certain purposes, among them concessions regarding pay, leave, and rations. Waziristan as the happy hunting-ground of lawless tribesmen is not merely a danger in itself. It also constitutes a factor to be seriously taken into account in considering the problem of defence against aggression from without the borders of India across the Durand Line. The history of India is one of successive invasions, sweeping from the north-western passes on the fertile plains of the Punjab. Three times at Panipat, a little village to the north of Delhi, the fate of India was decided in a single battle. Each time the invaders won, mainly because the faculty of support of a common leadership had been denied to the races which were loosely united to form the dominant power in India at the time. There was no lack of bravery or strategic skill. The centrifugal forces which, to quote the Government of India's apologist, have been the bane of Indian politics were thus early exerting their evil influence. The consolidation of India as a nation is still a dream, but it has been made a dream not beyond the bounds of possibility by the genius of the British who, replenishing their stock from across the sea, have avoided those deteriorating influences of climate and atmosphere which have broken the Empires of the past and merged the conquerors in the feeble and less virile peoples whom they overcame.

In their gradual conquest of India the British relied on their own

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soldiers and on the indigenous troops which they had trained. They never used the sons of the soil in their warfare against any particular section of the population. Thus the Mahrattas were conquered by the Bengal Army; the Gurkhas were used against the Sikhs, and the latter, in their turn, to suppress the mutinous Brahmin regiments. Yet when the country came under British control from the Khyber to Cape Comorin, the army in India was in the process of being evolved, and its composition gave representation to nearly all the martial races in the country, with the addition of the Gurkhas, who, coming as they do from the independent kingdom of Nepaul, by virtue of our treaties, form battalions in a class by themselves. The army in India is charged with the duty of maintaining internal security—peace between the various races—and preventing aggression from without. The troops have therefore been divided into three categories: (1) The field army or striking force to be moved against a potential invader; (2) the covering troops engaged in defence of the Frontier and charged with the duty of covering the mobilization and concentration of the field army; and (3) the internal security troops which, assisted by irregulars in the shape of local auxiliary force units, are responsible for the composition of civil disturbances which have reached dimensions beyond the capacity of the police forces to tackle. The pressure of financial stringency has reduced the strength of all three categories to a minimum, and the army in India to-day is on a peace footing which, as the late Commander-in-Chief admitted, involved the acceptance of risks only justified by the existence of the paramount need to secure equilibrium in the finances of the Central Government.

Yet it will be seen, if the facts of India's geographical position are clearly understood, that the dangers of war are for India very real. To begin with, an outburst of fanaticism on the Frontier may, notwithstanding the vigilance of the troops and of the devoted officers of the Political Department, be at any moment fanned into a portentous rising. Then the weakness of Afghanistan, already sorely tried by a tribal rebellion which was with difficulty suppressed last year after much fighting, makes of serious moment the alarums and excursions always present where the Soviet methods are active. In fact, the Russian "menace," so familiar to students of recent Indian history, is to-day real and insistent. The reorganization of the formerly semi-independent kingdoms of Bokhara, Khiva, Ferghana, and Turkistan into the Soviet republics of Turkmanistan, Uzbegistan, and Tajik has been carried out on an ethnological basis. The adjacent countries have all of them elements of population allied to the people of the new republics, and thus the idea of peaceful penetration, assisted by a very unpeaceful propaganda, is plain. Turkmanistan on the Russian side lies next to Persian Turkistan, where the Turkomans have been giving Reza Khan some anxiety. Uzbegistan

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and Tajik both have their kinsmen in Afghan territory to the south, and the history of the last year has been that of the infiltration of Russian subjects into the northern provinces of Afghanistan—general traders, political adventurers, and men combining the characteristics of both of the other two classes. The desire of Great Britain is to see Afghanistan strongly united under the Amir, who is believed to realize the danger of too close an entente with Russia. But the Amir's difficulties are great; not the least are the conservative prejudices of the Mullahs against his well-meant attempts to improve the administration of his country and to further its commercial development and reaction of the prejudices on the tribesmen, who are no less unruly than their counterparts in our own independent tribal territory.

Fortunately, the Amir realizes that the idea of British penetration of Afghanistan is not regarded with the slightest degree of favour by any responsible statesman, whether at Delhi or London. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of any circumstances in which an aggressive policy towards Afghanistan would be framed by any British Government. Whether, however, he will be able to withstand the influences which have been so inimical, the lesser potentates on his borders, is a matter for conjecture. If Shah Reza Khan is spared to complete what he has so well begun in Persia, the friendship of that country may mean much to Kabul, as also will the friendly advice of the British Minister, who has been a conspicuous success in a very difficult post.

The experts, I believe, do not regard the Russian menace at the moment to be serious from the military standpoint. Propaganda and intriguing agents are now the most active of Russian manifestations of ill-will towards the British Empire. But it must not be overlooked that the Russian Air Forces in Turkmanistan have been vastly improved in quality and increased in quantity during the last year. The Afghan Air Force (chiefly machined and manned by Russians) now has thirteen machines, twelve serviceable, and the proposal is to increase it to thirty fighting machines. India has no anti-aircraft guns, no anti-gas measures (the Russians are specializing in gas), and her aeroplanes are not as fast as the best of the Russian machines in Kabul. Competent observers in India consider that there is urgent need of an additional squadron of modern fighting machines. So it is better not to be too complaisant in discussing the actual military potentialities of Moscow's declared policy. So far I have tried to establish the following facts regarding India's defence problem:

1. It is really an Imperial problem.
2. It is unique in that it involves the defence of India against:
   (*a*) Formidable armed tribesmen dwelling in India's own borders.
   (*b*) Potential invaders from the north-west who may have the backing of a big European power.

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3. The factors favourable to India are:
   (*a*) The friendliness of Tibet and Nepal.
   (*b*) The impassability of much of the north and north-eastern borders,
   (*c*) The realization by the Amir of the intrinsic value of neighbourly relations with India.
4. Unfavourable factors are:
   (*a*) The difficulties confronting the Amir in advancing the condition of his people.
   (*b*) The aggressive policy of the Russian Soviet Government.
   (*c*) The difficulty of finding a speedy economic solution for the Waziristan problem. The task of luring the Mahsuds and others to peaceful pursuits has been well begun, but it must be a slow process.

I will now bring this paper to a close with an attempt to set this problem in correlation with Indian politics.

Political India looks upon the Military Budget from two conflicting points of view. First, it has from the days of the old Councils inveighed against the "burden" of military expenditure. As the report already referred to rightly points out, it is no good proving that the figure is governed by actual geographical and political factors beyond control and not by comparative statements extracted from the statistics of other countries. The insurance premium, says the Indian politician, is too heavy a one for India to pay. It is useless, apparently, to tell him that if it were not paid his lot might not be as happy as it is now. Again—this is a later cry—Indian politicians demand defence on a national basis. They want to have an army which, in course of time, will be officered from top to bottom mainly by Indians as Indians and manned as an Indian Army. They profess themselves willing to vote whatever sums are required to create Indian Sandhursts, to bring into being Territorial battalions, Indian Artillery, Engineers and Air Force. They consider that the policy of Indianization as approved is too halting and will take too long to develop. The British Government, having first of all created the Indian intelligentsia and subsequently given it a certain amount of political power, cannot very well treat its opinion as negligible, even if it be wildly indifferent to facts. Add to this demand for a National Army the strong feeling that an Indian Navy should also be created, and you will perceive that on the face of it the decay of militarism in the West finds no echo in the East, even among the classes once regarded as pacifist in the extreme. Yet, obviously, the Government cannot play ducks and drakes with defence. If they decide to experiment in Indianization they must, at the same time, secure the Frontiers of India by maintaining the army in as efficient a condition as possible. The "eight units" scheme initiated by the late

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Lord Rawlinson has not yet proved itself. A unanimous report by a mixed (*i.e.*, English and Indian) Committee on the Territorial Forces declared quite recently that until a national spirit were really and truly established in India the rapid extension of the Territorial system was impracticable. The truth is that the political classes which, quite justifiably, look to the creation of a national India—the logical outcome of British policy—desire to establish the existence of a national spirit by the creation of a national army and navy, are not the classes from which naturally the fighting stock of the country comes. That this anomaly may be removed is not necessarily beyond the bounds of possibility, but plainly its removal will not be as rapid as the fervent advocates of Indianization hope. They were told this very clearly by Lord Rawlinson in the last speech made by him in the Legislative Assembly, and they resented the bluntness of the statement, even if they could not deny its accuracy.

It is permissible to suggest that the exposition of Indianization has been lacking in historical perspective. Just as the idea of an Indian nation has been made possible only by reason of the cementing influence of the British element in the population, so the eventual creation of a national Indian defence force will depend, not so much on the gradual elimination of the British, but rather on the judicious blending of India's different races, not forgetting that race which, while not indigenous, maintains its virility and unifying force by constant replenishment from overseas. In other words, Indianization can only be successfully applied to the defence of India if the British element, perhaps in diminished quantity, but never in diminished quality, is retained. In this connection a suggestion made in the *Nineteenth Century Review* by a distinguished ex-Governor, Sir Reginald Craddock, is worth mentioning. Realizing the strength of the cry against military expenditure in India, in so far as that expenditure is incurred on the maintenance of the British garrison, he seeks to reconcile the Indian politician to its incidence by making the British taxpayer responsible for it to the extent of £10,000,000 annually, and in return, to give British goods a preference in the Indian market, the resources of which are still far from being completely explored.

This proposal cannot at the first blush be attractive either to the Indian politician, who is imbued with the idea that India is exploited for the benefit of the British manufacturer, or to the British taxpayer, who has burdens enough and to spare. But both sides might be confidently advised to examine it coolly and judge whether it is altogether impracticable. Two things seem certain: one is that unless India is adequately defended the aspirations to a Dominion of India status must remain idle dreams; the other is that if India is to be held within the Empire as a vital strategic link in Imperial defence against the dangers of the future the responsibility for her defence must in the

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main be Imperial, and so involve an amicable adjustment between the Governments at Whitehall and Delhi. India is not averse from a bargain, provided she can be assured that the benefits are not all on one side. She can be convinced that the inviolability of her frontiers is an asset for which payment must be made. She wants also to be convinced that the price she pays does not also cover an asset beneficial to others as well as to herself.

There is much to be said on both sides, and the frank discussion of the problem can surely do no harm. Indeed, it may materially assist in the education of young India in the school of Imperialism.

Discussion.

Admiral Richmond: I have listened with very great interest to what the lecturer has said, and I am particularly glad to hear that one who is going out to the *Pioneer*—which exercises such a great deal of influence in India—is going out with ideas concerning defence, and is interesting himself in that important subject. But I should like him to extend his conception of defence beyond the land. What we have heard this afternoon mostly concerns the land. There is also the sea. He has referred to the navy, but I do not think he has laid the emphasis on sea defence that the matter deserves. I have just come home a month ago from India, where I have been two years in command of the squadron, and naturally the question of the defence of India's interests at sea has come my way pretty closely. I think the defence of any country is not merely a defence of its territory against invasion, but is also a defence of its interests in trade; and the defence of the Indian interests in trade appears to me to be a very important matter indeed. Of course, it does not come up normally in the ordinary course of things. The problems the lecturer has been discussing are the events of every day, a trouble going on continually, although there is peace in Europe. But when we come to a large war the defence of the trade of India bulks large. The Indian export and import trade reaches a figure of some £400,000,000 at the present time, and I was always exercised with the thought of what would happen in the event of an enemy being in command of the waters of India, and thereby being able to stop up that trade. When you come to think how extraordinarily vulnerable it is, you realize, I think, what a big part naval defence ought to take in your consideration of the defence of India. In India you have only got five ports if you include Burma—Karachi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and Rangoon for Burma. Through those five ports you have got to get, practically speaking, the whole of £400,000,000 worth of trade. Compare that with England, which for forty odd million of people has twelve major ports and a vast number of minor ports. For the 315,000,000 people of India you have only five

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ports to maintain supplies and export the products of the country. If an enemy is in command of the sea in those waters there is nothing more easy than to shut up the whole of these ports with a ship or two off each of them. That is one thing. The lecturer referred to the price India pays at the present time, £100,000 a year; it is actually a shade over £134,000, but it is not worth while quarrelling about halfpence. I think if more emphasis were laid on this important matter of Indian trade, and the trouble of its defence, we should get more attention paid to it, and a more proportionate expenditure. We should not get the question of defence considered as an absolutely one-sided one. The lecturer referred in the course of his early remarks to the effect of a hostile power occupying India. He said it would be the practical cutting off of Australia and Africa. I cannot agree with that statement at all. In order to do that you must have command of the sea. The mere fact of a hostile power being in India would not cut off communications with Australia; it is a question whether a hostile power can maintain a fleet in India to defeat the British fleet in those waters. It is an extraordinarily difficult thing to maintain a fleet in India, to get the food and fuel required; besides which, any powerful fleet which may have got into the northern harbours of Calcutta and Bombay—Madras would not hold anything at all—would be in the extraordinarily uncomfortable position of being flanked in its line of communications by the British forces. So that a hostile power in India of itself, unless it is able to maintain a very powerful naval force, is not a serious threat to the communications of Australia or Africa. It is a threat, of course, because all the extra harbours supply means by which ships can go out to attack trade. To that extent it would be a worry, but not anything like so bad as the lecturer made out. It is very natural, I think, that people when they talk about the defence of India should concentrate upon the land defence. But if we are talking about big trouble in the East at some future time, we may have naval trouble as well, which we have not had since 1810; and if there should be a bigger naval power fighting, then the defence of India will be, as it was in the past, as much a naval as a military problem. In fact, the fundamental question will be purely a matter of who has command of the sea and who can put the troops in. I do not think so little attention should be paid to the sea as was paid by the lecturer. As to the rest of the lecture, I know too little to express an opinion. (Applause.)

Sir Louis Dane: I did not expect to have to speak, because one is always told that when he has left India for two years his information is entirely out of date, and more or less useless; but I am very glad to hear from the lecturer that as regards the defence of India the French adage applies, *Plus il se change plus il reste la même chose.* All that he has said to-night has been extraordinarily interesting, but to those who have spent a good many years in India—since 1876 in my case—

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it is not new. I think we have heard all the problems debated, and all the suggested solutions put forward on previous occasions. I should like, first taking the senior service, to notice what the Admiral has just said about the sea defence of India. I do not think it has been entirely neglected in the past; in fact, it has bulked very largely on one or two occasions. I remember very well when there was a proposal, not so very long ago, to allow the Germans and Russians both to come down to the head of the Persian Gulf with railways. That proposal was very strongly urged at home. The Government of India resisted the proposal to the best of its ability, although in a subordinate capacity, and not at that time allowed to express any opinion on a question of policy. The line they took was that, if the Germans and Russians came down to the head of the Gulf, they would undoubtedly have naval squadrons in those waters, and the Government of India would be compelled to keep up in the most unhealthy waters of the world a squadron of counterbalancing strength to the two foreign squadrons. The result would have been that instead of paying £134,000 a year for naval defence,* we should probably have had to spend three or four millions for a great many years before there was any necessity. Fortunately, whatever else the Great War did, for the time being it has relieved us of the possibility of German or Russian squadrons cruising in the Persian Gulf and that immediate neighbourhood. Also, thanks to the happy accident of Lord Curzon's presence at Koweit in the Persian Gulf in 1903, the great Maidan-i-Naftun oilfield of the present Anglo-Persian Oil Company was discovered, and it is not likely that anyone in the near future will propose to abandon our interests there. I quite agree with what the Admiral said, that you have got to look to sea-power for the general defence of India, but there is no doubt that the operations of foreign naval powers in Indian waters with squadrons there can make themselves exceedingly unpleasant, as was shown by the history of the *Emden* at the beginning of the Great War. For about six months the whole of the traffic of India was held up; there was the greatest difficulty in moving troops or anything at all. That was what one cruiser could do. Eventually the nuisance was put down and things put right, but I believe, from what I hear from some of my native friends and others, that the effect produced on the Indian mind of the holding up of Indian trade by one German cruiser on the sea, where Great Britain had hitherto from the Mutiny downwards been supposed to be invulnerable, was rather disastrous.

* From *The Times* of February 10, 1925, it appears that the Royal Indian Marine is again to become a fighting force as the Royal Indian Navy, which is, I think, a sound move, as India will now have to contribute more reasonably to her defence by sea. With greater financial and general autonomy she may even have a policy in such matters as foreign defence, even though it be a subordinate policy.

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As regards the defence of India by land, it all comes round again to an eye on China, which we have always kept, and a close watch on Russia and the North-West Frontier. As regards the North-West Frontier, one of the latest developments is the founding of a cantonment at Razmak. But that is not a new idea; it was suggested a great many years ago now, more than twenty-five years ago, and the outer circle road by Datta Khel, Drehaktar Narai, and Wano, which is apparently again contemplated—I am very glad to hear it is—was also advocated by the Punjab Government with a view of controlling the movements of the Waziris and their connections with Afghanistan. And it is the same with nearly all these things; the same old problems exist, and they have to be met more or less in the same way as circumstances admit. I think that what has been done in the way of lateral communications on the frontier—speaking as a civilian—has been excellent; it is a policy that was for a long time urged, and it will, I am sure, very greatly conduce to the peace and quietude of the frontier. I quite agree with what the lecturer said, that it is almost impossible throughout the whole length of the frontier to work up to the Durand line. Each section of the frontier must be treated in the manner which is suited to that particular section, and that is why it is an absolutely false analogy to say that what you can do in Baluchistan you can do all along the frontier. The two countries are under totally different conditions. I do not wish to depreciate the great work Sir Robert Sandeman and his successors have done in Baluchistan, nobody has a greater admiration for him than myself; but there you are working with large tribes, controlled by tribal leaders, through whom you can work to a great extent. On the Afghan frontier the whole thing is totally different. Each tribe is more or less a small Soviet, and each man is as good as another, which makes it impossible to deal with them. In Afghanistan, I can claim a rather special interest. I think most of you know I was the happy or unhappy person who concluded the treaty with the late Amir Habibullah on March 21, 1905. Of course it is a matter of great satisfaction to me that through great difficulties and dangers he managed to adhere to his treaty, and I am afraid that his adherence to that treaty cost him his life—at which, I may say, he himself would not have been surprised. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the Amir Habibullah had a great defence policy. It was that he should give us the land and we should make a railway by the Helmand to Afghan Seistan, and a road thence north to the Russo-Afghan frontier, with cantonments in Seistan and at Hashtadun. We were also to give him the worn-out Martinis to arm his men in his northern frontier, and he would give a railhead at Dhakha. His scheme did not fit in with the ideas of Government or of Lord Kitchener and the military authorities at the time, but it is curious that in the Great War we had to do much what he proposed. Our rail-

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way was made to the Persian frontier with a metalled road to the north. He said: "If you do what I wish, you will serve as a shield to Afghanistan, and I with my hillmen can guard the hill passes to the north and east. Your Khyber railway is a spear pointed at my heart." Judging from the papers his ideas still hold in Kabul. His son, Amanullah, unfortunately, apparently sought to establish his position in Afghanistan by an unprovoked and sudden attack upon India. His name means "the peace of God," but there was not much peace in this case, though his conduct certainly passed all understanding.

I have seen it stated that we had nearly 300,000 troops involved in repelling that attack. Of course, I am out of date and antediluvian, but I must confess that on the Indian frontier my experience, such as it is, that of a civilian from outside, has led me to deprecate very strongly the use of very large bodies of troops. It seems to me that the conditions of communications and the general conditions prevailing there are such that the moving of these large bodies becomes practically impossible without getting in each other's way, and very little result is obtained. Something of the kind happened in the Tirah expedition, and I dare say if we had had fewer troops on the frontier we might have had a more satisfactory and quicker issue of this last campaign. But there again there may have been reasons which rendered it necessary, of which I am entirely ignorant.

As to the Khyber, perhaps we shall get some day an explanation why Lord Kitchener's carefully thought out and in part executed plan for a railway along the Kabul River, with the Khyber road flanking it on the south, has been rejected for a line through the Pass with an unnecessary rise and fall of 1,800 feet and very poor carrying capacity, not to mention other drawbacks.

However, there is one thing, I was very pleased to hear the lecturer speak up for the volunteers. I was a private in the Punjab Volunteers for a good many years, and then honorary colonel of three regiments, and I was glad to see that in the early part of 1915, when we had only two British divisions intact and remnants of others, and the defence of India fell to a great extent on the 36,000 volunteers then extant, they did not do at all badly. Yet the policy of Government as regards the force was curious. Lord Kitchener in 1909, at the request of the Punjab Government, himself selected on the spot a defensive post at Lahore in the case of a serious riot or rising. Yet the Punjab Government could never induce the Government of India to construct this nor to let the Punjab Government do it. The 1st Punjab Volunteers had raised Rs. 10,000 for machine-guns, but they were not allowed to buy them in the open market, and the military authorities would not supply until the last regular regiment in the south of India had got its complement. There was a want of vision about this which nearly led to a disaster in 1919.

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Speaking at my last parade of the Lahore Volunteers in 1913, I gave them the old advice to "trust in God and keep their powder dry," as they never could tell when they might be wanted. It was, as events showed, sound advice, and I can give no better. At any rate, I hope that the force which takes the place of the volunteers will not be depreciated or inadequately supplied, and that it may do as well as they did. (Applause.)

Sir EDMUND BARROW: I did not contemplate speaking on this occasion, but one or two remarks have been made regarding which I must either endorse what has been said or correct it. Sir Louis Dane has just told us there were 300,000 men employed by us in the recent Afghan war. I am surprised to hear it.

Sir LOUIS DANE: I asked how many.

Sir EDMUND BARROW: I should think you might certainly halve that number, if you mean troops only.

Sir LOUIS DANE: I saw the statement made. It was very surprising.

Sir EDMUND BARROW: It was very surprising! and it is unfortunate that such statements are frequently made; it is only for that reason that I venture to correct this figure. On the other hand, when people talk of the vast number of troops we employed during the recent Afghan war, I am in agreement with Sir Louis Dane that if our troops had been efficient, and really mobile troops, on whom we could thoroughly rely, any such number would not have been necessary. I hope I am not hurting anyone's feelings by saying there was serious deterioration, but I have heard on good authority that there was a marked deterioration in the native troops left in India at the end of the Great War, apart from those employed in active warfare in Europe, etc. It was a natural deterioration, for as all know who are connected with India, the fighting races of India are not unlimited, rather the number of fighting men available is few, comparatively to the population. It is absurd to expect that we can draw on India for immense masses of men, and I have always thought and said so. Certain politicians in this country urged that we should have half a million Indian soldiers added to the establishment, as if you could raise unlimited hosts of reliable soldiers in India on an emergency! The idea is absurd. If you did, you would only get a mob together, and that is what actually happened. Therefore the analogy of the recent Afghan war is not really very important. It was quite different from any other occasion on which we have had to defend the frontier. I do not think really there is any other point that I would care to enter upon, more especially as others are waiting to speak.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: Like Sir Edmund Barrow, I had not meant to say anything, but I would like to express the satisfaction we all feel that the future editor of the *Pioneer* has made this subject his special

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study. (Hear, hear.) All Governments, including even the Government of India, are the better for informed criticism. I know when I was Lieutenant-Governor in a small way in the Punjab, I was the better for the criticism I occasionally received from Mr. Haward, then the able editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette*. (Laughter.) Two speakers who have already addressed you have spoken of the land front, and Admiral Richmond has referred to the sea front; there is only one point I would like to say a few words about, and that is what we may call the home front. Speaking as a detached outsider I am bold enough to say that, seeing what our military resources are in India and here, and knowing what the strength and efficiency of our navy is all the world over, as long as you have an efficient Government in the Indian Empire and here, capable of prompt decision and quick action, I do not think anything is to be feared from external enemies either by sea or land. (Hear, hear.) To my mind the only serious situation would arise when an invasion by land or sea synchronized, as it probbably would, with serious internal disturbances in India. An illustration of that was in 1919, when the Afghans either promoted the disturbances in India, or took advantage of them to make their treacherous aggression. Therefore we must look to the security of our home front. How to secure that is *the* most vital question, and its importance was brought home to me in April, 1919, when I had to deal with the situation which then arose in the Punjab, from the efforts which were being made by a small, but dangerous, revolutionary party in India, to co-operate with the foreign enemy. That co-operation took the form not of armed force—that we could easily have dealt with—but the more insidious forms of cutting our communications by railway, telegraph, and telephone; making attempts to burn aerodromes and barracks, and to immobilize our forces and prevent the concentration of troops on the North-West Frontier, where they were then so urgently required to hurl back the Afghans It was very difficult to deal with those attacks on our communications, which were simultaneous with very insidious attempts to sap the loyalty of our Indian army. One thing which set the Sikh troops in the Punjab in a ferment was the malicious rumour sedulously circulated that during the disturbances in Amritsar a bomb had been dropped on the Golden Temple at Amritsar. So alarming was the report that commandants of Indian units had to send down Indian officers to Amritsar, so that they could see with their own eyes that no bomb had been dropped and go back to reassure their comrades. I remember the Maharajah of Patiala wired to me to know whether there was any truth in this rumour, which he said was having a most disturbing effect on the Sikhs in his state. Those are some of the things we have to guard against, and in that connection there are certain considerations to be borne in mind. In the disturbances of 1919 we found that our task was made infinitely more difficult by the

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fact that among the subordinate Indian staff of the railways, of the telephones and telegraphs, and of the post office, we had certain disloyal people secretly working with the revolutionary party, and giving them information of what was going on to such an extent that, in Lahore, through which all the telegraphs and telephones to the north passed, we had to clear out the subordinate staff and put in members of the valuable Defence Force, of which the lecturer was a prominent member. We also found that these disaffected members of our railway and telegraph staffs were, in some cases, actually either cutting the lines themselves or inciting others to do so, and were in direct communication with the extremist leaders outside. I mention this for the reason that the railway, postal, and telegraph staffs are very largely drawn from what you call in India the Babu class. They are, as a rule, loyal but often credulous and ignorant, and very easily got at by outside seditious agitators. For this reason we ought to consider whether it is desirable to have all our eggs in one basket, and to leave these very essential security services almost entirely in the hands of one section of the community. In the past we have been able to rely on the fact that we had in our Anglo-Indian community in India men whom we could trust in times of crisis, but owing to the Indianization of the services the unfortunate Anglo-Indian element has been largely crowded out. There is a cry that these departments must be made more and more accessible to Indian control. That change is being hastened as the railways, one after another, have been removed from Company control and brought under State control, and the result is that we have to face the situation that our internal security may be very seriously endangered by this fact. I had proof of that in 1919, when a general strike on the all-important North-Western Railway was only averted by the rumour that martial law had been extended to the railway, as it in fact had been to certain districts. The fact that for long periods in 1920 and 1921—I think the lecturer will bear me out, as I had then left India—a large section of the North-Western Railway, the only line of access to the frontier, was held up by a political strike, shows the importance of the consideration which I venture to place before you: secure your home front and you can face any attack by land or sea with equanimity. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think you will agree with me that we have had a very remarkable lecture, dealing in a very interesting way with this very big subject. We are also very grateful to those speakers who elaborated the subject afterwards. If I may, I would like to make one or two points clear. Sir Louis Dane referred to the large number of troops employed on the frontier in Waziristan and the Afghan war, and Sir Edmund Barrow has also spoken of it, and shown quite rightly that there were not so many as imagined. There were, however, a considerable number, and, as Sir Edmund Barrow said, a great many of

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the troops were of very poor quality. It is no slur on them. The Government of India in 1918 was asked to raise half a million more troops, but there were not half a million suitable men in India. The best of the regiments were away, and the best of the remaining men in the country were in drafts. There were a great many useful troops raised from, if I may use the expression, the half-martial races. The best of the experienced officers were either killed or away. Those who were left did their best, but there were not enough to make the half-martial races into first-class troops for fighting on the frontier, however eager and good the Indian Army Reserve officer was. The lecturer said he was afraid that, in the matter of war preparation, economy had been forced on the army very naturally and rightly; and rapid mobilization would not be possible. I am sorry to say that is always the state of the army in India. It will always be very difficult to teach certainly the civil Government and finance department and sometimes the commanders themselves what is necessary to get an army in the field and keep it there. There were magnificent assemblages of troops at the Durbars of Lord Curzon and His Majesty: masses of men marched past, with rows of bayonets and lances; but behind all that, the administrative services that kept an army in the field were not organized. The things that don't march past have never interested people. It is, to a certain extent, the same in England, but the resources of the civil population are more handy. Once or twice, when I have had to draw up memoranda on this subject, I have taken the liberty to use the following analogy: The tendency in India has been the tendency of the daughter to whom you give a dress allowance; she spends it on outside clothes, and when the winter comes, there is nothing warm below. (Laughter.) That is what the military authorities, and especially people like the Quarter-master-Generals, are always anxious about. You have had a very full discussion, and I will not trouble you with any more; but I will call upon you to give a very hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer, and also to all those who have contributed to the subject by speaking afterwards. (Applause.)

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PERSIA

TEHERAN,
February 15, 1926.

PARLIAMENT has dissolved and left a rather colourless Cabinet to cope with a pressing dilemma. The concession for the valuable sturgeon fisheries of the southern Caspian coast, for which the energetic little Russian Ambassador has been fighting, was tabled apologetically at the last moment by the Prime Minister, Furughi (an ex-schoolmaster of amiable and philosophic disposition), and was deferred, after some apprehensive criticisms, for the consideration of the Sixth Parliament, to meet, after the elections, about June.

The Russians, under a pretext of balancing their foreign trade, have prohibited imports from Persia, with the exception of cotton. They have also stopped the export of Baku petrol to Persia, which will impede the provisioning of Teheran with wheat by motor-lorry from the neighbouring provinces. The Fisheries Concession was to be a partnership affair between Russia and Persia, and the Persian share of the capital was to be lent by Russia at 8 per cent. The Persians objected that there existed equitable rights in the shap of a prewar concession, and that the stipulation for the employ ent of nine thousands of Russian workers on Persian soil was inacce table. They consider that Russia will be hit equally with Persia by a rade boycott, and that surrender to Soviet pressure in this case mi at encourage further interference with their liberties and rights, hich already suffer by Russia's refusal to accept the 1920 Custom tariff. It is hoped that a way out may be found by negotiation with ut prolonged trade hostilities. The caviare is dependent on Russia r its market and Persia has not a single naval unit on the Caspian.

The Shah is perturbed, as the security of his fro iers depend primarily on a friendly Russia, and he is presumably co erned for the development of his native province, Mazanderan. The merchants of Azerbeijan are invited to console themselves with the rospect of a road between Tabriz and Mosul, for which budgetary rovision has been made.

The achievement on which the Fifth Majliss pride tself most is the Sugar and Tea Tax (actually an increase of Cu ms duty in disguise) imposed by it in May, 1925. The proceeds are strongly earmarked for railway construction, and the receipts fo the last nine

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months amount to some £600,000. The Railway Bill passed last week provides for the engagement of an American and a German railway engineer and for the costs of survey. It is the Shah's long-cherished desire that even the rails of whatever lines are built be made of Persian steel—a product as yet unknown. The idea of railways was immensely popular with the people a year ago, when it was fondly imagined that a few trunk lines across a mountainous country twice the size of Spain and with a population of under fifteen millions would provide a panacea, establish peace and prosperity, and give magic birth to another fifteen millions in the course of a decade. Enthusiasm is waning of late as the question becomes a practical one, but the undoubted merits of the project remain, and under the guidance of the American advisers much may be achieved.

Some cogent remarks were made by the Administrator-General of the Finances in a lecture on his return from leave last autumn, anent the popular idea that America, being a fabulously rich country, would make poor little Persia a large development loan without asking awkward questions or insisting on more than a trifling *quid pro quo*. Doctor Millspaugh made it unpalatably clear to his audience that the rich man gets his wealth by strict attention to business, that the American has as keen an eye for security and profits as any other, and that Persian railway construction is not on the charity lists of multi-millionaires.

The work of the American advisers prospers, and their numbers are being steadily increased. Their critics declare that they have done nothing but tax the country without assisting its development, that the expenses of their administration, with an army of well-paid Persian officials, are disproportionate to the revenue, and that the credit of their three years' work is mainly due to the present Shah, who, as Commander-in-Chief of the army, subdued the unruly elements in the population and compelled the tribal chiefs and the powerful landowners to pay their arrears of tax. The cost of the army is about two million sterling annually, which is not excessive in view of the results obtained. To have met this charge out of a budget which actually balances at five and a half million sterling, and to have reduced the national debt to well under two millions, with a substantial sum set aside for development, is an achievement indicative of considerable tact, ability, and hard work on the part of eight or ten individuals, supported, as they are, by the continued good work of the Belgian customs officials.

The crop failure of last year has necessitated the import of wheat, and a few score motor-lorries have been simultaneously imported by the Government for its transport. The use of these heavy lorries is a serviceable reminder to Persians that even their few motor-roads are capable of improvement. An advance towards rapidity of communications has just been made in the granting of a concession to the Junkers

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Company for regular services of all-metal aeroplanes between Pehlevi (Enzeli) and Bushire, and between Teheran and the western frontier, to connect with the Baghdad-Khanikin railway. The concession provides for the taking over of the Company's material in case of war.

The excessive road and town tolls which vexed travellers and traders have just been swept away by law, and in their stead various imposts have been placed on merchandise and an annual tax on motor vehicles.

The change of dynasty last December was not marked by any spontaneous enthusiasm. The Persians respect and admire their new Shah as much as they despised the last two of the Qajar line, but there is in his five years of constructive work not enough of the grandiose and spectacular to fire the emotions of his people with the ardent hero-worship of a Napoleonic age. His smile is too fugitive, and his frown too frequent to inspire affection in a soft-mannered race. Yet Reza Pehlevi is of the stuff of which legendary heroes are made. He is very tall and powerfully built—a Saul among men—of great personal courage, magnificently savage in anger, and with the physical alertness of a fighting animal. The most surprising part of his endowment is the ready intelligence and mature judgment displayed in his statesmanship. He has carefully studied the best models, and he surrounds himself with men whose talents are complementary to his own. His capacity for solid hard work is on a par with his other qualities. A week or two ago, when two cases of highway attack were reported, he stalked into the Cabinet Council, banged his fist on the table, and sent the Minister of War trembling (not in his boots, for they were sent after him) post-haste to Kermanshah to wake the garrison there to a sense of its duties. Recently he paid a visit of inspection to the Teheran barracks at five o'clock on a mid-winter morning. Much of the country's future must surely depend on the effect, on such a nature as his, of the pomp and circumstance of monarchy to which he has attained unaided.

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THROUGH THE GORGE OF THE TSANGPO*

By Captain F. KINGDON WARD

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Last year, through the kindness of the Indian and Tibetan Governments, Lord Cawdor and I obtained permission to go to Tibet for a year to botanize. Now Tibet is generally understood to be an extremely lofty plateau with a cold, almost arctic, climate, scourged by very terrifying winds. This idea of Tibet was particularly emphasized by the British expedition to Lhasa in 1904, and again by the several Mount Everest expeditions, so that the general idea of Tibet, you might say, is that of a sub-arctic desert; and it seems possibly the last place in the world to which anybody should go to collect plants. To-night I am going to try and give you a totally different impression of Tibet. This is a country which has always appealed to the imagination of travellers and men of science, and will do so in the future, I think, more and more increasingly; because although we have learned a great deal about it in the last twenty years, since the British mission to Lhasa, there is still a great deal about it that we do not know. It is not so much its remoteness

* A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Thursday, November 26, 1925, and an address delivered by Captain F. Kingdon Ward, entitled "Through the Gorge of the Tsangpo." In the absence of Lord Peel the chair was taken by Sir Francis Younghusband.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—There is no need to introduce Captain Kingdon Ward to you because he has already lectured here, just before going out on this journey about which he will speak to us this evening. The part of the world he will describe is, from the traveller's point of view, I should think, about as interesting a part of the world as you could possibly be in. It is a part where the greatest range of mountains in the world, the Himalayas, as it were, collides with other mountains. There is a great tangle of mountains and rivers. Also, perhaps in consequence, the varied flora and fauna as it were collide, and consequently, just in that little sort of knot of mountains and rivers, flowers and peoples, you get a mixture of the Indian mountains and the Indian peoples and the Indian rivers, plants and animals and birds meeting with the Chinese. Captain Kingdon Ward was well able to appreciate and make the most of his opportunities, because he had already travelled on the Indo-Chinese border for many years, and he it was who was able, with his companion, Lord Cawdor, to put finally at rest what was practically certain already, the problem of the identity of the Tsangpo River with the Brahmaputra River, and how this great river forces its way through the Himalaya mountains. I now ask him to give us his address. (Applause.)

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as its inaccessibility, both political and geographical, which has fenced it off from intercourse with Europeans for so long. As a matter of fact, an air line from Calcutta to Lhasa is only about five hundred miles, and the railhead in India ends within a hundred miles of the frontier of Tibet. The country is quite big enough for you to hold this very general opinion of Tibet as a sub-arctic desert, and yet for some areas of it to be totally different; and I am going to try and give you an idea of its size by a process of comparison. To say that Tibet covers a million square miles does not convey very much, but if I say it covers roughly fifteen times the size of Great Britain, lifted to an average height of fifteen thousand feet, without a single mile of railway in it, and on three sides without a railway within five hundred miles of the frontier, you will have a better idea of its inaccessibility. The population of Tibet one can hardly estimate, but it is certainly less than that of greater London. The slide shows you Tibet and adjacent regions. The particular region we are going to visit to-night is that little loop up on the Tsangpo River to the east of Lhasa. What I wish to emphasize is the great contrast between what we may call these two Tibets. There is the Tibet of the plateau, which is the one that has been so much emphasized by all the earlier travellers across Tibet and north to Lhasa, by the Tibet expedition, and by the various Mount Everest expeditions. That plateau covers roughly three-quarters of the whole of Tibet, but it still leaves some two hundred thousand square miles of what we may call the river gorge country, which is anything but plateau. It is a totally different type of country altogether. That two hundred thousand square miles is covered with forests, flowers, and meadows of all kinds. You will notice that the gorge country lies in a comparatively narrow area. As a matter of fact, it is about two hundred miles east to west; all these great rivers are attracted to that one point as though by a magnet. Those rivers rise far up in different parts of Tibet, and eventually flow to different seas; but they all of them have to come rushing through that very narrow gap in the mountains, and that is the area which we are going to visit to-night. To start on a journey like this it is generally necessary to arrange to start two or three days before you want to, or you never get off to time. As soon as you leave railhead everything becomes very casual. Say you have arranged to start at ten o'clock on Monday morning, you generally find that about nine o'clock the head muleteer comes and tells you that all his mules are in pawn, and that he cannot start that day unless you give him an advance of wages. All these troubles being overcome, you generally start a couple of days later than was arranged. The journey is from railhead through the jungles of Sikkim or China as the case may be, with various rivers to cross by more or less primitive methods, generally in ferry boats. We, however, followed the ordinary route from Darjeeling to Lhasa, and up through the

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forests of Sikkim, over the Himalaya on to the great plateau of Tibet. To travel on the plateau in the early spring or late winter is particularly unpleasant. The things that one chiefly remembers about the plateau are wind and dust. In the winter snow takes the place of dust—snow frozen and hard, which, of course, rasps the skin very badly wherever it is exposed. It is necessary, however, in order to reach this river gorge country to go over a certain amount of the plateau, and one has a vivid recollection of this fearful howling wind, the dust in the summer and the rasping snow in the winter—so that you very soon lose what the hoardings call that schoolgirl complexion. You will notice that the plateau is quite treeless, and in fact devoid of woody plants. But for two or three months in the summer when the rains come it is covered with flowers. As you get to slightly lower elevations and go down into the valleys, particularly where water is flowing permanently, you begin to get a few trees. The trees are generally, as in this case, of considerable age and are protected by the inhabitants. They show very definitely the prevailing wind, that is to say, they do not rise above a certain height from the ground, and they are all very considerably curved. They are generally rather stunted. This particular tree is a poplar. The photograph was taken in the middle of April, but the trees do not yet show the sign of a leaf on them. Getting down to still lower levels you find the trees become more frequent, and you sometimes meet with very fine trees such as elms. Those who are interested in bird-nesting may like to know that the nests are those of jackdaws and magpies. There are plenty of birds on the plateau; even in the entirely treeless parts you meet birds like choughs, rose finches, and further down babblers and so on. Crossing the plateau, following the ordinary main road is a comparatively simple matter. At the time of the British mission to Lhasa twenty years ago it must have been a very different proposition; but now there are bungalows at every stage, a telegraph-line from Calcutta to Lhasa, and the post goes through into Tibet; so that in some places you might think that the romance of Tibet has passed; but I do not think that is so. These are simply comforts both for Tibetans themselves and travellers, and there is no doubt that a very large part of Tibet will always be devoid of these amenities. A telephone has also been installed from Gyantse to Lhasa, and I believe not so very long ago the political officer at Gyantse rang up Lhasa, asked to speak to the Dalai Lama, and received in excellent English a prosaic reply from a clerk: "His Holiness goes to office at eleven o'clock." That seems to take away the romance from Tibet, but that is a very narrow view. After leaving Gyantse, where a British Trade Agent is stationed, we left the Lhasa road and turned eastwards, and after travelling about eleven days we reached the first big town on the Tsangpo, a town called Tsetang, fifty miles south-east of Lhasa. These are such buildings as are found in most Tibetan cities. There are very few big

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towns in Tibet. Tsetang has a population very much less than that of a London borough. It is the principal town in these parts, but although of some importance, is really only what we should call a large village. We now reach the Tsangpo, which was our objective, and we follow that river eastwards through the great gorges. At first the going is fairly easy. We cross the river then, here flowing at an altitude of about eleven thousand feet; we cross it in coracles. The current is perfectly placid, and one may well imagine that the river will go on flowing eastwards in this great trough of the plateau for a good many hundreds of miles. It might even flow to China, and one begins to appreciate the difficulties of the old geographers when they tried to link up this river with some other in India or China. For this reason: the river had been crossed by explorers on their way to Lhasa, but it had not been followed eastwards. No one knew what became of it. When it was followed down, it was found to enter a tremendous gorge, and the following it had to be given up because people could not get through the gorge. There was known in Assam another river, the Brahmaputra, which flowed down from the mountains to the north. It came out through jungles which you could not get into because they were inhabited by hostile tribes, and on paper it seemed reasonable to suppose that the one river was the other—that the river which flowed away to the east in Tibet was the river which appeared in India. The difficulty of accepting that was that there were several other rivers which it might be in India. There were several rivers whose upper courses were quite unknown, and it seemed at first sight just as likely to be one as another. The whole story of the exploration and final proof of identity of the Tsangpo and Brahmaputra is too long a story to go into, but it hangs on this: that all the other unknown rivers were crossed by a native explorer, and when the maps came to be plotted it was found that the Tsangpo could not flow very far to the east, and that the only possible river which it could be was the Brahmaputra of Assam. However, there were about two hundred miles of the gorge to be explored. A certain amount was done by native explorers, and a good deal was done from the Assam side by the Abor expeditions of some years ago. It was proved the rivers were the same, but not demonstrated. The final demonstration was undertaken twelve years ago by two officers of the Indian army. They first followed the Brahmaputra up through Assam, and then struck the Tsangpo higher up and came down through the gorge. They explored all but about forty or fifty miles of it, and set the matter finally at rest. But there was another problem connected with this river; the river flowing on the Tibetan plateau was flowing at an altitude of about eleven thousand feet, and the river in Assam at about one thousand feet. It seemed very natural there would be great falls on the river. One native explorer had reported great falls, but when

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the two officers explored the river they found its course could be accounted for without any great fall. They also showed successfully that some mistake had occurred, through which the native explorer had reported a waterfall 150 feet high which was not on the main river, but on a side stream. There was no necessity to postulate a fall, and they did not find one. There was the bare possibility that in the forty or fifty miles which remained unexplored a fall would be found. We followed this river down through the wide trough. The river was flowing perfectly placidly at an altitude of 11,000 feet. There were no big rapids and no great difficulty in crossing the river. This is a typical little village. As we get farther east the country gets less and less barren, and more and more trees appear. This particular village is of some interest, because in it was born, about fifty years ago, the thirteenth Dalai Lama, the present ruler of Tibet, and I suppose the greatest Tibet has ever had. The buildings met with in Tibet are of two types, apart from private houses—monasteries and fortresses. The monasteries are sometimes of a very considerable size, with several thousand inhabitants; but we found no very big ones. There were probably not more than three or four hundred priests in any of them. But in this particular place, when we arrived, there was a certain amount of trouble going on. The monks had been behaving in a rather unmonkish manner, and the lay authorities had descended on the place and ordered the expulsion of about sixty monks. The head lama of the monastery was very much disturbed at this, and came to us by night and asked us to interfere. Of course we could not do anything of the sort; it was nothing to do with us, and it would have been quite unwarranted. But we felt it would have been as well if the monks had not been expelled; they were an unprepossessing lot, and we felt the world would have been safer for democracy if they had been kept shut up. When we arrived at the monastery again later on we found it almost entirely deserted. The fortresses are very fine buildings, often built in strategic situations overlooking the villages at their feet. They have very thick walls and narrow windows. They are a medieval type of building. The fortresses are inhabited by the civil magistrates, and the monasteries, of course, by the ecclesiastical authorities. The people were extremely delightful. The people of Tibet were always very friendly and hospitable. Whenever we came to a village or monastery, as is usual in Oriental countries, they used to send us presents. These generally took on a severely practical form—a sack of flour, a bag of rice, but particularly eggs. They were very fond of giving us eggs, but we generally found these eggs exploded on contact. Tibet is now maintaining a foreign-drilled army, which will probably render a very good account of itself, but in the back blocks of Tibet you find these more or less amateur soldiers, who are not gener-

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ally quite so formidable as they look. Although they have assorted rifles of various bores, and go about with those belts of cartridges, one generally finds that the cartridge will not fit any rifle. (Laughter.) I have said there are no railways in Tibet or anywhere near, and this photograph will give you an idea of the gorge country. For a good deal of the plateau it might be possible to use wheeled traffic, and, in fact, recently the Commander-in-Chief of the Tibetan army took up to Lhasa from Calcutta a motor-car in pieces on the backs of mules. But in the gorge country such a thing would be utterly impossible, and the only transport is the ordinary Asiatic transport—by yak, pony, mule, donkey. In a great many of the river gorges it is not possible to take any animals at all; one uses only coolies. I shall show you a few photographs to give you rather a different idea of Tibet, a few photographs of plants and flowers, so that you will not imagine that Tibet consists entirely of this very bare, bleak, treeless plateau. The great feature of the south-eastern corner of Tibet is the rhododendrons. These are very fine. Sometimes they are very big trees, at other times bushes or even creeping plants. There are many other trees, of course, besides the rhododendrons, and as you get down still lower into the depths of the gorges you begin to meet with sub-tropical jungle. The reason for botanizing in these places I had better explain. If you look at the gardens and parks of England, and particularly London, you will see a great many interesting and pretty flowers, shrubs, and trees. It is extraordinary what a very small number of them are really English; they are nearly all aliens introduced from different parts of the world. Tibet has given us its quota, particularly of rhododendrons and certain poppies and primulas. Creeping rhododendrons are shown here, forming an entire carpet over the rocks, and covering many square miles. These are of all colours—scarlet, amber yellow, purple, violet, and so on. After the rhododendrons perhaps the most surprising flowers of Tibet are the blue poppies, of which there are a great many. They occur in the harsher country at higher altitudes, from 14,000 to 15,000 feet, where there is very little vegetation of any sort. You get the carpet of dwarf rhododendrons; higher up near the glaciers you get nothing but scattered flowers, but those very often particularly beautiful. These are the blue poppies of this country. The flowers are sky blue with golden centres. Sometimes they are sweetly fragrant. They are perhaps the most surprising thing to find on these bare, treeless screes at 15,000 feet, where there seems to be nothing but the most barren gravel for them to grow on. Sometimes these blue poppies grow in the woods. That was originally discovered, I think, about 1913 by Major Bailey, and has been called after him *Meconopsis Baileyi*. A yellow poppy was found on the rhododendron moorland, growing amongst the dwarf rhododendrons, where they grow like heather in Scotland. After the yellow and blue poppies and the rhododendrons, perhaps the most

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beautiful flowers are the primulas. They also grow in very great variety, and cover enormous areas. Sometimes acres and acres are covered by one species of meadow primula. They occur generally in the Alpine meadows which are found lining the streams below the level of the forest. You notice the forest growing on the upper slopes, and down below these flowery meadows are very often full of primroses, as in the next photograph. That is a particularly fine one because it grows about four feet high. It is, perhaps, the biggest primula known. It is something like an English cowslip, but very much larger, with as many as a hundred flowers growing together in a sort of mop head. These flowers grow so thickly in the eastern part of Tibet that they simply clog up the streams. Finally, we have a meadow of giant sorrel—not the woodland sorrel of England, but more like the dock family. These you sometimes find in great colonies, sometimes one here and another there on the hillside. You can see them a mile away; very often they look like cream-coloured Chinese pagodas. I shall now pass to the gorge itself. Our botanical work was done round here. This is the great loop of the Tsangpo. It flows first eastwards, then turns to northwards, then goes to the south as the Dihang of Upper Assam, and finally flows practically back on itself westwards as the Brahmaputra of India. The plant photographs which I showed you were all taken round here where we were botanizing. Our route is shown in red; that is the China to Lhasa road, and this is the country we explored. We did that in summer while we were botanizing, and in the winter we started from this place, Gyala, to follow the river through that great gorge. On the plateau the river was flowing perfectly placidly eastwards. On the plateau the mountains are not particularly high, on every side they go up to 18,000 feet or so; but when you get to about here you see in front of you an enormous range of snow mountains. The river coming up against this obstacle tries to get out of the way by turning more to the north. Instead of flowing straight through this great range it edges away a little to the north-east. It finds itself, however, still more hemmed in by snow mountains on all sides, and takes the line of least resistance. It charges straight at the obstacle, and cuts its way clean through the great range of mountains. There is the river at Tsela Dzong still flowing in a broad valley, quite quietly, with a range of mountains on either side; but after flowing in that direction for another ten or fifteen miles it comes up against this great obstacle. That range of mountains, which is presumably the great Himalayan range, seems to stretch right across its path. and from this point the river begins to edge away to the north-east to try and turn the obstacle. As I say, it finds itself still more involved among the snow mountains, and instead of going right away to the north it turns on the range and carves a way clean through. It is here getting under way. You see this great barrier range. These terraces are the remains of glacier

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moraines which have been pushed right across the valley by glaciers which have long since retreated. The glaciers come down to within a mile or two of the river, but in ancient times they must have filled the valley. The river has carved a passage through the mountains. It is still trying to get round the flank of the snow mountains, and finds it utterly impossible. It now narrows very considerably, and charges straight at the range. The river in full flood charges the snow mountains. The waves here leap up fifteen or twenty feet. We have photographs taken of one rock—not this particular rock—but we got the rock simply covered with water in July, and when we came through the gorge six months later the rock was standing up about as high as this room above the water. That will give you some idea of the rise and fall during the rains. Of course the Tsangpo is at its lowest about March and April, when the snows have not yet melted, and there has been a considerable period of drought. About June it rises very suddenly, and all through July you get tremendous floods coming down and through the whole of August and September. Then it begins to drop again. We went through it about half-water in November and December.

In order to go through the gorge we had to abandon nearly all our kit and take only porters. We could only get twenty porters, half of whom were women. Most of these porters were carrying rations for the party; the others were carrying bedding and scientific instruments, surveying instruments, and so on. We did not take any tents and could not have put them up if we had done so. We found these women excellent porters; the only drawback was that whenever we got faced with particularly awkward cliffs, they would generally sit down on the top of the cliffs and weep. But that did not disturb them. When they got over it they invariably came on with us. They were extraordinarily plucky and resourceful. The men, of course, were better still, carrying the women's loads in the awkward places and helping then down by hand. The garment these people are wearing is the typical garment of the province, the *gushuk*. In Tibet the most usual garment worn is the *chupa*, a sort of loose dressing-gown. In this part of Tibet they wear another garment composed of a strip of cloth twelve feet long and three feet wide, with a hole in the middle. They simply put their heads through the hole, tie a belt round their waist, pulling it up a bit, and there you are complete with garment. It is a very practical form. When dirty you simply turn it inside out, and when it is cold or when it rains you wear two. It is made either of coarse cloth or untanned skin of goats. In rainy weather they generally wear it with the fur outside, and in fine weather with the leather outside. The leader of our porters was a fellow known to us as Captain Flint; he looks rather a buccaneer, but, as a matter of fact, he was a very stout fellow indeed. He also wears this *gushuk*, and carries a knife. We took one rope with

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us. Every man had a sword. We also had a hatchet or two. We had to hack our way through the jungle, and when climbing up and down the cliffs we had to attach the rope repeatedly. When we reached the last village at the mouth of the gorge, about the middle of November, away we started on the sixteenth with our twenty porters, and for the first four days we found a track. After the fourth day we reached a little monastery in the gorge, and spent a day there reorganizing the party for the more difficult part of the journey. This gorge is about a hundred miles long and something like ten thousand feet deep. We found it filled with forest from the water to the snows. As long as we had a path it was fairly easy going, but after leaving this little monastery at Pemakochung there was no trail of any sort. We had to find our way as best we could. We kept the river always in sight; sometimes we were two or three thousand feet above it, sometimes clambering over boulders in the river-bed. The boulders were enormous, as big as cottages and piled on each other, so that it was very difficult to get through. Every three or four days the type of vegetation altered. We found ourselves first in pine forest, subsequently in semi-jungle. The river became more and more riotous and more and more confined between these great cliffs; but we found nothing in the nature of a really big waterfall. That photograph was taken just near this little monastery of Pemakochung and shows a small fall. Kinthup, the native explorer, reported a fall of 150 feet high here; but that was a mistake; he really meant a fall of 150 feet on a side stream. He got as far as this place, and spent some time looking for a way down the gorge without success, and so had to return. In 1913, Bailey and Morshead got as far as Pemakochung without any difficulty and went on some ten miles; but it is rather difficult now to recognize the exact spot where Bailey was forced to abandon the gorge and turn back. The sort of obstacles we met with were generally cliffs of this nature. Sometimes we climbed up and down chimneys, sometimes we were right in the bed of the river. The river at this season is fairly low, but it had been a very wet year. We had no particular trouble. It rained sometimes. We slept under trees and cliffs, wherever we could find water. This may sound strange, but when you are two thousand feet above the river it is not always easy to find even a trickle of water where you can form a camp. It was on these places that the women generally gave a good deal of trouble, and the slide shows some of them being helped down. At times we came to comparatively smooth stretches of water, but there was a considerable current all the time. Trees clothed the cliffs practically everywhere, except where these were absolutely vertical. At this time we found a takin trail. These takin migrate up and down the gorge. The takin is a sort of cross between a goat and an ox. There used to be one at the Zoo, but it died. It is a curious animal with a rather big lumping body on short stubby legs,

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but extraordinarily agile. We found its track up cliffs almost vertical, with simply a slight scrub growth carpeting on them. It bounds up and down these tremendous cliffs. It goes about in large herds clearing a track through the worst of the jungle. At last we reached a point where we found it was impossible to proceed along the river-bed any more. The river filled its bed from cliff to cliff, and the cliffs were almost vertical. Here there was a waterfall of sorts, about thirty or forty feet high; but we could not get any closer to it than that, and eventually we had to climb up this cliff here. We had to abandon the river, in fact. The river at this point doubles back on itself in a loop, and flows almost due west; it then wriggles round again and resumes its normal course. It is right in the heart of the Himalaya, still forcing its way through the snowy peaks. As we went on through the gorge it often seemed to us we were far from being six or seven thousand feet above sea level, as we were really. It seemed to us we were boring our way into the bowels of the earth and would never come on to a familiar landscape again. One could imagine a strange lunar landscape awaiting us at the bottom: one could hardly imagine seeing cultivation again. Here it happened we had to leave the river and climb the cliffs, and three days later, having crossed the worst of the mountains, we dropped down to the lower foot of the gorge and found a village and cultivation. The porters were so pleased with themselves at seeing human beings again that they gave a great feast and, I am sorry to say, got disgracefully drunk. The result was that we started very late the next day. As far as the upper end of the gorge we had been in Tibet proper, among Tibetans. We now found ourselves at the lower end of the gorge among totally different people. They spoke a certain amount of Tibetan, and had been influenced by Tibetans, but came from different regions, and their own language was not Tibetan. The people are of various tribes, and there is really a sort of jungle no man's land between Assam and Tibet—inhabited by people of Tibetan extraction, no doubt, but not Tibetan any more than Assamese. Some of these people called themselves Mönbas. The Mönbas originally came from Bhutan. We rather came on them out of the blue. They did not expect us, did not know who we were or where we were going. While they were deciding what to do about it we hurried on to the next village. On the whole we found them friendly. They saw we were harmless. The problem was now to see that part of the gorge we had had to abandon. In this case we had to go up the gorge instead of down. We had abandoned it, as far as we could make out, about twenty miles higher up. For a week the people would not help us; they said there was no way up the gorge; nobody ever went there; there was no track. If we got on the top of the mountains we could not see anything. We argued and discussed for a week. We crossed the river by a rope bridge. The rope is made of bamboo and fastened

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to rocks on either bank. A slider works on top of the rope, and the ordinary Tibetan ties himself on to this slider and pulls himself across with his hands, kicking with his legs. We refused to work our passage over, and were pulled over in this way with a lifeline. The river is here just leaving the worst part of the gorge; it still has some distance to go before it reaches Assam; but to all intents and purposes the worst of the gorge had been pierced. There were twenty-five miles we had not seen and wanted to see. We reached a little native village, and above us we saw this great snow peak and this forest, and from the position we estimated that if we could get on to this ridge here, we should be able to see and possibly reach the hidden part of the river.

We had followed up the river as far as we could in the river-bed, but that was not very far. The natives told us there was no possible way of getting up there, and that if we got up there, we should not see anything. Then by a curious piece of luck we found a track for ourselves, and quite a good one. We also saw up on this ridge one night as it was getting dark the light of a camp-fire. We returned to the village and told the villagers they had told a fairy story; there was a path, and people over there. They then admitted they had been romancing; we could go and they would take us. It transpired the reason why they said we could not go was because all the country belonged to a neighbouring tribe. It was their preserve. The tribe we were negotiating with were not allowed to go there. They wanted to keep on good terms with the other tribe and not trespass on their property. However, when we started off we found six of them had brought guns. In the final result they shot two of their neighbours' takin, a couple of wild sheep, and some pheasants, all belonging to their neighbours; and then got us to write a letter saying we had done it. Eventually we got on top of the ridge and descended to the gorge again in the narrowest part. Here we found the Tsangpo in places only 50 feet wide, pushing through this extraordinary narrow rent with almost vertical walls thousands of feet high. At one point we managed to get down to the river, where there are a great many hot springs in the river-bed. We found there a waterfall of no great height, 30 or 40 feet, quite vertical. In the distance of a quarter of a mile the river falls 100 feet. There were still four or five miles that we could not see, but we satisfied ourselves that there could not possibly be a waterfall on it, and that the thousands of feet between Tibet and Assam could be accounted for without any very big fall, as Bailey had demonstrated. We now left that gorge. We had passed through the Himalaya and had to get back to India. Our route in the spring was through Sikkim on the main Lhasa road, and then away to the east. Coming back we followed a route further north, and then straight south, through Bhutan; so that, having penetrated into this top right-hand corner, we went up north

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on to the plateau, once more rejoined the main body of the caravan, loaded up the mules, and returned along the Lhasa road until we got to this point. From that point we turned absolutely due south and reached India as rapidly as possible. Going up north, this river is not the Tsangpo, but the Po Tsangpo, a great tributary. That river is more or less, in fact, almost completely unexplored; but all we saw was this junction with the Tsangpo and a little bit of the gorge as we went up north. That river also seems to break through a great range of snow mountains. Looking back for the last time upon these great cliffs here on the right, we saw these great barrier ranges that we had just penetrated. The peak on the extreme right is Namcha Barwa, over 25,000 feet high; the peak on the left is Sanglung, over 23,000 feet high. They are the two great peaks of the Assam Himalaya; known for a long time from the Assam side, here they are seen from the Tibetan side. This picture shows the mules loaded up on the return journey, but the photograph after that shows these snowy peaks once more. That was the last view that we got of the Assam Himalaya and the gorge of the Tsangpo, which is just the other side of that ridge. Coming back across the plateau, of course, things were reversed. We came from the jungles of the gorge into the sort of temperate conifer forest of the temperate plateau, and then on to the barren wind-swept plateau. Instead of the dust of summer we had to contend now with frozen snow being blown about. The cold was very considerable; we used to have 40 or 50 degrees of frost at night; but it was not the cold so much as the wind. Those who have travelled in Tibet always remember with disgust the extraordinary savage winds which blow. They spring up very suddenly in the winter about eleven in the morning and finish at nightfall. We used to try to avoid them by starting early in the day. These are glacier lakes of fresh water, and found at a moderate altitude, about 12,000 feet. They are not to be confused with the lakes of the great plateau, which are not glacier lakes, are generally salt, and occupy fold valleys on the plateau. The scenery of this part of Tibet is picturesque. That is another little glacier lake, and you will see vegetation; but in crossing one more range of mountains we got on the plateau proper, and everything was bleak and bare. In three weeks we crossed the plateau and came down through the forests of Bhutan. That was the last tuft of grass before we got back on the plateau proper, where you see it is completely bare and devoid of trees. After recrossing the Tsangpo and turning due south we got into Bhutan unexpectedly. However, we had no trouble there, and at the end of February we crossed the frontier into India, and found ourselves once more prosaically buying railway tickets. (Applause.)

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Sir CHARLES BELL: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—There is, I am afraid, nothing of interest that I can add to the extremely interesting and instructive lecture to which we have listened this afternoon. I have been on this river—which Captain Kingdon Ward has so graphically described—only two or three times; once at Shigatse, a great many years ago, where I stayed a week, and again on my journeys to and from Lhasa with Colonel Kennedy some four years ago.

The river is shown on our maps as the Tsangpo, but "Tsangpo" is merely the Tibetan word for any large river, being derived from "Tsang," which means clean or pure, and "po," which is an agentive affix. So Tsangpo means the cleanser or purifier, and therefore any large river. When Colonel Kennedy and I were at Lhasa the river there was always called the Tsangpo, and, as Captain Kingdon Ward has shown us, the large river in the Po country is also called the Tsangpo. The river which is the main subject of our lecture this afternoon has various names in various parts of its course, just as other rivers in Tibet have, and rivers in India so often have. In the vicinity of Lhasa and Shigatse it is known as the Tsang-Chu—*i.e.*, the river from Tsang, the province immediately to the west of that in which Lhasa is situated.

From Lhatse, a town higher up its course than Shigatse, through Shigatse and through the vicinity of Lhasa, on to Tsetang, and, as I was informed, for about a day's journey beyond Tsetang, this great river is navigable for those hide boats which Captain Kingdon Ward showed us in one of his pictures. Thus we have the spectacle of a large river navigable for some four hundred miles of its course at an elevation of 11,000 to 13,000 feet above the level of the sea. I think that must be unique among all the rivers of the world.

We have this afternoon been shown the great difficulties that the river has to encounter before it can break through the Himalayan chain on its way down to India. When Colonel Kennedy and I were in Lhasa we were told by the Lord Chamberlain of the Dalai Lama the legendary explanation current among the Tibetans themselves. He told us that in the old days before Tibet was inhabited the country was all under water, and the reason for it was that this large river flowed into the country, but could not flow out of it, being blocked by the Himalaya. However, Chenresi, the patron deity of Tibet, took his sword and cleft the Himalaya, so that the river was able to flow through.

Captain Kingdon Ward showed us a river called the Po Tsangpo which comes from the country of Po. I do not know whether he traversed the Po country or whether he passed through a corner of it. The inhabitants of Po are a very interesting people, something like the people whose pictures he has shown to us. They are sturdy folk, almost independent of Lhasa. But, as so often happens in Tibet, although

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people are practically independent of the civil government of Lhasa, they are very much under the influence of the capital itself. When we were in Lhasa, that dependence of the Po country was shown to us in two ways. Its chief sent a deputation to ask for a girl from the Lhasa nobility to be his bride. He did not succeed in obtaining a girl from one of the very best families, because they are averse to sending their daughters away to a country which is at once so distant and also so lawless. But he did succeed in obtaining a bride from a family which had been recently ennobled. That was one way in which you could see that Lhasa very often influences this out-of-the-way people, who are Tibetan or semi-Tibetan by race; because a lady like that going to the country—and I understood that they usually take their wives from Lhasa—would bring a retinue with her, and no doubt establish a centre of influence. But another, and even more potent, influence which Lhasa exercises on these tribes on the border of Tibet is by that power which in this country is by far the greatest of all, and that is the power of religion. I used sometimes when at Lhasa to visit the great temple there, and especially on the fifteenth of a Tibetan month, because the fifteenth, the day of the full moon, is the holiest day of the month. Visiting it, then, in the late afternoon, when the temple is thronged with worshippers, one could often see people from these outlying parts of Tibet. They worshipped at the same shrines as did the Tibetans of Lhasa, Shigatse, and the interior of Tibet, and they were in no way less devout—perhaps rather more so. In the East religion is a potent factor, and is closely interwoven with politics; in Tibet as much as in any Asiatic state.

I do not know whether it was Captain Kingdon Ward's fate to come to any suspension bridges. He showed us an example of an interesting rope bridge, and you do occasionally also meet with the remains of old iron suspension bridges, the origin of which affords an interesting problem. There are very few of them standing now; I have been over one myself, but very few of them are passable. Some have ascribed them to the Chinese, but the Tibetans put them down to a Tibetan lama who lived a few hundred years ago, and is said to have made 108 of these suspension bridges. One hundred and eight is a sacred number in Tibet. There ought to be 108 beads on a rosary; the Buddhist bible, known as the Kan-gyur, ought to be printed in 108 volumes, and the man or woman who is perfectly virtuous is expected to live for 108 years. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. ARCHIBALD ROSE: I believe that Captain Kingdon Ward and Lord Cawdor share the unique honour of having actually visited the country so graphically described, and so wonderfully illustrated, to-night. I can therefore offer no contribution to knowledge. But, as one of the little band of frontier workers and travellers to whom this stretch of the Tsangpo and Brahmaputra has so long been the *Ultima*

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Thule of our dreams, I offer a tribute of appreciation and thanks. This unknown stretch of country has been the theme of so many talks by the camp-fire in every part of Central Asia, has been such an inspiration and stimulus, that I find myself half sad to think that the job has actually been finished, yet very proud to think that it has been done in my own generation and by men like Ward and Bailey and Morshead, who have endured so much, and for so many years, in unravelling the secrets of that wild corner of Asia. I was fortunate enough to share with them the thrills of anticipation, and this story of the journey has fulfilled our best expectations. Our Chairman to-night, Sir Francis Younghusband, was the first to stir my own imagination in regard to the unknown stretches of Central Asia, and his travels and books have been a guiding light to us all. I am only glad to think that something still lies ahead for the next generation, and that the Po Tsangpo offers a new field of exploration. May I add just one word about our speaker. He has been so modest, and we have been so comfortably entertained, that we might imagine the journey through these gorges, these peaks and flowers, as one long romantic adventure. Those of us who have seen Captain Ward at work know something of the other side—the physical endurance, the courage and the patience, that have been expended in bringing the long years of effort to a successful conclusion. I see a number of Central Asian travellers here to-night, and I am confident that I speak for all in expressing to Captain Kingdon Ward our gratitude to him for enabling us to live over again, if only for an hour, something of the wonder of our old frontier life.

The CHAIRMAN, in closing, expressed his thanks to the lecturer for his most interesting lecture and beautiful slides, which had recalled so many memories to the minds of some of his hearers.

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A VISIT TO THE ANGLO-PERSIAN OIL-FIELDS*

By SQUADRON-LEADER A. R. C. COOPER

Before commencing on the more serious work of this evening, I want to destroy an illusion and disarm criticism. Mr. Webster, in his Dictionary, says "to lecture" means "to instruct"; I am not going to instruct you, but will merely try and describe to you a most interesting visit my chief (Group-Captain Board) and I paid to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's fields last year, and tell you a little of its wonderful organization in the quest of oil. In disarming criticism, I wish to point out that I claim no intimate knowledge of the recovery of oil, nor do I know anything of the financial side of the question.

The fields are situated some 160 miles north-east from the head of the Persian Gulf in a valley in the lower slopes of the Bakhtiari mountains. The headquarters and refinery are at Mohammerah and Abadan respectively, and the line of communication from there to the field is by the Karun river and across the desert. The whole country to the foothills some 100 miles north-east is alluvial desert and part of the great Mesopotamian plain. No made road exists across

* A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on Thursday, February 11, 1926, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., and a lecture delivered by Squadron-Leader A. R. C. Cooper (Royal Air Force) entitled "A Visit to the Anglo-Persian Oil-fields." In the absence of Lord Peel the chair was taken by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—In the absence of our Chairman, Lord Peel, it has fallen to my lot to take the chair this evening. Lord Peel, I see from to-day's *Times*—he is Commissioner of Works in our Cabinet—is appropriately occupied in inspecting the Parliament House in Bermudas; no doubt he will bring back hints for the reconstruction of our Parliament House here. I wish someone with more knowledge of the subject was in the chair; but I see not only the Lecturer but many others here who are able to speak upon it, and I hope they will take part in the discussion. The subject is "A Visit to the Anglo-Persian Oil-fields." The Lecturer is Squadron-Leader A. R. C. Cooper, who served for three years in the Air Force in Mesopotamia. He came home a year ago, and is now serving at home. He has a unique knowledge of the conditions of Mesopotamia and also of the oil-fields, and he proposes to illustrate the lecture with photographs which were entirely taken by himself. The photographs and the slides were prepared by the Royal Air Force Photographic Section at Baghdad.

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this plain; a track, merely following the line of least resistance, is used only for passenger traffic and for inspection of the pipe line which it follows.

The Karun river provides an easily navigable route to Ahwaz for paddle-steamers, where the rapids are met; these are circumvented by three miles of light railway, and then smaller paddle-steamers proceed to the river-head at Dar-i-Khazina. From here a 2-foot gauge railway transports light goods through the mountains to the fields, while the road takes the heavier traffic. This road is really a very fine feat of engineering. For the first sixteen miles the route is flat; then you wind through the foothills and begin to climb the range of mountains. Through these the engineers have constructed an excellent road; it is faced with stone the whole way, and is kept in repair by a skilled staff. It requires constant supervision; the surface suffers severely from the heavy lorries, and the melting snow in the spring does a greal deal of damage.

Approaching from the plains, the forbidding and inhospitable aspect of the mountain passes might have easily discouraged the early prospectors, who could, without undue pessimism, have quoted Dante's well-known line:

"All hope abandon ye who enter here."

Fortunately for the shareholders they did not.

The area at present upon which drilling operations are being worked is roughly fifteen miles by five, but other prospecting is being carried out much further afield.

The existence of oil had been known for hundreds (possibly thousands) of years, but it was not until 1908 that the first well was sunk and oil produced. The pipe line was laid in 1911. The oil is held in a blue limestone formation; contrary to general thought, it is not found in large underground reservoirs, but is retained in the porous rock itself. It is, of course, under enormous pressure, and this pressure forces the oil to the surface when the rock is tapped. All the drilling is by percussion, and derricks are erected to enable this to be carried out; three types of engine for the drilling are used—steam, electric, and internal combustion. The drills vary in size up to $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons in weight, and the pounding of this heavy weight at the rate of forty beats to the minute is deafening.

The bore-holes range in depth from 1,200 to 4,900 feet owing to the underground contour of the oil-bearing rock. The strata is beaten to powder by the drill working in water to a depth of 3 to 20 feet according to the nature of the ground; the drill is then removed, and a hollow piece of casting with a butterfly valve at the end is inserted. As this descends it fills with water and pulverized rock; on being raised the valve closes, allowing the waste to be lifted out and dumped.

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This process is repeated until the bore-hole is clear and drilling is resumed. A careful check of the depth is kept by the driller-in-charge, and when oil is expected the drill is frequently examined for any signs of it. The process between the point when oil under enormous pressure is struck and drilling ceases, the blocking of the bore and the sealing of the well-head fittings, is a highly technical and risky process which I am not competent to describe in detail.

One instance will serve to show what great care is necessary. The geologists periodically require a core from a bore-hole, and for this purpose a tool with short projecting teeth is fitted in place of the drill. This is rotated, and by a mechanical device these teeth are forced inwards until the core breaks off. We were shown one of these which had been rotated too rapidly; the teeth had been completely reversed internally, and the heat generated had welded the head into a solid mass of metal.

As the bore-hole sinks it is lined with casing to prevent it from falling in. These casings are let down piece by piece as the hole deepens, and are cemented in until the final bore-hole forms a solid tube for its whole length.

Contrary to expectation, you never see the oil which is being won in thousands of gallons daily. As soon as the oil is tapped the well is sealed until the well-head fittings have been placed in position. This done, the seals are broken, and the oil, forced up under its own pressure of about 150 pounds to the square inch, flows by gravity into the first storage tank, when part of the gas is run off and burnt; the residue then flows (again by gravity) through several control stations to the main storage tanks at the southern end of the fields. These tanks have a capacity of 2,000,000 gallons each; two are filling, two emptying, and one is in reserve. A very minute check is kept here, and the control station can tell at any moment exactly how much each tank contains. Each producing well is inspected twice daily; some of the wells have been producing for years with no attention other than this. One of the wells is historic; this is F. 7, which alone kept our navy supplied with oil during the whole war without once failing. It is the custom to raise your hat to it in acknowledgment of its service and as a tribute to its loyalty.

From the main storage tanks the oil runs to the first pumping-station, where it is boosted up to a pressure of 500 lbs. to the square inch, and forced across the mountains to the next station 40 miles away; this process is repeated at the other stations until the oil reaches the main storage tanks at Abadan. The average capacity of the pipe-line is one 10-inch and one 12-inch pipe. Each station and intermediate control point is in telephone communication with both Abadan and the fields, and an hourly report is made giving the amount of oil passed through. Ample precautions are taken to guard against

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a breakdown, and reserve storage tanks are at each pumping-station, to be brought into use in the event of a part of the pipe-line having to be closed down for repairs. The accepted axiom is that a regular supply to the refinery must be maintained at any cost.

We were given interesting comparative figures for the years 1912-13 and 1922-23. In the former a little under 83,000 tons of crude oil was won, while in the latter period the figure had increased to nearly 3,000,000.

The oil is held in the rock under great pressure, and in its discharge is heavily laden with gas. In the early days this was allowed to escape naturally, with resultant danger to the workmen; so much so that men who could not return to their huts by sundown had to remain where they were for the night, as the gas, being heavier than air, hung in the low-lying ground and formed an impassable barrier; several lives were lost in this way.

The burning off of part of the waste gas is a wonderful sight at night. I counted eleven flares burning at once within a radius of a few miles. Some of the flares were out of sight, and all you saw was the reflection on the rocks; others looked like tongues of flame belching from the ground, and those on the distant mountain-tops gave the impression of beacons for lost souls. They lit up the whole area, and showed up the rocky country in contrast and relief, and the scene would have given Gustave Doré a wonderful inspiration for an illustration to the "Inferno." It was an awe-inspiring sight.

The fields are on the route of the migrating birds escaping from the hot deserts further south, and the field manager told us that in the migrating season geese and duck could often be heard all night circling round this spot, attracted by the wide-spread area of light from these flares, and he had actually picked up in his own garden two geese so exhausted that they could fly no further.

During drilling operations all possible precautions are taken against danger from escaping gas, "No smoking" and "Danger—drilling in progress" notices meet you at every turn; all dangerous areas are enclosed with expanded metal 15 feet high; matches are taken from you by a Persian guard; all the bungalows are provided with gas-masks and safety-lamps. The smell of gas is a permanency in the fields; in some places it is worse than others, but you are never quite free from it; it brought back many unpleasant war memories, and at night it was difficult to refrain from instinctively reaching out to make sure your gas-mask was round your neck.

There is neither wood nor coal in the fields, so part of the waste gas is used for domestic purposes; it is laid on to all bungalows, and is used indiscriminately, without the necessity for a penny-in-the-slot machine.

Four pumping-stations convey the oil from field to refinery: the

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first at Tembe, at the southern end of the fields, and three others, roughly forty miles apart, at Mullasani, Kut Abdulla, and Dar-i-Quain. Each has its own engineer and staff, and the pumps are at work night and day. With so much oil and gas about the danger from fire is very great; as a precaution, jet sprinklers, steam nozzles, and enormous chemical extinguishers are installed at each station, any one of which, or all three, can be turned on at a moment's notice. Practically everything is duplicated to avoid any possibility of a check in the supply. Each department is isolated within a fenced enclosure, and smoking is prohibited.

Well-built and most thoroughly equipped hospitals have been established at the refinery at Abadan and in the fields; twenty doctors and fifteen nurses are employed, and a highly skilled surgeon is constantly operating. The hospital we were shown in the fields had a complete dental surgery and a most elaborate operating theatre. All treatment is given free, and we saw a dental plate being made for a Persian who had been without any teeth for many years; the surgeon laconically remarked that he had the greatest difficulty in making his patient understand that he was not to remove it when he wanted to eat. Segregation wards are maintained for the many unpleasant diseases the Oriental suffers from, and in these the several classes of natives are kept apart. It was a curious sight to see a black native, who is generally content to spend most of his days and nights in his only suit, lying in bed in a white nightshirt, with white sheets, tended by a white nurse. I was tempted to quote for him the anonymous poet: "Oh! mother, couldst thou but see me now!"

One of the facts that struck me most was the excellent sanitation. When it is realized that some 10,000 natives are employed in the fields alone, and that not one of these has even an elementary knowledge of the principles of sanitation, the danger from infectious and contagious diseases is very great. Owing to the strictest sanitary discipline and constant supervision and inspection by trained sanitary squads, both European and Persian, the incidence of disease has been small. One of the reasons for this is the abundance of incinerators for destroying garbage and refuse. Scattered all over the fields one finds lengths of 17-inch pipe casing, into one end of which the refuse is tipped, and at the other a very large jet of gas—another use for much of this commodity which is going to waste. Squads are employed in nothing else but this, and the incinerators are constantly at work, complete destruction of the rubbish taking about fifteen minutes. Again, there are frequent inspections by the medical people, and the sick parade each day is no light task.

The Company has a fleet of something like 600 vehicles working in the fields; nearly 115 miles of roads have been made, surfaced with stone in most cases and the arteries macadamized; and a transport

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section, with its workshops and inspectors, is most efficient. Ford cars are generally used for the journey through the mountains and desert to Abadan, owing to their power and lightness. We were told that the future policy is to replace all foreign makes with cars manufactured in England. I believe that to a very large extent this has now been done.

No commodity of any kind is produced in the fields; all food stuffs, wines, clothing, and other necessities ofmodern life have to be imported from Home or India, and brought up from the base by river, road, or rail. The stores in the fields would not disgrace any of our large wholesale stores in town. Something approaching 15,000 people have to be fed and clothed from these stores, so it may be imagined what quantity of stock has to be held. The prices were most reasonable in this out-of-the-way spot, and my chief caused no little heart-burning to our suppliers in Iraq by securing a price list from the Company's stores and comparing it with those charged to us in Baghdad. Fresh meat and vegetables are very rarely obtainable, but one heard little complaint of the monotony of subsisting on tinned foodstuffs. Anything within reason can be purchased, and the Company takes great trouble in this most important department.

All repairs to machinery are carried out in the Company's own workshops. These have been built on a very elaborate scale, and the most up-to-date machinery has been installed. Each ton of this, like everything else in the fields, has been imported from home, and carried from the base 160 miles away. In the carpenters' shop, where much of the furniture is made, we saw an interesting comparison between the methods of West and East: alongside a modern machine turning out table-legs by the dozen was an aged Persian carpenter using the identical paring tool we read of in the Bible. He told us that what was good enough for his father was good enough for him.

The 2-foot gauge railway plays an important part in the organization of the fields. On an average seven trains daily are run, carrying up 150 tons from the river-head at Dar-i-Khazina. It follows generally the bed of the Tembe river, and much care has to be taken to prevent washaways in the flood season. The Tembe river, and its tributary running through the fields, is of no advantage to the Company, as the water is too brackish; experiments have failed to purify it, so that all water has to be pumped forty miles. A new pumping-station was being erected at the northern end of the fields, and here we were shown an interesting example of practical economy. In order to carry the machinery for this station over a rocky and very steep range, it was proposed to construct a road costing many thousands of pounds, but the field manager, realizing that once the machinery was *in situ* there would be little necessity for the road, had designed and constructed a slide 2,200 feet in length, and at an angle of over 45 degrees, down the steepest

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part of the range into the valley below. This cost £900, and the Company saved some £7,000.

The Company owns its own fleet of sixty-two tankers, and has constructed modern wharves on the Shatt-el-Arab which would do credit to any port.

The average daily export from Abadan is approximately 3,000,000 gallons of crude oil, kerosene, and petrol.

In the subsidiary but very important services, the Company employs a highly skilled staff of chemists and geologists with their laboratories, and a very efficient body of police for internal control. A private wireless set has been set up on which the owner has heard Big Ben strike; this is but a beginning of the great benefits which will accrue to this isolated community from modern broadcasting. Recent scientific improvements in wireless have indeed proved a boon and blessing to men working some 160 miles from any form of civilization, and one can imagine the feelings of hundreds of young men from home, many from our Universities and Public Schools, listening to the Savoy band playing the latest dance music.

The main impressions left on us were expansion; wonderful organization; capacity for hard work under trying conditions; and an overpowering smell of oil and gas.

The romance of the fields has yet to be written. The discovery of the oil, the ramifications of its winning, and the colossal industry of some 30,000 people of all races in the inaccessible wastes of Southern Persia, would fill a most interesting volume. The heat of the eight-months summer ranges between 100 and 125 degrees in the shade; the loneliness of the life, the almost total lack of social intercourse, and the absence of most of the ordinary amenities of life make work a necessity as a relief from utter boredom. They do work.

Sir Louis Dane: Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Ladies and Gentlemen,—You have heard a most interesting account of the Anglo-Persian oil-fields, and you have also heard a very interesting story of how the field was discovered, from the Lecturer. I think I can perhaps carry the story a little further back than 1905. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company—I dare say a good many of you have seen it at Wembley—wrote a most interesting booklet on the same subject, and it is an astonishing thing to think that on the very verge of success, in 1908, orders had actually gone out from England to stop all the boring and to remove the plant, when the first big gusher came into flow—I think it was in May or June, 1908. That was an extraordinary piece of luck for us. The discovery of the Maidan-i-Naftun was also a bit of good fortune for the British nation. Lord Curzon, in the beginning of the century, was devoting all his great ability and wonderful industry to devising some method of maintaining our interests at the head of the Gulf; I happened

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to be at that time employed under him in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, and I had to saturate myself with all details connected with the Persian Gulf. In fact, we were actually compiling, from very inadequate materials, a gazetteer of the Gulf and surrounding countries which I believe, poor as it was, was of considerable use during the war. Well, in the course of working up these details, I came across in the accounts of old travellers, and also in the accounts of one or two more recent travellers, who had been sent to look about the country, references to the Maidan-i-Naftun, and the accounts that were given there struck me as being remarkably like the accounts of Baku. At the end of November, 1903, Lord Curzon, accompanied by the East Indian Squadron, made a tour to inspect our consular posts, political agencies, and stations in the Gulf. In the course of that tour we came to a place called Koweit, just at the head of the Gulf, on the western side, which was at one time considered a suitable harbour for the Baghdad railway. There was a wonderful Arab fantasia there, and we all had a very hard day, and in the evening my messenger came in to say there was a European wished to see me. It was rather an extraordinary thing to find a European there, because there were no Europeans anywhere near it. However, I naturally said, "Show him in." He brought in a Mr. Reynolds. I dare say a great many of you have heard of Mr. Reynolds, who was a great oil engineer and explorer: I am sorry to hear that he died last year in Spain. He is dead, Lord Curzon is dead; and I at the present moment am perhaps the only person who knows exactly what happened at Koweit in November, 1903. Mr. Reynolds said to me that he had been marooned at Koweit for some time, and he wanted to know if Lord Curzon would allow him to have a passage in one of the ships accompanying him across to Bushire, to catch the mail steamer for England. I said: "Why are you leaving?" He said, "Well, Mr. D'Arcy has spent a great deal of money, he is not prepared to spend any more; we have not found oil in payable quantities, and I must get home by this mail steamer." I said, "Have you ever heard of the Maidan-i-Naftun, the plain of naphtha?" He said no, he had never heard of such a place. I showed him where it was on the map, and said, "Why not go and have a look at it? You have three months' cold weather before you. It seems a thousand pities to turn up what may be an immense national benefit." At first he said, "I cannot go. I have no money; I have no caravan; I have no tools." I said, "If the Viceroy will engage to fit you out, will you go?" He said he would. I saw Lord Curzon, and Lord Curzon said he was afraid Mr. D'Arcy had lost his money, but it was worth while helping him. We made Mr. Reynolds over to the Resident in the Gulf, who gave him such assistance as he required. He went up to the Maidan-i-Naftun neighbourhood. The report he brought home in February, 1904, very much interested the

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Admiralty, and much interested the Government at home through the Admiralty; and eventually I believe it led to the formation of the syndicate with Lord Strathcona and the Burma Oil Company: and that was the beginning of the exploitation that led to the finding of the first well, as I have told you, in June, 1908. It was a curious case and shows, as often happens with the British nation, that our luck helped us, in the matter of the finding of this oil, throughout. If Mr. Reynolds had left Persia at that time, and operations had been stopped, I have reason to believe that the whole of the concessions to Mr. D'Arcy over southern Persia would have lapsed, and we should never have got them back again, because shortly after that period the Persian Government were not so favourably disposed towards us.

Another point of luck occurred in 1906-7. The relations of the Company with the tribesmen have been wonderfully good, but at this period there was trouble with the Bakhtiaris. A telegram from Mr. Reynolds reached India to the effect that this tribe had come down and wounded a driller, and that, unless protection was afforded, the men were about to leave, and this was a pity as prospects were good. On the same day we heard that a fresh consular guard of twenty-five sowars had reached our new consular post at Ahwaz, and Lord Minto agreed that the old guard should be sent up to the oil-fields instead of coming to India at once. They got there within a couple of days of the attack, and the effect was magical, so that all quieted down.

The British Government were very fortunate in getting a strong British Company like the Burma Company to take up the matter. The Burma Oil Company were exceedingly fortunate in being able to depute on their behalf, as manager, Sir Charles Greenway; for there is no doubt whatever that Sir Charles Greenway's energy and perseverance have had a good deal to do with the success that has been attained in the Anglo-Persian oil-field. I am afraid I have bored you, but one never knows how long one may live, and I thought it just as well, before you left the room, that you should hear what was, I believe, the actual origin of the finding of the Maidan-i-Naftun. (Applause.)

Captain ANTHONY EDEN, M.P.: Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think it a great privilege to have been invited to listen to a lecture which, in common I am sure with every other person in the room, I found both interesting and instructive. We owe very grateful thanks for such a vivid and realistic account. It has served for those of us who have been to the fields as a stimulus to our memories, while for those who have not been it has created a picture which I am sure they will long remember. The Lecturer, very wisely I think, laid some stress upon the work which the Anglo-Persian Oil Company has done by means of its hospitals for the people of South-Western Persia. It is one of the Company's most remarkable achievements, and has contributed to the excellent relations that have been established and

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maintained between the Company and the inhabitants of that region. It is not too much to say that the Company is not only a great business enterprise, but a great humanitarian agency in South-Western Persia (Hear, hear), and I do not think there is any Britisher who can go and see those fields who will not come back with a sense of pride that it is people of our race who have had the courage, the initiative, the energy, and the staying power to build up what is perhaps one of the greatest monuments of British industry on the whole face of the world. We are being told in these days by the voice of authority and by the voice of the postmarks on our letters every morning to buy British goods. Well, if that is the standard of achievement, we owe a great debt to those who have made it possible not only for us to buy British petrol, but for a very large measure of employment to be given directly and indirectly, through manufacture of appliances and stores of every kind, to many tens of thousands of British workmen. I hope this Company will long continue, as in the past, to prove not only a great commercial link with the Middle East, but also a link of friendship between this country and Persia. (Applause.)

Sir HARRY BRITTAIN, M.P.: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like to associate myself with other speakers, more particularly with my colleague, Captain Eden, in thanking the Lecturer very sincerely for a most interesting address. I had the privilege of visiting the fields Muhammerah and Abadan a few weeks ago, and I also had the privilege of coming home with my next-door neighbour, Group Captain Board, who accompanied the Lecturer on this very tour. I should like to repeat what I have said on more than one occasion since my return from a tour of 35,000 miles round the British Empire, that this is not only the finest oil-field that I have seen, but that it is absolutely beyond all praise from the point of view of organization. You ladies and gentlemen have seen on the screen something of the God-forsaken land in which these men work, and if you hear anyone talking, as some people do, about the decadence of the British Empire, suggest that if they want a tonic they should get out to Southern Persia, and see what Englishmen and Scots in co-operation can do together. Just one little point as far as the Lecturer is concerned, if I may cavil at a statement made in the very last sentence. I admit that all those I met in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company—and more hospitable hosts one could not wish to meet—work, and work hard. But I do not think it is right to say they have nothing else to do and no relaxation. When I arrived on Christmas Day there was a very first-class race meeting taking place. I happened incidentally to spot a winner, but I was filled with admiration that people in this appalling-looking region had the pluck and energy to get up what was really a first-class show. I found in my tour round this district everything in the way of tennis, polo, athletics, even to a regatta on the miserable little pond you saw

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by the first pumping-station, carried out by those who are responsible for the health of their people. I must also wholeheartedly agree with what has been said as to the progress of this great concern, in which the British Government has got one of the finest investments it ever made. There has been more than one attempt made by others to try and get this great concern out of British hands, and it was owing to the John Bull tenacity of the chairman—and his appearance will show you that he is of the John Bull type—that it is still under the Union Jack. (Applause.)

Sir CHARLES GREENWAY: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I did not come here prepared to make a speech, or even knowing what the subject of the lecture was to be. It has been extremely interesting to me to hear the lecture that has just been delivered because it brings back to my mind very forcibly the experiences I went through in 1910 and 1911, when the conditions of life were ten times less civilized than they are to-day. I would also like to express the very great pleasure I have in hearing the remarks made by Sir Louis Dane, and I can confirm to a very great extent his statement of what happened. From what the lecturer told you, you will have gathered that the Anglo-Persian Company is a wonderful institution. I do not, however, think I am entitled to claim the credit that has been attached to me in regard to it, but at the same time I am very proud indeed to have taken the part that I have done in the development of such a very important asset of the British nation. (Applause.)

Admiral RICHMOND: I think everything I had to say has been said by the people who have spoken already. But there is one point I should like to mention: it is that this great concern, the Anglo-Persian, must not be looked upon as a purely business proposition. It is of the greatest national importance. I would particularly ask people to look at it from the national point of view—not only as giving work at home, but from the point of view of imperial defence it is a matter upon which too much importance cannot be laid. The only other thing I should like to add is that when I was in Abadan last, nothing struck me more than the very great care that was taken by the Company to look after all their employees; I think it is a very satisfactory thing, for anyone who has friends or relations out there, to feel that every effort is made by the Company to make their people comfortable in every way. It is a beastly place in itself. But everything done is truly on a lavish scale, showing that the Company have the interests of their employees at heart, and are not afraid to spend money on making them comfortable. (Applause.)

Wing-Commander W. T. WYNN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think all we have heard to-night will leave no doubt in our minds as to the importance of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. It constitutes the nucleus of our responsibilities in that part of the world

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including Iraq. We have been hearing a good deal about Iraq lately, not exactly to its advantage, but we should think of Iraq as a missing link that had been missing for a good many hundred years between Europe and that part of the Middle East. I believe I am right in saying that one of the motives underlying the First Crusade was to try and reopen communications between Europe and the East, that had been closed as the result of the Turkish invasion. Well, that communication had been closed until the end of the last war and, as I said before, Iraq is a missing link between Europe and India, and if we think of the Anglo-Persian oil-fields, and all they mean to the British Empire, we ought to interest ourselves in keeping that link of communication open. (Applause.)

Mr. J. M. WILSON: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am deeply indebted to Squadron-Leader Cooper for his lecture this evening. It has revived very pleasant memories.

About three months ago, just prior to my final departure from Iraq, I paid a visit to the oil-fields. In spite of the fact that I had been almost ten years in Iraq, it was my first visit. I was immensely impressed by the engineering organization of the Company. I realize quite fully, I think, the difficulties which an engineer has to face in that part of the world, and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company has undoubtedly accomplished an engineering triumph.

I went as a tourist and I was personally conducted round the fields by Mr. Wright, the Fields' Manager, who took a keen delight in showing me all the details of the work.

The very wasteful consumption of the natural gas, which has been mentioned this evening, is, so I was informed, very shortly to be avoided. It is to be reduced into some medium and transported to the refineries. This will prove a very great saving. I noticed a peculiar thing in connection with this gas: it is used for firing furnaces at a pressure of about 350 lbs. per square inch to generate steam at 120 lbs. This is a very technical point, and of course steam is being rapidly supplanted by electricity.

I may say that the whole engineering organization so impressed me that on my return to Muhammerah I wrote to my old Ministry, the Ministry of Communications and Works, and suggested that no Iraqi should be considered qualified to hold the post of Minister, particularly Minister of Communications and Works, until he has seen, and to a certain extent studied, the Anglo-Persian oil-fields.

A MEMBER: May I ask two quite short questions of the Lecturer in connection with the weather—Have you found any tendency to an increase of rainfall in that part of the world?

The LECTURER: I am afraid I cannot answer that question; I was only in the fields about ten days in February.

The MEMBER: It is not just idle curiosity; I have been for some

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time working out a theory which I put to Sir Aurel Stein some years ago that there is a tendency now to increase of rainfall right across the desert area. If that should come it means a tremendous thing to the whole of that part of the world. We saw that they had been flooded out on the Syrian desert quite a short time ago, and a recent lecturer on Morocco suggested there was an increase of water in the Sahara. I do not know whether you could give any information on that point.

The LECTURER: I am afraid I cannot.

Sir JOHN CADMAN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—May I add my tribute to the Lecturer for a very interesting account of a very difficult subject, and to have done it after a visit of ten days shows no mean talent for the collection of material. I should like to refer to two points of more or less technical character. Although it has been said that a certain amount of luck attended the early development of this field, I am perfectly sure that no one will go away from this room to-night thinking that the development which we have heard of is merely a matter of luck. Imagine for one moment the engineering feat that has been accomplished in harnessing the forces which have been found in this great Maidan-i-Naftun plain. Imagine a boiler some fifteen miles long, as the Lecturer said, and five miles across, containing pressure at one stage 800 lbs. to the square inch, into which a number of these snaky-looking holes are punctured—and if the Lecturer were back in Persia to-day he would see no oil and smell no gas. Imagine, too, the quantity of oil which is moving out of that field, something like 13,000 to 15,000 tons a day. To have harnessed an oil-field in that manner is no small engineering feat. Anyone who has visited oil-fields in different parts of the world, mostly controlled and carried on by foreigners, will have been struck by the dirty, slovenly appearance of the spot from which the oil is obtained. You do not see that in the Persian field. You see no oil and, as I say, you smell no gas. All you see or hear is a busy hive of industry, and this great volume of oil is belching forth down to the refineries at Abadan. There is a tremendous amount of work going on which cannot possibly come to light. I will give two instances. It has been a very difficult problem to keep a pipe from corrosion on a desert. The salts of the desert are continually attacking the metal of the pipe, and all kinds of material have been tried to coat the pipe and to prevent this corrosion. But by the application of proper scientific thought a very simple method was arranged. It was found that by cutting out a trench in which the pipe was buried, and having it open during the rainy part of the year—and for this particular purpose I hope the rainfall may increase (laughter)—the rain washed the ground during that period and removed the salt from the soil. This done, the soil is put back on the top of the pipe. Not only is corrosion prevented, but along the pipe line there grows a quite reasonable vegetation. One other phase of the

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oil-field I wish to speak of, and that is the human side. It is the conversion of a fairly crude material in the form of the Persian labourer into the skilled artisan. The schools which the Company have set up have introduced a method which would be difficult to introduce into this country, I will admit; but the pay of a workman is dependent upon his capacity to pass a test, and the schools are so developed that a man passes into the school and back to the works, and by that means he can only get his increase of pay by increase of efficiency. The operations, such as boiler work, done by what appear to be quite crude natives would astonish a Scotch dockyard skilled workman. It is remarkable how these people can be got to work by proper training. It is all done by carefully thought out plan. There is no luck in producing these things. It is a carefully studied piece of work, and I was very glad to hear the reference made to Sir Charles, because his capacity for stimulating activity amongst those who work with him is stupendous.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure you will all wish me to thank the Lecturer again on your behalf for the very technical lecture he has given us, and the very excellent photographs and slides which have illustrated it. After what we have heard from him and from those gentlemen who have joined in the discussion I have no doubt many of us will want to go on a joy ride to this delightful spot of Maidan-i-Naftun. (Laughter.) We have seen that several Members of Parliament, who have all the world to choose from, select this spot for their cold-weather pilgrimage; also gentlemen from Baghdad, when they want a week-end holiday, go to Maidan-i-Naftun. When they go there they find excellent shows going on, races where they can back a winner—a thing we have found difficult in our own country—and in fact the amenities of civilization in such abundance that in a year or two Maidan-i-Naftun will draw people like Algiers or Egypt. We are all proud of this great outpost of civilization in the East; nothing greater has been done; it has all been done by private enterprise. As the Admiralty has told us, it is a factor, and a most important factor, in our scheme of imperial defence. We also realize that it is a great factor in the future of our trade with the East, and, not least of all, it is a great factor in the spread of British civilization and British ideas in the Middle East. On all these grounds I think we have several reasons to be proud of the work that has been done in the Anglo-Persian oil-fields, and we are deeply grateful to the Lecturer this evening for having given us such an admirable description of that great work. (Applause.)

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MOSUL

By F. W. CHARDIN.

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution on January 14, when Mr. Chardin gave an illustrated lecture on the town and *vilayet* of Mosul, Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn in the Chair.

Mr. Chardin pointed out that the name "Mosul" was derived from the Arabic "Al-Mausil," and signified a junction, for this place was the natural junction of two important trade routes of the Middle East. The town itself, adjoining the Nineveh of the Assyrian Empire, in those days a great and flourishing city, is still a place of considerable importance, as it is the emporium for a wide area. The *vilayet* of Mosul is divided into two parts by the River Tigris; on the west side are rolling plains and an Arab population, to the east the foothills and mountain ranges of Kurdistan. In Mosul all the races of Mesopotamia meet together—Arabs, of whom there are roughly 166,940, Kurds (494,000), Turcomans (38,000), Christians (61,330), Jews (11,890), Yezidis (26,000). These figures do not include the Christian refugees, numbering about 11,000, who have recently fled into the town and *vilayet*. There are other small elements in the population on the plains to the east of the Tigris—Shebbakis, Badjwan, and Sarlis. For the most part the various nationalities keep their own habits and characteristics, though the Turcomans, who are probably of Seljuk descent, have adopted the Arab dress. The Christians, who are of the ancient Eastern sects, Nestorian, Jacobite, Chaldæan and Syrian Uniats, are, on the whole, able, industrious, and enterprising, and a great part of the industries are in their hands. The climate of the region varies between extreme heat in summer and a considerable degree of cold in winter, but the autumn and spring are very pleasant. The fertile soil gives good crops—rice and vegetables near the river, tobacco, cotton, and fruit in the hill country, and wheat and barley on the plains. The minerals are good, and there is probably oil to be found. There is also plenty of good shooting to be had.

The lecturer then gave slides showing the town of Mosul, and sketched briefly the problems of the present and the future, the need of public security, the difficulty of finding sufficient labour for development—for the population is scanty—the need of good communications and of a railway, and he spoke of what might be expected from general favourable conditions. Finally, he ended his lecture by giving reasons

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why England should hold to her obligations, and why Mosul should remain part of the Iraq kingdom.

Sir ARNOLD WILSON, who followed, said: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—With the last sentence of our lecturer's remarks, that our honour requires that we should remain in Mosul, I fancy there are few who will disagree. I notice that Lord Lamington has unfortunately left us, or perhaps we might have expected something on the opposite side from him. I hope I shall not be regarded as taking up too much of your time if I offer a few observations on that point myself. Our lecturer mentioned the Christian Churches of Mosul; he did not mention the tablet that has been erected there to the memory of twenty British officials of the Political Department who were killed on that frontier during four years. There might have been another monument, and I hope there will be some day, to the thousand or more British and Indian soldiers who lost their lives in the capture and occupation of Mosul and its *vilayet*. We ought not to forget them. All we have left now in the Mosul *vilayet* are our honour and the international obligations we have assumed. We are not there for what we can get out of it. It is very difficult to foresee what the present Turkish Ministry will do at any given moment; but of one thing I am perfectly certain, that but for the tactics of the Beaverbrook press in this country the Turks would long ago have accepted the inevitable, and would have realized that the British Government meant what it said. (Applause.) The longer I live the more I am convinced that our avowed enemies do us very little harm. It is we who cause our own damnation and seek our own downfall by a lack of unity and by a passion for self-depreciation and self-examination which, whilst very suitable for a private individual in the conduct of his domestic business, is less satisfactory when applied to international politics. (Applause.) We are not in Mosul for oil, and I do not think it is unfair to say we never have been. One only has to look at the map to realize that oil is not, and never was, the prime factor in our view of Mesopotamia. I do not say that other countries have never cast envious eyes on the oil-fields of Mosul, but the British Government knows more about these things than most, and has at no time held these views. Wretched as the Government is, according to some newspapers, it is still the best in the world, and better qualified than any other Government I know of to express a reasoned and sound opinion on a matter of this sort, more particularly with regard to its strategical aspects. If there is oil in Mesopotamia it will inure to the benefit of the Iraq Government and we hope that Government will derive a revenue from it. But I am convinced that the principal riches of Iraq will be always agricultural, derived from the industry of its own people and the wealth of its own lands and rivers. There is no question whatever, to my mind, that we should remain in Mosul.

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I was convinced of that some months before the occupation, and have never changed my views. We have to regard our position there as that of trustees, not merely for the Arab nation who live there, but for Europe, and, indeed, for all those nations of Europe and Asia who accept our ideas of civilization and do not agree with those of Russia. The real problem to-day is the division of the world into two great camps: those who come under the influence of Russia, and those who remain outside the influence of Russia. The Russians may or may not succeed in converting willingly other nations to their point of view. I think myself it is doubtful whether they will effect any further conversions. Of one thing I am quite sure, that the European nations, and those great nations of the East, Japan, China, Persia, India and Arabia, are far too firmly attached to the individualistic ideal, to the rights of property and the right of an individual to his own religion and his own way of life, to accept Bolshevism or the system of the Soviet republics willingly. But unless we remain in Mesopotamia we shall have no means of preventing the extension southwards of the Soviet Socialist system of republics. The U.S.S.R. are not without influence in Turkey. They are strategically in a strong position in Persia, although the Persian Government is most decidedly not under their influence. The Arabs have had a civilization always highly individualistic. They have never been able to form an empire yet for any length of time, because they have always split up into small groups. Iraq is by far the most successful of all the Arab empires of the present day; there is more unity in Iraq than I have seen in any other part of Arabia. I visited it a few weeks ago, and was astonished at the degree of unity which the country had attained. The old divisions between Sunni and Shia, Kurd and Arab, Arab and Persian, are beginning to fade. The Iraqi is beginning to regard himself as a member of a nation, rather than of a town or a tribe. King Faisul has done extraordinarily well; he has helped greatly to unite the Iraqis and make them sink petty differences and religious differences. He is well qualified to do so, and it is our bounden duty to see the work through to which we set our hand, not in 1920 or 1918, but in 1917, when we captured Baghdad. General Maude's proclamation has not been forgotten. The Iraqis will regard us in twenty-five years' time more favourably than they regard us now, just as they regard us far more favourably now than six years ago. Our honour and interests alike demand that we should remain in Iraq, and the League of Nations, to whom we have committed ourselves, would receive the severest blow that I can possibly imagine if we failed to-day to give effect to the undertakings which we have formally made *vis-à-vis* that body. (Applause.)

In conclusion Major Bovill showed slides of the Mosul frontier which had been kindly lent by the Air Ministry, and the meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

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COLONEL LAWRENCE'S MANUSCRIPT

COLONEL LAWRENCE'S book is an unknown quantity, and he apparently desires that it should remain so. By the courtesy of Dr. Cowley, Bodley's Librarian, I have been enabled to read this extraordinarily interesting work. The book is in manuscript, containing about 420 pages, which are divided into ten books comprising 139 chapters. The first nine chapters form the introduction, and there is an epilogue to finish up with. It would appear that Colonel Lawrence wrote his book first of all for publication but afterwards changed his mind, and throughout the manuscript changed the present into the past tense as though to write for the future. He made, when handing over the book to Dr. Cowley, the stipulation that no extracts were to be made from it, and that none of it was to be published; but that it might be read. It was to remain locked up, and in the Librarian's personal charge. In commenting, therefore, upon the book, a proper interpretation of these conditions operates at present against any proper account of it being written, and only a general description can of necessity be embarked upon. In course of time the conditions may lapse, but by then, perhaps, interest in the book may have passed away.

In the December number of *Blackwood*, Edmund Candler wrote a laudatory and most interesting article about the book. From his description it might be inferred that he read it at the Bodleian. But I am confidently informed that this was not the case. Apparently, therefore, he read another copy, which I gather is in the hands of a famous "Arabian" who was associated with Colonel Lawrence in the Arab campaign of 1917-1918. As the writer in *Blackwood* quoted extensively from the text, it appears that he was not bound by the conditions placed upon reading the Bodleian copy.

In the early part of the book, Arab history, conditions, and aspirations are discussed by a master, whose knowledge of everything pertaining to the Arabs is profound. He writes with all the sensitiveness and understanding of an enthusiastic sympathizer against Turkish misrule, and his championship of those whom he learnt to love explains the affection and respect in which they held him, and the power which he undoubtedly exercised over them. His knowledge of their language, customs, and religion, and his sympathy, were the twin rocks upon which he stood. Lawrence shows himself to have been unused to and to dislike forms and ceremony, and in this he is completely at one with the democratic Arab. He shows himself, perhaps, rather too impatient

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with regard to those with whom he worked, who had, of course, generally to observe these restrictions upon freedom of action. Warfare against the Turks could not possibly be waged by an army of freebooters alone. But he speaks with gratitude and with understanding of many who laboured with him to make the Arab movement in the Hejaz a most valuable asset for the Allied cause during the Great War. It is common knowledge that he seldom saw eye to eye with those responsible for the campaign in Palestine, and in his book Lawrence does not hesitate to enlarge upon this. It may, indeed, explain his desire that the book be not published. It is so interestingly and excellently written, and in such epic terms, that it could not but create a considerable sensation if published; but before publication it would need to be pruned, and in this process much that is interesting and enlightening would have to go.

After the somewhat lengthy introduction, the remainder of the book deals with Lawrence's and the Arabs' part in the Palestine and Hejaz campaign.

Whether he was right in his ideas as regards the elasticity of the methods of conducting the campaign so far as the Arabs were concerned, it is difficult to say. He suggests that, if the Arabs in Mesopotamia had been handled properly, they would have been actively friendly for us against the Turks and would have duplicated those activities in Palestine and Syria which contributed so greatly to the general overthrow of Turkish rule. But the Arab of the Marshes in Mesopotamia is an entirely different person from the Arab of the Hejaz, Transjordania, and Yemen. And it must be remembered that the greatest cruelties inflicted upon the capitulated garrison of Kut were done by Arab troops. The Turks were themselves guilty of negligence and unconcern rather than of active cruelty. For the rest, the Mesopotamian Arab was a vulture who plundered and practised his native cruelty upon British, Indian, and Turk indifferently.

Much of the book is given up to descriptions of the captures of various Hejaz towns and garrisons, destructions of railways and trains, and all the other methods by which Turkish rule in the Hejaz was early made impossible. It can be contested that it is easy enough to blow up a train and beleaguer a small garrison. This may be so. But the descriptions of these deeds as written by Lawrence make them most interesting reading and portray a picture of movement and action which it is impossible not to read with avidity. The way in which many stirring incidents are described is vivid in the extreme. There is no doubt that the cumulative effect of these pinpricks was considerable, and that they helped materially to weaken Turkish morale and resistance. Now and again the author is too prolix, and he enters too much into unnecessary detail. He is introspective, sometimes almost to the point of weariness, but his book is a human document, of interest both

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as a psychological study and as a historical record. There is unfortunately throughout the work a general absence of dates, which is sometimes a disadvantage.

Colonel Lawrence, although a student rather than a soldier, evidently possesses a very thorough knowledge of military history. He disclaims being considered a soldier, and yet his military descriptions are in themselves professional. Besides showing himself to have been an irregular leader of the highest order, Lawrence in his book proves himself to have been no mean diplomat. It is well known that our allies did not wholly approve of our methods with regard to the Arabs. The political aspect with them often predominated over military necessity, and their alarm at and distrust of our intentions often tended to add to Lawrence's difficulties. As he himself might have said, if each man wrote his own despatches, rewards would be extremely numerous. But he describes unaffectedly the way in which he met intrigue. It was simple and convincing. There was intrigue also on the Arab side, and the manner in which Lawrence led his irregular but united army into Damascus is sufficient evidence, for those who know the Arab, of diplomatic ability beyond the average.

It is not generally known that for some time Lawrence was in effect a prisoner at Deraa, whither he went himself to spy out the land. His identity was unknown, but he suffered a brutal flogging at the orders of a Turkish Bey for reasons which it is unnecessary to enlarge upon. From his treatment on this occasion he took long to recover. One of the most amazing things about Lawrence's conduct of his campaign was that his enthusiasm remained undimmed by hardship and ill-health and that his sufferings must at times have been intense. To appreciate fully what he did, this fact also must be appreciated: After he was instrumental in blowing up Jemal Pasha's train a price of £20,000 was offered by the Turks for him as a live captive, and £10,000 as a dead one. As the usual price for a British officer paid by the Turks was £100, one can gauge what an instrument they considered that he was against them.

Of the strategy in the Arab campaign there may be two opinions. Lawrence was in favour of allowing the Turks to retain their posts, scattered and difficult to provision as they were, for as long as they could. He favoured a national rebellion rather than isolated military action. Military ideas were, perhaps naturally, against this, but it is questionable whether the speedy capture of all the Turkish forces in the Hejaz would not probably have rendered Arab enthusiasm a little weaker before the final advance to Damascus took place. There is no value in flogging a dead horse, and to discuss such controversies is useful only for students of strategy in war. But this at least may be said, that the Arab is not in our sense of the word a soldier. Defeat depresses him, and one definite military victory against him might

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have rendered him sullenly defiant instead of actively hostile to the Turks.

Lawrence was among the first to enter Damascus in 1918. He found the town in a state of indescribable confusion. The Turks left no rule or order behind them, and a temporary system of government for the place had to be improvised. The number of Turkish wounded and sick made part of the town a shambles, and the author describes in detail the steps taken to avert the danger of pestilence. Doubtless much more was done than he describes, but he undoubtedly took the first steps to reduce municipal order out of chaos while the military command were directing their energies towards reorganization and further advance of the army.

Lawrence must for all time, despite his critics, go down to history as a very considerable factor in the defeat of the Turks in Palestine and Syria during the Great War. His book as a record of his achievements will also go down to history, and it is much to be regretted that he has decided not to publish it, and has placed such restrictions as he has done upon the use of it.

A perusal of this book makes the reader feel that Mr. Lowell Thomas's eulogy was not overdrawn.

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REVIEWS

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE CHINESE REPUBLIC. By H. G. Woodhead. London: Hurst and Blackett. 15s.

Mr. Woodhead has written a useful book. At a time when Senator Borah and other American politicians and many American missionaries are encouraging hot-headed youths in China to think that all their troubles are due to unequal treaties and foreign interference, it is important that the other side of the case should be presented; and Mr. Woodhead, as an experienced journalist with long knowledge of China, presents it very effectively. His descriptions of the present condition of the railways, and of the country generally, appear to be in no way exaggerated.

The chapter about extraterritoriality is particularly valuable. In the conditions now existing in China, some transitional arrangement of the nature suggested by Mr. Woodhead will have to be introduced before British subjects can be left to the mercies of Chinese courts in criminal cases; though, personally, I think that every foreigner residing in China may fairly be asked to make some reasonable contribution to the revenue of the country.

The case against any sudden abolition of extraterritoriality is even stronger than Mr. Woodhead has made it. He says that, in Chinese law, the punishment for manslaughter is strangulation It should have been added that manslaughter in Chinese eyes includes what we should call justifiable homicide. The Chinese Criminal Code—the Ta Ching Lu Li—is, in some respects, a very remarkable work; but the law of homicide was flagrantly unjust, and the full measure of its injustice has been overlooked by some foreign writers. In an Imperial Edict, which was communicated in 1822 to the servants of the East India Company, it was said to be "the fixed law of the Celestial Empire that, in fighting with each other, whoever kills a man shall be sentenced to forfeit his life, without at all regarding whether he moved his hand first or last." This edict appears to describe quite correctly Chinese law, as set forth in the Ta Ching Lu Li. The right of self-defence was, in fact, not recognized.

I do not know how the matter has been dealt with in the Code which has been recently drafted in Peking, but the law above stated is deeply ingrained in the Chinese mind, and it is the law that we must expect will be administered by Chinese courts in the interior of the country. Causing death by accident was, by Chinese law, punishable with a fine; but from cases that occurred at Canton, before extraterritoriality was conceded, it is clear that a plea of accident would be very sparingly admitted. In a country full of badly-paid and badly-disciplined soldiers, affrays are precisely the cases in which foreigners are liable to be involved, however well conducted they may be.

It is also important to note that extraterritoriality, except in homicide cases, was voluntarily conceded by the Chinese themselves. In an Imperial Edict, issued in 1808, this was stated very clearly. "In all cases," it was said, "of offences by contrivance, design, or in affrays happening between foreigners and natives, whereby such foreigners are liable, according to law, to suffer death by being strangled," the magistrate of the district was to enquire into the case, and report his finding to the Governor or Deputy-Governor for confirmation; and if

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the finding was confirmed, he was to take the offender to execution in conjunction with the chief of the nation concerned. "In all other instances," it wa said, "of offences committed under what the law declares to be palliating circumstances, the offender shall be sent away to be punished by his countrymen in his own country."

I think, however, that the title of the book claims too much, and that Mr. Woodhead has not told the whole truth about China under the Republic. The picture painted is too black. I am unable to say how far the account of the progress of education in the past decade, which was given by a special correspondent of the *Observer* of January 3, is strictly accurate; but I think it may be accepted that considerable progress has been made, and Mr. Woodhead makes no reference to this. In at least two matters also, which are within my knowledge, the Chinese, since 1911, have displayed considerable administrative capacity. Mr. Woodhead says that the Salt Revenue in China was placed under foreign supervision after the conclusion of the Reorganization Loan of 1913. This statement is only partially correct. It was provided in the Loan Agreement that the taxes on salt were to be collected by District Inspectorates, established in the producing districts, and that the revenue collected was to be lodged in the foreign banks which provided the loan or in depositories approved by those banks. The District Inspectorates were in charge of a Chinese District Inspector and a Foreign District Inspector, and were subordinate to a Chief Inspectorate, which was to be established in the Chinese Salt Administration at Peking. This also was to be in charge of a Chinese Chief Inspector and a Foreign Chief Inspector: but the Loan Agreement left it open to the Chinese Government to adopt any system of Salt Revenue administration it might think proper. The bulk of the Chinese Salt Revenue in 1913 was derived from taxes, levied at the time of sale in the districts of consumption, on salt transported by direct Government agency or by privileged monopolists, and it was the declared policy of the Chinese to extend this system. This policy was so far recognized in the Loan Agreement that 7,000,000 dollars were provided as capital for the purchase and transportation of salt, and 5,000,000 dollars for advances to salt merchants. The District Inspectors in the producing districts could not collect revenue in the consuming districts, and the provisions of the Loan Agreement, drastic though they were in some respects, did not fit the facts. The result was a deadlock, and for some months nothing was done. The Chinese were pressed by the Bankers and by the Ministers of the Powers concerned to give effect to the Agreement; and I succeeded in persuading them to discard the system of Government transportation, which was unsuited to China, and to collect the greater part of their Salt Revenue through the District Inspectorates by a single direct duty onsalt when removed from the salt works or from depots, established at suitable places for the convenience of traders. In the District Inspectorates, which at no time exceeded thirteen in number, the Foreign District Inspector was the only foreigner employed, though foreigners rendered very valuable assistance in connection with the weighment and issue of salt; and some foreigners were necessarily employed in the Chief Inspectorate, where the volume of correspondence and accounts was enormous. The Chinese Chief Inspector was also the Head of the Central Salt Administration, and the Foreign Chief Inspector acted as Adviser of the Administration. All administrative measures, agreed upon by my Chinese colleagues and myself, which did not fall within the scope of the duties of the District Inspectorates, were carried through by the Central Salt Administration, which conducted all correspondence with the Salt Commissioners and with the Provincial Governments which had formerly controlled salt administration.

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It was strenuous work, but in two years an efficient administration, on the new lines, was substituted for the administration formerly conducted by the Provincial Governments in every province of China, except Kwangsi, and a net revenue of 69,000,000 dollars was paid into the foreign banks in 1915. The administration was imperialized as well as reorganized. The total number of foreigners employed in connection with the reorganization was about forty. Nearly all of them did excellent work, but to ascribe to the foreigners the whole credit for what was done is most unfair to the Chinese, and also to the foreigners employed, as it makes them responsible for abuses they were powerless to prevent. Wealthy and influential holders of monopolies for the sale of salt were allowed to make large and unnecessary increases to the sale prices, which more than recompensed them for the increase of taxation imposed by the Government, and the poor consumers of salt suffered. If these monopolies could have been abolished, the Government would have got more revenue, and the people would have got better and cheaper salt; but this reform was found to be impracticable.

The system of collection was good, and cases of defalcation and embezzlement were very rare. In a few cases Chinese members of the staff were involved in cases in the courts; and what I saw of the working of these courts certainly did not impress me favourably.

Owing to the loss of authority of the Central Government, the fabric is collapsing, and the provincial and military authorities are appropriating the revenue; but even in 1925 the Central Government received from salt the substantial revenue of 32,000,000 dollars.

In India it was decided by the Government, after full enquiry, that the salt administration of the whole country could not be conducted by one office. The reorganization, notwithstanding its defects, was, therefore, a remarkable administrative achievement.

The suppression of poppy cultivation throughout China, except in outlying localities, occupied by Lolos and other tribesmen, was also a noteworthy administrative achievement. Personally, I think the driving-power behind the campaign of prohibition was the desire to get rid of foreign opium. But, whatever may have been the motive, the results were amazing. Recalcitrant farmers who tried to prevent the destruction of their crops were freely shot, and, for a time, poppy cultivation practically ceased to exist. When, early in 1915, I passed through Yunnan, (where opium was produced in large quantities before opium from Bengal reached Canton), and Szechuan, where opium was produced in enormous quantities, I saw no poppy. Many Chinese are genuinely opposed to opium; but in 1906-15, as in 1839, it was the connection of the foreigner with the drug that made it so particularly obnoxious. Now that it is a domestic matter, it is doubtful if prevention will ever be again prosecuted with the same pertinacity.

Sufficient credit, also, has not been allowed to the Chinese Government, by Mr. Woodhead, for the attempts made to reform the currency in 1913-15. When I arrived in China in June, 1913, the Chinese Government was trying to establish a dollar currency. The foreign banks were not taking much notice of their efforts, but I found, in the course of my travels, that in places (notably Canton) a dollar currency was effectively established, and that in the interior in many places, whatever preliminary juggling might be gone through with taels of various denominations, when money actually changed hands it did so in dollars and dollar or tael notes. In all my wanderings in China only in the extreme north-west did I actually have to use weighed silver as coinage.

From the outset the salt tax was assessed in dollars and collected in dollars, any loss sustained, owing to a local dollar being of somewhat less value than a

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national dollar, being simply ignored. In 1915 I believe that, with adequate foreign support, taels might have been superseded. But the Maritime Customs Department was entrenched behind the Haikwan tael, and the foreign banks were not willing to sacrifice the profits they were making on the interport exchanges, and nothing was done.

I agree with Mr. Woodhead that the present outbreak of anti-foreign, and especially of anti-British, feeling is mainly due to Soviet propaganda, but this propaganda would not have been so successful if the propagandists had not had material to work on. As Mr. Woodhead says, the support given by Great Britain and the other Allies to Japanese schemes of aggression, both during the war and at the Peace Conference in Paris, caused great indignation among the Chinese. The British, also, were in no hurry to forgo the Tariff advantages they had secured as the result of the wars between Great Britain and China.

In the post-war conditions of the world, when Indians have been permitted to impose 33 per cent. *ad valorem* duties on British goods, some increase of the 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duties, especially upon articles such as wines and tobacco, might well have been conceded to China, without making the enhancement dependent upon the abolition of likin.

In other matters, also, Britons have hardly been as careful as they might have been to treat China with the "regard due to a great country." The International Settlement of Shanghai has been developed mainly by British money and British brains, and it is still so predominantly British that the Chinese, not unnaturally, hold the British responsible for any grievances that they may have in regard to the municipal administration. For the reasons given by Mr. Woodhead, I think the reservation, for the exclusive use of foreigners, of the limited area included in the public parts is justifiable. But the assumption by the Foreign Consuls and the Municipal Council of jurisdiction, even in cases occurring among themselves, over Chinese residing in the Settlement, which is what the retention of the Mixed Court against Chinese wishes amounts to, was an affront to Chinese sentiment, and does not appear to have been necessary for the protection of foreign interests. The construction, without permission, of roads outside the limits of the Settlement, and the refusal to grant even a limited representation on the Municipal Council to leading Chinese citizens, were also resented.

The Maritime Customs Department is a fine service, and has maintained the financial credit of China throughout all her difficulties; but it seems a pity that more was not done, when the matter was entirely in British hands, to conciliate Chinese sentiment by the promotion of Chinese of capacity and honesty to the higher administrative grades. Such men were to be found in China in 1913. In many of the Salt District Inspectorates the Chinese District Inspector was the man who did most of the work: and it must have been very galling to the Chinese to see that a foreigner of almost any nationality was good enough to be a Deputy-Commissioner and Commissioner of Customs, and that Chinese only were barred.

These grievances are, of course, in no way responsible for the present deplorable state of affairs in China, though they may have helped to accentuate the bitterness caused by the unfortunate shooting incident at Shanghai on May 30. The Chinese themselves have created the misrule and the disorder from which they are suffering, and they alone can put things right. It certainly is doubtful if the Republican form of government is suitable for China or for any other Oriental country, but it must not be forgotten that China has always been subject to periodic violent upheavals. When such a large proportion of the popu-

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lation is at starvation's edge, these upheavals are not surprising. The present disturbances are child's play compared with the appalling massacres that occurred during the Taiping rebellion in the middle of the past century. Fierce rebellions, ruthlessly suppressed, also occurred under the Manchus in Yunnan, Kansu, and Shensi, and the conquest of China by the Manchus was facilitated by a rebellion against the Chinese dynasty which preceded them. Firm action at Canton for the protection of British interests would appear to be justified, but for the rest of China a policy of benevolent neutrality appears to be the only policy which Great Britain can pursue.

PEKING TO LHASA: THE NARRATIVE OF JOURNEYS IN THE CHINESE EMPIRE MADE BY THE LATE BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE PEREIRA. Compiled by SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND. Constable. 18s. net.

It may safely be claimed for the late Brigadier-General Pereira that he had a more extensive knowledge of the physical characteristics of the Chinese Empire than any other living man. Possessed of an inborn passion for travel, he conceived the idea, when he was appointed Military Attaché at Peking in 1905, of visiting every one of the 175 departmental capitals (*i.e.*, *Fu* cities) of China, and to the methodical accomplishment of this tremendous task he devoted all his spare time and energy during the next seven or eight years. He had previously acquired a useful knowledge of the Chinese language, and, what is almost equally important, of native etiquette, whilst serving with the Chinese regiment at Wei-hai-wei in 1900, and these accomplishments, combined with his tact and charm of manner, secured him the friendly assistance of the officials and immunity from serious trouble during his subsequent wanderings. The Great War recalled him to Europe; but he returned to China in 1920 dominated by a desire to follow in the footsteps of the intrepid Abbé Huc, who, with his companion Gabet, penetrated Tibet and entered Lhasa from the east in 1846. Since that date many travellers of various nationalities had tried without success to reach "The Seat of Divine Intelligence" from the same direction. Pereira hoped for better luck!

We see him, then, at the beginning of the present narrative, setting out from Peking in February, 1921, across the dreary, famine-stricken plains of Chihli on his long trek westward, never failing, however tiring the day's march, to write up his diary; and, as these entries include not only the record of his own experiences but unusual bits of information gleaned from all and sundry, they form most fascinating reading. Of conditions in the interior of China he draws a sad picture. Time and again he refers to the terrorization of the people by the soldiery, who, underpaid or not paid at all, loot to live; whilst on not a few occasions he was asked by the officials to make considerable detours, because the route he would have chosen lay through brigand-infested areas. From Chengtu, where he arrived at the end of May, he made two expeditions not included in his original plan—one to Mount Omei, the other into the wild, hilly region of Western Szechuan. His object in the latter case was to bag a "great pandar," a rare species of bear; but, though he reached a height of over 12,000 feet by very rough, uneven trails, and came across traces of pandar, takin and serow, he failed in his particular quest.

Reaching Tachienlu on December 26, Pereira changed his direction and made a detour of several hundred miles north to Lanchow, and thence to Tangar, where he received the dispiriting news from Peking that the Government of India had refused to obtain a pass for him from the Tibetan authorities. His hopes were further shaken by his meeting with the Danish traveller Sorensen,

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who had tried to reach Lhasa but had been turned back. Nevertheless, "hoping for the best yet almost expecting the worst," he completed his preparations for the final plunge into Tibet, and on May 11 continued his journey. A fortnight later, from a plain below the Chida Pass, he saw the great mountain Amné Machin, which rumour says is higher than Mount Everest. He describes it as towering above everything else in its snow-clad grandeur, and well over 25,000 feet. This giant peak, or the range to which it belongs, is mentioned by Filchner and Tafel amongst other modern travellers. They saw it from the south, but it is doubtful if they got any nearer to it than Pereira, and the whole of that region would appear to offer rich possibilities for further exploration.

On July 28 Pereira reached Chamdo, the crucial point of his journey, for its continuation thence depended on the goodwill of the Tibetan authorities. This he was fortunate enough to secure in very tangible form—a letter from the Kalon at Lhasa inviting him thither—and on September 6 he started in high spirits on his last lap of 670 miles. Of the four great passes that lay before him, the Shiar-güng La, 16,528 feet, bears the worst reputation amongst the Chinese and Tibetans, and Huc, who crossed it in winter, testifies graphically to its terrors. Pereira, however, found the Nur-güng La much the more difficult of the two. The descent, in particular, over "a veritable sea of boulders, rocks and stones," he describes as appalling, and it is plain that he was beginning to feel the strain of his long journey. On October 2 the climb to the top of the Banda Pass "made him gasp, and when he rode he shivered badly." Yet he had spirit enough to note humorously in his diary that his boy had brought two cocks from Chamdo, "not for eating, but to call him in the morning as he had no watch!"

Pereira reached his goal on October 17, 1922, "the only white man living," as his diary records, "who has been from Peking to Lhasa direct." He was received by the Dalai Lama, and invited by the Tsarong Shapé, the Commander-in-Chief, to inspect the troops. He notes that the rifles, khaki and equipment were all of British pattern, and the words of command in English.

From Lhasa, Pereira crossed the Himalayas to India. But he had overtaxed his strength, and at Calcutta had to enter a nursing-home to rest his leg. Yet, no sooner was he all right again than he forgot all the discomforts he had suffered, and set off once more for China, this time by way of Rangoon and Bhamo. Crossing Yunnan by the ordinary trade route through Yunnanfu as far as Chaotung, he made separate excursions from that city into the Miao and Nosu (Lolo) countries, after which he continued to the Yangtse, taking boat at Mayissu for Suifu, and so down to Hankow and Shanghai, reaching the latter place on May 13, 1923.

His thirst for travel unassuaged, Pereira allowed himself no rest, but started again for that snow-covered, wind-swept land which only a few short months before he had declared he never wished to see again. This time his objective was Lanchow, which he hoped to reach from the south, through Batang and Kantze. Leaving Hongkong on June 9, he proceeded to Haiphong, and thence by rail through Tonkin to Yunnanfu, where he was joined by Dr. H. Gordon Thompson. No one travels in Yunnan during the summer if it can be avoided, and it is scarcely surprising that the party experienced difficulty in obtaining transport. From June to September the monsoon rains rarely cease, and the roads—never good—deteriorate into quagmires. Pereira remarks on the swollen state of the Yangtse, when he crossed it by a suspension bridge near Tzuliu on August 7. It was "a wild tumult of rushing rapids . . . not even the Ngom Chu and other rivers in Tibet when in abnormal flood could equal it." He had never seen such a mighty torrent.

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Arriving at Batang on September 21, Pereira, with the most strenuous part of the journey before him, found the whole countryside in a state of disorder, and the officials unwilling that he should proceed. This difficulty, however, he overcame, and, having procured two small tents to shelter his party at night, left Batang on October 5, making for the Ta So Shan divide, 15,610 feet. Bitterly cold and snowy weather was experienced, and Pereira, who had been ailing for weeks, felt seedy and wretched. On October 19 he suddenly collapsed, and was brought with difficulty into Kantze, where, early next morning, his frail body exhausted by the fatigue of continuous travel, he passed peacefully away.

Sir Francis Younghusband has performed the task entrusted to him with sympathy and restraint. He has allowed Pereira's own words to tell this tale, and the result is a book of singular charm—a book to settle down with before a blazing fire on a cold night, even as Pereira himself had visions of doing with his memories of dangers and difficulties faced and overcome. This for him was not to be. But who shall say that Providence (to Whom his diary more than once records his gratitude) did not continue to deal kindly with George Pereira in ordaining that he should never know the tediousness and infirmities of old age, but should pass on straight from his beloved strange places, leaving behind the memory of an unassuming, gallant traveller and very perfect gentleman.

F. W. C.

In the Heart of Asia. By Lieut.-Colonel P. T. Etherton. London: Constable and Co. 9 × 6½. 305 pp. 16s.

Colonel Etherton has every qualification wherewith to give us a first-class book on the affairs of Chinese Turkistan, otherwise known as Sin-Kiang. In fact, as regards matters which occurred there between 1918 and 1923, no one should be better able to enlighten us. The book opens with a pleasantly written description, full of information, of a journey through Kanjut, Sarikol, and the Gez valley to Kashgar. This was done as a member of our mission to Turkistan, which was despatched to counter the German threats against India in the spring of 1918. The author then has a great deal to tell us about the people and customs of Kashgaria itself. He includes an amusing description of the régime under Ma-Ti-Tai, the brigand-General who tyrannized over the country for a number of years until his deposition and decapitation in 1925. Colonel Etherton naturally has much to say about the infiltration of the Bolsheviks into Chinese Turkistan, regarded as a stepping-stone to India. This is especially interesting at present, as it illustrates how, in foreign politics in Asia, Moscow's activities are merely a more rigorous continuation of those of imperial Russia, executed, however, with unclean and insidious means such as imperial officials (even Consul Petrovsk) would not have deigned to use. Picturesque vignettes flit through the pages; incidents of doings in Ma-Ti-Tai's harem alternating with a page about the Swedish Mission or another about ancient conquests.

Political activity and the repercussions of wild struggles did not cease with the Armistice. Kashgar heard of the massacre of the Romanoffs, and was reached by ripples from the Afghan war and by the rise and fall of opium smuggling, in which the Bolsheviks took a hand. The downfall of Bokhara is authoritatively described, together with the origins and progress of the Basmachi insurrection.

Colonel Etherton gives it as his opinion that in the spring of 1919 Russian Turkistan was ours for the taking, being at the mercy of the three companies of the 19th Punjabis and two squadrons of the 28th Light Cavalry, who had pushed the Red armies back nearly to the Oxus. Few who know the facts will be bold

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enough to disagree with this, and the next few years will show us what our withdrawal and our abandonment of the loyal Turkoman has cost us. The author very truly tells us that though Moscow values Turkistan as a granary, it sets still more store by the country, viewed as a stepping-stone for subversive movements against British power in Asia. Besides this, he gives us a useful sketch of the history of Chinese Turkistan during the last century, and one from which there is a good deal to learn of present interest. His sidelights on the diplomatic and administrative methods by which China has so far maintained her very precarious hold on the New Dominion should not be missed by those who are seeking a solution of the Chinese riddle. The author's little sketches, sometimes humorous but more often tragic, of Chinese methods of procedure are not uninstructive, especially when one remembers that in Sin-Kiang the Chinese were ruling an alien race before the time of King Egbert. One cannot help regretting that Colonel Etherton does not put forward some definite practical plan for staying the Bolshevik tide in Asia, but perhaps this might be considered to be outside the scope of such a work. Briefly, it is a book which, when read with discrimination, will be of the greatest service to every student of Mid-Asiatic politics and of Russia's ceaseless and relentless advance against our Asiatic frontiers.

L. S. V. B.

THRO' THE GATES OF MEMORY: FROM THE BOSPHORUS TO BAGHDAD. By Betty Cunliffe Owen. Messrs. Hutchinson and Co. 21s.

This is a book of travel of the lighter order. It makes no pretence to being a work of either a scientific or geographical nature, but has a slight historical interest in that Mrs. Cunliffe Owen is able to give us thumbnail sketches of life in pre-war Constantinople and later on in Iraq.

Part I. deals with Turkey just before the war. We see Constantinople struggling to recover from the Balkan Wars of 1913, the ascendancy of the Germans becoming more and more marked, then the murder of the Archduke, the outbreak of war between the Great Powers, and finally Turkey's entrance into the war on the side of Germany. It is just a series of sketches of every-day life.

Part II. deals with post-war Iraq and gives a good picture of that country during the unsettled period which followed the war. Mrs. Cunliffe Owen gives a graphic account of the camp at Baqubah, where her husband was in command of the camp for refugee Assyrians and Armenians. It is a piece of work done by the British which is too little known, except by those who were directly or indirectly connected with it, and it is as well that it should have been brought before a wider public. If anything the difficulties and discomforts are under-estimated. We see under what trying conditions the work of assisting less fortunate people is carried out, how uncomplainingly and cheerfully, and with no attempt at obtaining personal kudos. The life at the Persian hill station is well depicted, and the unassuming bravery of English women comes plainly to the fore. We have also an exceedingly vivid description of the attempted repatriation of the hill portion of the Assyrians from Mosul, and of life there in disturbed times. All that pertains to the life of the people is always of value.

But the whole book would have gained enormously had it been written in a less exclamatory and colloquial style; the style is not equal to the interest of the story Mrs. Cunliffe Owen has to tell, and whilst we can well believe that it was a great gain to the little group of British officers in Mosul to have so charming and sympathetic a lady in their midst, we can hardly believe that they

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would care about her having "even for a fugitive moment ironed a crease or two out of puckered foreheads."

The poetry, too, is hardly up to the standard which one expects to find in a book of this nature. The illustrations are quite excellent and give a good idea of the country and places. C. J. S.

FOUR CENTURIES OF MODERN IRAQ. By Stephen Helmsley Longrigg. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 21s.

The history of Baghdad in modern times has been strangely neglected. Whilst archæologists have been delving in the soil for the relics of a remote antiquity, and Arabists have devoted themselves with considerable zeal to the study of mediæval Baghdad, the period which lies between A.D. 1500 and 1900 has not attracted any serious historical study. The difficulty of the task, and the dull, hard labour it entails, might well alarm and discourage any writer, for the sources entail reference to Arabic, Turkish, and Persian manuscripts and printed books, and to scattered references in books of travel which have appeared in half a dozen European languages. Yet British soldiers and administrators engaged in Iraq were bound some time to make good this deficiency in our historical knowledge. That Mr. Longrigg has been at exceptional pains to master the sources is proved by the important Appendix I. to his book, which cannot be too highly praised; and the result of his labour has been a history which will always remain a standard work. Very few pioneers—and Mr. Longrigg is a notable pioneer not only in his subject but in his strictly scientific method—can claim so much.

The story, which is told in good English, strict in its accuracy and undefiled by meaningless figures, is, it must be confessed, a dull one. It is concerned with the exploits of a few ambitious, sometimes stupid, rascals to control in their own interest, with or without the consent of the nominal overlord, a few cities long corrupted by intrigue and quite incapable of fidelity, and to preserve some semblance of order amongst the peasants, continually stirred to revolt and internecine strife by the sheikhly families. In all these four centuries there appears only one man who claims unstinted praise from Mr. Longrigg's pen, Uthman Pasha the Lame, the conqueror and victim of Nadir Quli; others, Salim, Sulaiman, Daud, who occupy some space in the narrative, receive the censure their defects of character warrant. But if the enthusiasm evoked by personal admiration is lacking, there is a note, which runs throughout the book, lending it a unity and serving to hold together the various narratives which have to be told under separate headings, since the territory here included as Iraq ranges from Mardin to Basrah. That note is the unity in disunion, the essential coherence of the whole territory in modern times. If the history of these centuries be regarded as a forecast of the future, then Basrah, Baghdad, Mosul, and even the district northwards, must infallibly be for the most part under one administration; any deviation from that rule is a temporary aberration and generally a disaster.

Now that this work, the historical firstfruits, as it were, of the British administration, has laid down well and truly the main lines of recent history, is it too much to hope that we may soon see more detailed studies of this period? In the archives of Iraq there must lie masses of information about the tenure and rights of land* which would be of much interest to the historian, but of

* Mr. E. B. Howell, C.S.I., I.C.S., the first British official head of the Revenue Department of Iraq, gave the Central Asian Society an account of the Turkish land and land revenue system as it was found in Iraq (see JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, Vol. IX., Part I., p. 21).

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prime importance to the budding administrator. In private correspondence and papers doubtless still existing there must be evidence that Rich, Rawlinson, and other British residents at Baghdad occupied a far more influential position than is to be guessed from Mr. Longrigg's reference to them in a footnote. Amongst the tribes it would doubtless prove possible to trace the growth of some quite recent septs of the great tribes, more especially of the Muntefik; and an examination of the proportion of true Beduin to the so-called "marsh Arab" would be invaluable. In short, Mr. Longrigg's book impels us to clamour for more, the most sincere tribute it could possibly have. May he yet further delight us by producing from the vast store he has so conscientiously assembled more distilled information that shall aid those who have to administrate Iraq, and those who would study the latest developments in that distressful land.

A few misprints—*e.g.*, *scism* on p. 199, *Yaq'ab* on p. 195 (surely for Ya'qub), are of little account. The volume is excellently printed, and the map of the administrative areas invaluable. S. S.

ADVENTURES IN TURKEY AND RUSSIA. By E. H. Keeling. John Murray, 1924. 10s. 6d.

Under this plain and unassuming title is told a story so packed with dangers, escapes, hardships surmounted, and unexpected somersaults of fortune that one is at a loss to recall its equal except among works of professed fiction. Yet this is a sober narrative of facts, the author's personal experiences in Turkey and Russia between April, 1916, and December, 1918. Many were taking their part in similar events during those years of war and great adventures, but few can have had the good fortune of Captain Keeling. For two years and nine months he passed unscathed from one danger to another in wild places and came through it all with his life when the odds against his doing so had become almost fantastic.

In a special sense his book is that of a survivor. Others may have seen as much in as short a time—though they cannot be many—but others have not survived. Of his English comrades in a brief stage of his adventures he alone remains. Of the Turks, Circassians and Armenian outlaws, who, for their own interests took part with him in the same episodes, they too, have gone, save perhaps one.

The story begins with the surrender of Kut el Amara of April 29, 1916. The author, himself an officer of the garrison, then describes the desert march of some 500 miles from Baghdad to railhead at Ras el Ain, done on foot, in the heat of the Mesopotamian summer, by debilitated men always short of food and water, always driven to the limits of physical endurance by their captors. The 225 miles from Mosul to Ras el Ain they marched in 8½ days under these conditions.

No story of the war is more heartrending than that of the garrison of Kut el Amara after the fall of the town. Twelve thousand unwounded men, British and Indian, there laid down their arms and became prisoners of war to the Turks, whose General in command informed General Townshend that they would be regarded as "Turkey's sincere and precious guests"; how the promise was kept Captain Keeling's book shows without waste of words. Of the Kut prisoners nearly half had perished when the Armistice came in October, 1918, and 3,000 had disappeared beyond the possibility of ascertaining when, where, or how they died. The ultimate responsibility for such mortality, due to hideous ill-treatment and neglect, the author rightly lays upon Enver Pasha. He passed

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along the line of route in his car when the rank and file of the garrison—whose privations were always greater than those of their officers, who had been separated from them—were dying in heaps by the roadside. He was then Chief of the Turkish General Staff and virtually Dictator; his word would have stopped the march or changed its conditions; but he did nothing. He was too confident at this time of final success in the war to care what happened to British prisoners. Yet after the Armistice the British Government abandoned their purpose of bringing to justice those who had caused the needless death of more than 5,000 British prisoners of war in Turkey.

Beyond Ras el Ain the journey was more tolerable for the author and his fellow-officers. They were taken by rail and motor-car to Angora and thence by carts to their place of internment at Kastamuni in the uplands of Paphlagonia. Life there was monotonous, but healthy and by no means unendurable, and the prisoners found their Turkish guardians more humane in their actions than had been promised by earlier experience. One curious fact that the author mentions sheds a strong light upon the British reputation in Turkey, even during the war. The prisoners were moneyless or nearly so; remittances often did not reach them or were reduced by the rate of exchange to one-fifth of their value; and the sums they received from the Turks as pay due to prisoners of war were entirely inadequate for their needs. Their difficulties were removed, however, by the tradesmen of Kastamuni, Moslem and Christian alike, who accepted cheques from the prisoners, written on scraps of paper, in the conviction that the cheques would be met. Almost unlimited advances were made in this way to strangers who were also enemies. Nor were the cheques presented during the war through a neutral country, as they might have been. After the Armistice, however, a Kastamuni Greek arrived in London "with a sackful of them on his back for collection." Many of the drawers were dead by this time, but it is to the credit of the War Office that in the end every cheque was paid, and the tradesmen of Kastamuni were justified in their faith.

It was at Kastamuni that the more exciting adventures which overtook Captain Keeling began. With three British companions he succeeded in escaping and reached the coast of the Black Sea near Sinope. But it would be unfair to the author to retell his story or even to outline it, for his adventures in the Paphlagonian mountains and on this classic coast are the most exciting and romantic in the book. The reader must make his acquaintance with the outlaws Raghib, Keork, Musa, and Kiamil through Captain Keeling himself, and so doing find himself among the band who hid among rocks and forests, outwitted Turkish watchfulness, bound Greek boatmen to trees at the boatmen's request, committed piracy on the Black Sea, and eventually arrived safely at Alupka thirty miles from Sevastopol forty-nine days after leaving Kastamuni.

In Sevastopol, Captain Keeling encountered the Russian Revolution, which thwarted the plans he had made for rescuing a number of his comrades left in Kastamuni. Thereupon he went to Caucasia, and returned thence through Russia to England. In August, 1918, he left England again for Mesopotamia, and was in Baghdad when the Armistice of Mudros ended hostilities with the Turks. Thenceforward to the end of the year he was charged with the duty of collecting and evacuating British and Allied prisoners of war from the regions in which they had suffered most—from Turkish camps and construction works between Mesopotamia and the Taurus Mountains. Even now, however, his adventures had not yet ended, for more than once he found himself in an awkward situation.

But enough has been said to show the unusual nature and interest of the book

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and the experiences which befel its fortunate author. The book itself is short—altogether too short for the material with which it deals—and is written in a style of military brevity which sometimes dismisses a critical situation with a few curt words. Of this, however, there can be little doubt, that a hundred years hence anyone seeking information upon certain Turkish aspects of the Great War and side lights on the Russian Revolution will look upon this small volume with gratitude, as containing the convincing evidence of an eyewitness.

W. J. C.

FREIE WEGE VERGLEICHENDER ERDKUNDEN. Von R. Oldenbourg, Munich and Berlin.

This is a magazine of articles on geology and political geography. It is compiled in honour of the sixtieth birthday of Erich von Drygalski, who has been for twenty years professor of those subjects at the University of Munich. All the contributions are written by his former pupils, several of whom are well-known men, as an expression of gratitude for the labours of their instructor and as an appreciation of the great benefits that the German Empire has received through his stimulating efforts. It is rightly insisted that an intimate knowledge of geography and the political conditions of foreign countries is of vital importance to the people of an Empire with interests abroad and a necessity for colonial expansion. Of the twenty-three articles on subjects of world-wide interest four are devoted to countries in which members of the Central Asian Society are particularly interested.

Dr. Oskar Ritter von Niedermayer, who accompanied von Hentig to Kabul in 1915 on the mission sent to win over the Amir to the Turkish-German cause, is the writer of a long article on the Middle East. As might be anticipated, the article is marked by an almost fanatical anti-British bias. It opens with the extraordinary postulate that the long rivalry of England and Russia in Asia was the chief cause of recent wars in most quarters of the globe, even including the Great War. This statement is no less astounding than the assertion that Constantinople was offered as a bribe to Russia before she entered the Great War or the remark that the final collapse of Russia was mainly due to the intrigues of the English, who were plotting to foment discord in Russia's Asiatic possessions. There are other inaccuracies of a similar description in the article, but, when facts of common knowledge such as these are so grossly distorted, further refutation seems unnecessary.

Von Niedermayer is more fortunate, however, in his diagnosis of the great changes that the war has wrought in the minds and characters of the people of the Middle East. He rightly asserts that their longing for independence has become even more pronounced. They have also learnt that in order to maintain their independence under modern conditions they must adopt modern methods. With this object they are striving to acquire a greater mastery of the machinery of Western civilization, which can be used for the development of the treasures of the earth. The rapid growth of these ambitious ideas has enormously increased the difficulties of England, who has never had harder problems to solve than those of the present day. It has also augmented the trials of Russia, who has never been so inadequately equipped for the control of her Asiatic possessions. As a result of this sudden craving for progress in the Middle East there are great possibilities for development and expansion in every direction, but capital is urgently required. The only disinterested country (presumably Germany) is now no longer able to assist as she has been knocked out and impoverished in the late war.

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The article concludes with the statement that Germany, powerful and valuable though her influence was in the Middle East before the war, must now realize that in the immediate future no useful field for political action lies open to her enterprise in that direction. She must confine her energies to the development of her trade in those countries. On the other hand, her political energies should rather be devoted to continental enterprises where her help can be of use and where she may find means of building up her strength with a view to the eventual rehabilitation of the German Empire. Von Niedermayer was apparently not thinking of the advantages to be gained from the signing of the Pact of Locarno.

Dr. Josef März and Dr. Hesse follow with articles on the problems of the Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia. Both are academic studies giving a temperate and accurate synopsis of the subjects reviewed. Dr. März gives an historical retrospect of events in the Persian Gulf. He points out that the British have been virtual masters of this inland sea ever since they assisted the Persians in 1622 to oust the Portuguese from the trading stations which they had established on the islands of Kishm and Ormuz. At the same time, he rightly observes that the British, while they have always been prompt to resent the interference of any other Power in gulf questions, have always been satisfied with a nominal control, unsupported by strong local forces. He calls the British Resident at Bushire the uncrowned ruler of the Gulf, but adds that his authority, like that of the other British residents in the Gulf, does not extend beyond the limits of the place where he is stationed. He agrees that the Gulf must be an indivisible unity in the control of one Power. Its possession is not indispensable to any of the countries bordering its coasts. The nation, however, which controls one shore has always been compelled to bridge the Gulf and acquire command of the other shore.

Dr. Hesse's article on Mesopotamia is chiefly concerned with the geographical and climatic difficulties of the country which impose a nomadic existence on a large portion of the population. This necessity for annual migration remains a constant bar to civilization and regular progress. Nothing but the harnessing of the waters and an adequate system of canals under a settled government can reintroduce a more satisfactory state of affairs.

The fourth article by Dr. Ullrich Bey on Armenia furnishes a melancholy picture of the past trials and present hopeless condition of the cultured and Christian Armenian race. He recognizes that the greater part of the blame for the wholesale extermination of the Armenians by the Turks will be attributed to Germans. At the end of the war the League of Nations took the Armenians under their protection with a flourish of trumpets, but so far all their efforts have only served to render their situation more desperate and more hopeless. Their future welfare lies now absolutely at the mercy of the Turks.

A. M. S. E.

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APPENDIX

"THROUGH THE INNER DESERTS TO MEDINA."

HENDAYE-PLAGE,
HOTEL CONTINENTAL,
BASSES PYRENEES, FRANCE.
February 26, 1926.

DEAR SIR,

My attention has been drawn to the review about my book by Mr. Philby, in your *Journal*, Vol. XIII., Part I., and I wish to make some statements regarding it.

I arrived at Damascus in May, 1914, and though I had letters of introduction to the Turkish authorities there, I did not use them, as Captain Wavell the Arabian traveller had warned me not to do so. All the same I had been signalled to the Vali at Damascus as suspect, and before accomplishing my journey, I was taken prisoner by the Turks, who confiscated all my photos, notes and sketches. Those circumstances alone limited the record of my adventures, and made it impossible for me to give a more perfect account. The book published contains, alas! but the tenth part of what I had originally written during the journey!

Mr. Philby seems surprised that I met Chinamen and Javanese (not Japanese) at Medina, and I regret more than ever the photographs lost, on which he would have seen many of the latter amongst the crowd.

That some names are misprinted is regrettable, but does not seem to me of such importance, once Mr. Philby found it easy enough to recognize them!

"The guide, philosopher and friend selected by the Countess to share her adventures was no other than that delightful individual Muhammad al Bassam (she invariably refers to him as 'Mahmoud')". I never refer to him only as "Mahmoud," but called him as *everybody* there called him, Mahmoud Bassam! I have written to Mahmoud Bassam asking him to send me a written statement of our journey together, which I will send you at once when I receive it, and which I hope will satisfy the public that I am not the "De Rougemont" Mr. Philby makes me out to be, but that my book is true.

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Now Mr. Philby seems to give great importance to the date of Ramadan. I must confess that I did not remember exactly the dates when writing the book, but to prove to him that I *did see* the life of Ramadan and was not dreaming it, I enclose a letter of Consul Richardson, at that time British Consul at Hodeidah, sent to me during my stay at Damascus, in July, 1914, during the Ramadan.

"That is all she has to say about Palmyra," he continues. About Palmyra, Baalbeck, any town with ruins of historic interest, so much has been written that I did not think it worth the while to repeat things known to so many!

"In due course the procession heads for Wadi al Mustarri (shown as Wadi al Mustawi)." My Arabs called it "Wadi al Mustawi," and under this name it is also marked on the map of Arabia by Captain Hunter (Survey of India, 1908).

Further, "The Countess here presents us with an initialed sketch of the mosque of Zilfi, which, to say the least, is a pure fiction of her imagination."

But who says the picture of the mosque on p. 134 is that of Zilfi! It only says beneath: "and the Muezzin's cry was heard from the tower of the Minaret." As a matter of fact, this sketch had been joined with others to be used as tail-piece at the end of each chapter, but the publisher had it enlarged and put where he thought it would fit in. But there is no pretence that the picture presents the Mosque of Zilfi. It was just put there to fill out the empty spaces marked through the loss of the photos, and I am indeed very thankful to my publisher that he managed to make a presentable book out of the poor skeleton he had to deal with, and I think he has done wonders in this direction.

This journey of mine was only to be an essay, a light study, after which I intended to make another one, using my experience and taking my brother along, a known geologist. It was also to be a proof that, with courage, a great deal of optimism and casualness, one could take obstacles lightly, which more serious and pedantic men would find impossible to do, just because they would see them too clearly.

If the war had not broken out, and the Turks had not made me a prisoner, *nothing* would have hindered me to enter the Ruba el Kali desert, because it was on account of the Turks that I was taken prisoner at Zilfi! But I have been asked not to publish the part of my book relating to the Turks.

I am not a scientific traveller, but that Mr. Philby should say that I imagined all my adventures and drew on winged fancy alone could nearly flatter me for the compliment paid to my imagination. But as such known Arab travellers as Palgrave and Mr. D. Hogarth had also to undergo the critical doubt of Mr. Philby, I shall not mind being added to victims so highly esteemed and distinguished!

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At the same time I am very distressed not to be "persona grata" in the eyes of Mr. Philby, as I thought of asking him for a letter of introduction to Ibn Saud. I intend to make another start for the Ruba el Kali this year, which, after having read Mr. Philby's "Heart of Arabia," seems to be ever so much easier than before. As also Mr. Philby's ideal is to cross the Ruba el Kali, it would not be at all impossible that we should meet in the desert. I shall hope for it; what better witness could I wish for?

Begging you to forgive my poor English,

I am sincerely yours,

DONSHKA, COUNTESS MALMIGNATI.*

* Mr. Philby's answer has been delayed owing to his absence abroad.

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OBITUARY

HUGH SPENCER

ALL who served in the United Provinces some years back will be sorry to hear of the death of Hugh Spencer, which occurred on January 14 after a painful illness of five months, which he bore bravely. Spencer joined the I.C.S. in 1888, being posted to Aligarh. This was not his first acquaintance with the country, for he was born there, his father being Mr. Charles Innes Spencer, M.I.C.E. He took kindly to the country and his work, and till he retired, in 1915, served in various executive posts. He was a "hot weather bird," finding pig sticking and tiger shooting more to his taste than the quest of pleasure and promotion in cooler regions, and during all his service he paid no visit to the hills. The good work he did in the famine of 1908 was recognized by the grant of a C.I.E., but the cadre of the United Provinces must have been well filled with efficient men if the province did not suffer by letting Spencer retire as a District Officer. From his retirement till 1919 he held the post of Hindustani and Hindi censor at Cairo, a post for which he was well fitted. During the last years of his life he was a member of the Board of Studies in Law, London University.

In 1911 Mr. Spencer was married to the daughter of the late William Smith, J.P., of Bristol, who survives him.

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NOTICES

THE Council wish to express their grateful thanks to Mr. J. F. Baddeley for a copy of "Russia, Mongolia, China: being some record of the relations between them from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the death of the Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, A.D. 1602-1676."

The following books have been received for review:

"Thro' the Gates of Memory," by Betty Cunliffe Owen. 9″ × 6″. Pp. 266. Sketch-map and illustrations. (London: Hutchinson and Co. 1926. 21s.)

"In the Heart of Asia," by Lieut-Colonel P. T. Etherton. 9″ × 6″. Pp. 302. (London: Messrs. Constable and Co. 1925. 16s.)

"Four Centuries of Modern Iraq," by S. H. Longrigg. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 21s.)

"Peking to Lhasa," by George Pereira. Edited by Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. 8⅞″ × 6″. Pp. 287. Map and illustrations. (London: Messrs. Constable and Co. 1925. 18s.)

"Syria," by Leonard Stein. 7½″ × 5″. Pp. 94. (London: Messrs. Ernest Benn, Ltd. 1926. 3s. 6d.)

"The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834," by H. B. Morse, LL.D. Four volumes. 8¾″ × 6″. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 70s.)

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JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

Vol. XIII July, 19 6 Part III

THE PROBLEM OF AFGHANISTAN *

MUCH has been written on the subject of Russian intrigues in Central Asia, and the object of the present article is not so much to expose the machinations of the Third International in that part of the world, as to draw attention to the importance of the present Russian activities in Afghanistan, and their probable effect upon the general situation, more particularly as affecting British interests in those areas.

Forty-five years ago public interest was focussed on the Russian advance in Central Asia. The general apprehension in this country as a result of that advance only died down when, in 1886, the Russians seemed to have reached the limit of their progress towards India, and a permanent frontier was established between themselves and Afghanistan.† The frontier was a sound one geographically, and the Russian bogey gradually ceased to haunt the minds of those responsible for the safeguarding of British India.

Subsequently, with the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 the last bone of contention between this country and Russia seemed to have been removed.

Then came the Russian Revolution, and with the advent to power of the Soviet Government, with its far-reaching disruptive activities, the equilibrium of the greater portion of Asia was completely destroyed. The new Government in Moscow not only refused to recognize any of the previous agreements made between Imperial Russia and Britain, but definitely declared with a frankness unknown in previous diplomacy that the Soviets regarded us as their most dangerous enemy, and whether or not they succeeded in upsetting us in Europe, they would certainly try and destroy our prestige and power in Asia. And they have set themselves to the task with untiring energy.

* A meeting was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, W., on March 11, 1926, when a paper was read on "The Problem of Afghanistan," General Sir Edmund Barrow presiding.

† Though the Afghan Boundary Commission of 1886 settled the western section of the Russo-Afghan Boundary, the eastern section remained unsettled until Sir Mortimer Durand's Mission of 1893.

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From 1919 onwards, despite the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement, and with utter disregard of whatever official or private trade negotiations may have been in progress between London and Moscow, some of Soviet Russia's cleverest brains have been at work formulating a definite scheme of Asiatic policy in general, and Central Asian policy in particular.

From the very first they found the task a most difficult one. For while the first problem was the consolidation of Soviet power in Turkistan, such consolidation could only be effected by the use of force, which in itself antagonized the bulk of the native population. The first phases of Soviet rule in Turkistan were indeed so tyrannous that with the slightest encouragement from outside the natives would have fought to the bitter end. After the British withdrawal from Trans-Caspia, however, all hope of outside assistance died, and save for the continued activities of the *Basmatch*, or guerilla bands, operating in the inaccessible mountain regions, the bulk of the natives resigned itself to Soviet rule.

But though the Soviets had triumphed, they were by no means free from anxiety. They lived in constant fear of some fresh outbreak, and suspected every stranger of being a British emissary in disguise.

It was felt in Turkistan that some conciliation to native sentiment was necessary, and various local privileges and concessions were granted. These were only palliatives, however, and the call for a definite general policy soon became imperative.

The next move by the Moscow Government was the bold one of posing as the champion of Eastern progress. By espousing the cause of the discontented elements in Asia, Soviet Russia calculated on achieving the twofold object of diverting native discontent and antagonism from herself by depicting Britain in Asia as the real tyrant, and of winning over to her side those new movements in India and elsewhere which, if properly controlled, might be turned into powerful weapons against British influence in Asia.

This new policy was inaugurated by the much-advertised Congress of Eastern Peoples, which was held in Baku in the summer of 1920. The main object of the Congress had been the bringing together of the various Asiatic malcontents with a view to fusing them into one definite movement. The Congress failed conspicuously in its main object, but proved of considerable instructive value in other directions.

Apart from serving as a starting-off point for an extensive campaign of anti-British propaganda in Asia, it showed the Soviets how little they knew about the Eastern peoples living beyond their own frontiers, and, more important still, it demonstrated clearly the impossibility of creating any combined Eastern movement. Indeed, on the contrary, it showed how very easy it would be to create and foster discord among the different Oriental elements.

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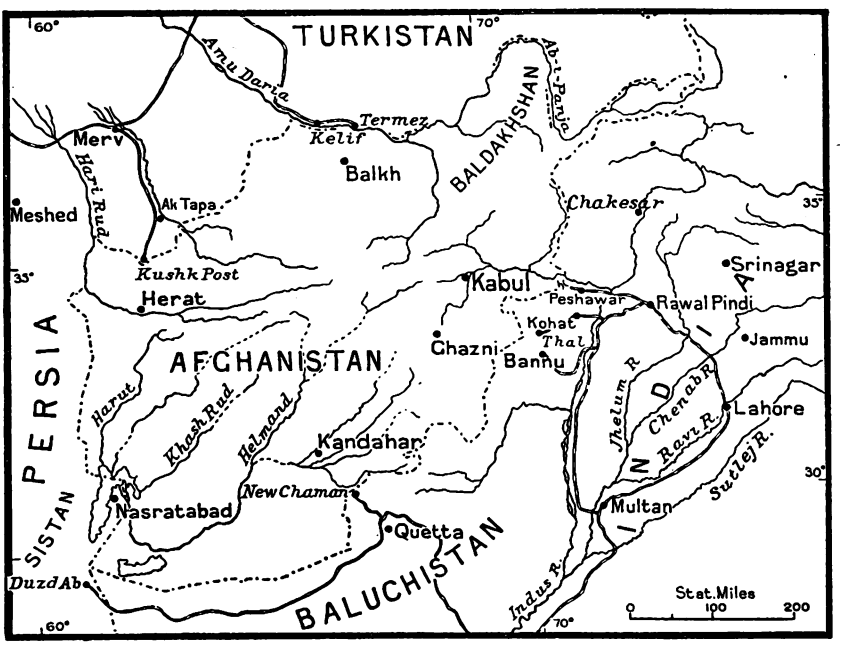
The Soviet authorities took their lesson to heart, and while they set to work to study *ab initio* the different revolutionary movements and causes of Asiatic discontent, they also decided on a radical change of general policy. They discarded their plans for creating a combined movement, talked less of starting an Asiatic conflagration, and embarked on a policy of political and racial disintegration on the principle of *dividere et imperare.*

In pursuance of this new policy they proceeded to split up the whole of Turkistan into small republics on an ethnological basis. Hence the appearance on the map of such newly-coined words as Turkmenia, Uzbekstan, Tajikstan, and many others.



The policy is certainly a most ingenious one, and although it is yet early to judge of its efficacy in practice, it may, if carried out in a liberal and broad-minded spirit, prove a practical solution as far as Soviet Russia's own Central Asian problems are concerned. How far it meets with native approval is, of course, a different question, nor can one suppose that it will necessarily prove a permanent solution; but as we are primarily concerned with actualities, the fact has to be accepted that the Soviet Government have satisfactorily consolidated their position within their own frontiers, and are now able to pay attention to the neighbouring regions just beyond those frontiers.

Of these neighbouring regions recent events have shown that the Russians are paying particular attention to Afghanistan. They intend

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following a progressive policy in that country on the basis of gradual penetration. This penetration is being carried out along simultaneous and parallel lines. That is to say, the Soviets are endeavouring to obtain a footing in the country both politically and economically, though the two questions are being kept carefully distinct.

Politically the idea is to continue the policy of disintegration into ethnological units—in other words, by means of agitation and propaganda among the different racial elements in Northern Afghanistan, foster a number of local movements aiming at autonomy and secession from Afghan rule.

The Soviet Government of Russia is careful to conceal its connection with this campaign of agitation, which for convenience is being organized by the Third International. And to cover the connection still further, the agents and agitators actually employed in Afghan territory purport to be working on behalf of one or other of the neighbouring Soviet Republics.

The lines of their propaganda are as simple as they are attractive. The local Turcomen inhabiting the district around Herat are reminded of their close kinship with the Panjdeh and Merv Turcomen, who are now enjoying complete independence, coupled with all the advantages which the protection and progressive culture of Soviet Russia can give them. The Afghan Turcomen, it is emphasized, are at present being ruled by an alien and backward race, with whom they have no common ties or interests. Not only racially, it is argued, but also geographically, the Herat district is much nearer to Turcomenia than to the capital at Kabul. The local inhabitants have only to rise and proclaim their autonomy, and they could count on immediate assistance from Soviet Turcomenia. These and similar arguments are being brought to bear not only upon the Turcomen of Herat, but also upon their eastern neighbours the Uzbeks and the Tajiks of Badakhshan.

None of these people have anything either racially, tribally, or individually in common with the Durrani tribe who now sit on the throne in Kabul. And while they likewise have no sympathy for the Russ, they cannot help being much affected by the propaganda of their kinsmen on the other side of the frontier.

Now if Soviet Russia confined her activities to mere propaganda, the matter would not be such a serious one. They are doing much more, however. The Russians understand their Orientals well enough by this time to know that nothing impresses the materialistic Afghan so much as concrete facts. It is the same with the Pathan and with the Indian of the north. So long as the talk is one of theoretical advantages, they will agree out of mere politeness, or because to agree is the line of least resistance, but it requires some visible sign of practical profit to really convince them. Hence it is that the Russians are paying such great attention to commercial and economic penetra-

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tion into Afghanistan at the present moment, and they are making a bid for the goodwill of the native population by encouraging and facilitating local trade relations. In this, as in their propaganda, their aim is naturally to advertise the progressive and beneficial character of the *Pax Sovietica.*

Thus Herat has now been linked up with the Russian telegraph system, and every effort is being made to promote the caravan trade between that city and Merv and Panjdeh. Further east the Russians are reconstructing the railway connecting up Bokhara with Termez. The latter is the most important point on this part of the Amu Darya, and lies on the main caravan route through Afghanistan, which also happens to be the most direct route from Russia to India.

With the railhead at Termez, European merchandise can be delivered at the Afghan frontier within little over a week after leaving the factory. With the recovery of Russian industry and the arrangement for transit facilities for the manufactured goods of Central Europe, Northern Afghanistan can become just as independent of Kabul and India as the north of Persia was independent of the Persian Gulf. The ruins of ancient cities along the bed of the Amu Darya tell of the greatness of this area before the hordes of barbarians swept over it. The Russians have it in their hands to restore wealth and prosperity to the Oxus valley. The construction of the Termez railway is the first step, and with the development of trade, and, above all, with the improvement of transport, which must come before anything else, the centre of activity in Turkistan will quite probably shift down to the Amu Darya, and Termez will once again become a flourishing city.

The people of Afghanistan, on the other hand, will come to look more and more towards the north for their trade, and the success of the Soviet policy will depend entirely on the ability of the Russians to show them practical economic advantages and commercial progress.

Should nothing occur to frustrate the Soviets' present scheme of activities, one may expect to hear any day that Herat has proclaimed itself an autonomous Soviet republic, and that the neighbouring provinces to the east have followed its example. Help in some form or other would almost certainly be forthcoming from across the border, and the Afghan Government in Kabul may quite well awake one morning to find their northern provinces gone, and the Soviet frontier a hundred miles nearer to the south.

One wonders what the feelings of the Amir would be if he suddenly had to face a revolt in his northern provinces. The situation would be an extremely difficult one, and although it might turn the political scales at Kabul definitely in favour of Great Britain, Kabul by that time might only be representing the half of Afghanistan. Many new factors would come into force, and it is impossible at this stage to draw any clear picture of what would happen.

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Nor is it necessary to draw pictures of the future when we are already face to face with serious actualities. The Russians have definitely embarked on a determined progressive policy, and in making a bid for economic and commercial supremacy in Afghanistan, they make no secret of their intention of ultimately contesting British commercial, and with it, of course, political, supremacy in India.

Counter-measures must obviously begin somewhere. It may be impossible to compete commercially with Russia in the areas adjoining her territory, but there is every reason why a policy no less active and penetrating than that of the Soviets should be applied to the areas which lie nearer India, and whose commercial interests are naturally bound up with India rather than with the north. Thus the country between Kabul and the Khyber and districts of Ghazni and Kandahar boasts a considerable trade with India. With the opening of the Khyber railway, the main Indian railway system has been brought into direct communication with the Kabul trade route. True, the Khyber railway as it is at present does not facilitate to any great extent the main caravan traffic, since the distance from railhead to Peshawur is too short to make it worth while for the caravans to abandon their camels and proceed by train. One naturally hopes, however, that the present line is only the beginning of greater things. Meanwhile, pending the continuation of the line, it will be a simple matter to organize an efficient system of motor transport running between railhead and Kabul. Similarly at Kandahar, where a very short distance separates one of the main trade centres of Afghanistan from railhead on our own frontier, efficient motor transport would play a very important rôle. Further west again, we have the continuation of the Nushki railway as far as the Persian frontier. This line, which was constructed for military reasons during the War, is important in that it facilitates communications between India and the fertile province of Sistan. Though Sistan is mainly Persian territory, it is impossible to exclude it as an important factor in the development of Afghanistan.

With Russian influence predominant in Herat, a city which, from the time of Alexander the Great, has always been regarded as the strategic and economic key to India, the consideration of Sistan in relation to British-Indian interests becomes essential.

A glance at the map will show the obvious importance of Sistan. Itself a plain, it comprises the drainage area of the Helmand, which is the largest river in Afghanistan, and a number of other rivers. Water for irrigation purposes is therefore abundant, and the soil, which is rich in silt, is extremely fertile. There are large areas suitable for cultivation which are lying untouched. With very little development, the country could easily become the most productive area in Persia, and the main distributing area for South-west Afghanistan.

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With a potentially rich area such as Sistan, and at least two of the main Afghan trade routes within easy reach of our Indian frontier, not to mention the existing railway connections with that frontier, there is no lack of scope for British or British-Indian enterprise. Only by getting a sound commercial footing in the country—and this refers not only to Afghanistan, but also to Eastern Persia—can Britain hope to contest Russian progress towards India.

The whole question can be finally summarized in the fact that the time is rapidly approaching when the primitive Afghan will learn to discard his camels for mechanical transport. If we do not teach him to do so, the Russians will, and, petty as it may seem, our reputation as the most cultured power in Asia will suffer if we are not the teachers.

Discussion.

Colonel Lewis: Ladies and Gentlemen—The reasons I am now here talking are, firstly, because I have been asked to do so by General Thomson, secondly, because I spent about six months in Kabul as military attaché, and, thirdly, because my ordinary line of business has made me study the question very carefully at different times. First, I should like to say, as regards the mention of Russian propaganda, I am entirely in agreement; I believe that there is a very considerable danger which might in future threaten British India from the Russians advancing from the north. I do not agree with the author as regards the remarks he made about Herat, however: I think the real danger does not lie in Herat. Herat is occupied by a population of which, roughly, one-third are Afghan subjects; the remaining two-thirds are Baluchis, Arabs, or, still more preponderating, Persian subjects. Therefore the population in the Herat valley is not so likely to be affected as people in Afghan Turkistan, Kataghan, and Badakhshan. Secondly, I do not see how any amount of commercial activity on our part will stop the Russians taking their next step, whenever that may be. Something more, I think, is required. I should like to say now that I am not a bit of an alarmist—I think the idea of the Russians coming down with great armies is absurd; but one cannot help fearing the Russian propaganda, because it has proved its worth so many times in that part of the world. However, I consider that the menace is so real that I want to talk—in fact, to give my opinion—of what might happen in Northern Afghanistan. In 1885, as you have just heard, the Russians came to a halt in the north. They stopped because they ran up against Afghanistan, backed by Great Britain, and when they stopped, I do not agree that their frontier was a good strategic one; for they stopped at a river and a desert, and a river and a desert are not a good strategic frontier. The proper strategical boundary was the line of the Hindu Kush. As regards an ethnological boundary, it was a very bad one.

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They stopped in the middle of a racial area—that is to say, Turcomans, Uzbegs, and Tajiks live on both banks of the Oxus river. They might have stayed there but for the revolution, because before 1919 we guaranteed the borders of Afghanistan. After the war with Afghanistan in 1919 we lost that control, and are not now responsible for the borders. The Russian Revolution came along, and Russia from the beginning recognized in Great Britain, as a great capitalist nation, the chief enemy; and she determined, if she could, to strike a blow at us in India. Russia realized the supreme importance of India as a portion of the British Empire, and the means were at hand. She formed these independent republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbegstan, and Tajikstan. At first sight one might think she did it to stabilize conditions in her own borders, but we know otherwise, because there is very definite evidence of the secret propaganda which she carried out amongst the Turcomans, Uzbegs, and Tajiks, south of the Oxus—that is to say, in Afghan territory. So that, having established those republics, and having worked on those people by propaganda, it is quite true that one day the Amir in Kabul may wake up and find that he has lost the northern part of his kingdom, and that these people—Tajiks, Uzbegs, and Turcomans living in his territory—have decided to throw in their lot with their brothers north of the Oxus, and become amalgamated with the independent republics. That sort of thing has happened before, and when things reach that stage, then the Soviet Government of Russia steps in and takes the republics under her wing. That would suit Russia well, because from her present border she is too far away from India. She can and does send agents into India itself, and can establish advanced centres such as she has at Kabul and Chamarkand, but she is too far off for the final stage—that is, the provision of arms for the people she has excited by propaganda. It suits her book if she can come a step nearer. I want you to picture a minute what it would really mean if she came nearer: it would mean to all intents and purposes an Afghan-Russian frontier on the line of the Hindu Kush, which runs out almost to Herat. Supposing she does step in and occupy the northern part of Afghanistan, who is going to stop her? *We* are not, certainly: it is far too far to send any military expedition. The Amir, can he stop them? I do not think he can. If you remember the extraordinary difficulty he had in quelling the little revolt that took place last year in Khost, and if you think the Soviet brains behind it all would probably so time the risings in Northern Afghanistan that they synchronized with one of those ever-recurring revolts in Southern Afghanistan, I do not believe the Amir would be able to prevent those provinces shaking off his rule. The next step would be the gradual building of roads and railways throughout the northern area, and there is nothing at all impossible as regards engineering for this railway from Termez to be brought up to the

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Andarab valley, which is about fifty miles from Kabul. That fifty miles includes thirty very easy miles north of Kabul, through the Koh-i-daman, through which there is a very good motor road. There remain twenty miles of very bad country, and even now Russian survey parties are working, with the permission of the Amir, to site a road over the Hindu Kush, and portions of that road have already been completed for motor traffic. That means, if that should happen, that the next time we are tied up in some other part of the world, Russia will have Kabul more or less at her mercy. She will be fifty miles from Kabul as against our railhead of about 180 miles, unless we do something about it; and the question is, what are we to do? It is a very difficult problem. These are entirely my own opinions. I think our possible actions can be summed up under two headings: the first is "communications," and the second is "putting our own house in order." I will show you what I mean in more detail. First, as regards communications. Remember, sitting on the throne of Afghanistan is a young Amir, frankly ambitious but untravelled—until the other day he had never been to Kandahar; the furthest he had ever been was Jalalabad—but nevertheless pushful and go-ahead. Conditions in Kabul have changed enormously. You now find electricity, public gardens, and a band which, to the Western ear, discourses perfectly abominable Afghan music. (Laughter.) They are starting a new era with a number of Europeans. You can move about with quite as much safety there as in the city and plains round Peshawar itself. There are schools, European legations, and good motor roads. In the forefront of all his programme of progress, I think the Amir puts education and communications. As to communications, he is very keen on developing roads throughout his country. This is where we can help him. Whenever the question of communications arises in the south and east of Afghanistan, we should help him as much as we can, whether with money, technical advice, stores, or material. The chief obstacles which the Amir meets are the Mullahs and the wild and warlike tribes who live on our north-west frontier. If—and he has tried more than once—he could calm them down and disarm them, he would have no difficulty at all in pushing on communications, which is what we want. We, on our side, are faced with the same difficulties.

That brings me to the second way in which I think we could prepare to protect Afghanistan if the Russians advanced up to the Hindu Kush—that is, by setting our own house in order. Take a concrete case. I happened to be in Kabul about the time when negotiations were going on about the murder of Mrs. Ellis and the kidnapping of Miss Ellis by Ajab Khan and his associates, so I can give you this picture from the Afghan point of view. Do you remember? Ajab came to Kohat and kidnapped Miss Ellis, after killing her mother, and took her away to Tirah. Our relations with Tirah—that being the

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country where the Afridis live—are governed by treaties, and the Afridi agrees not to harbour within his territory refugees from British justice; so that when Ajab went off with Miss Ellis and took her up into the Tirah, the authorities on the North-West Frontier of India said to the Afridis, "Fulfil your agreement and expel these murderers." The Afridis said, "Right-o," and expelled them, but not into another portion of British territory or any other tribal territory. Other tribesmen did not want to be involved in another's quarrel, and if they had put them into British territory it would have been tantamount to handing them over to us, a thing they will not do. They turned them into Afghanistan. The Government turned to Afghanistan and said: "You are a civilized country and cannot harbour murderers." From the Afghan point of view—although, of course, the Amir did not use these words—the reply to this was, "Why don't you do your own dirty work? I cannot catch these fellows on the frontier; I am mixed up with tribal difficulties the same as you." We insisted. Nothing happened. We began to take off our coats. This consisted of certain military preparations in Peshawar, and what impressed the Amir more than anything else was the evacuation of our ladies from Kabul. The Amir said, "Now they mean business." Very loth, he collected an army, and sat down on the other side of the Afridi border. A deadlock followed. The Afridis, still carrying out their obligations, sat on one side of the frontier, and would not allow the criminals to re-enter Tirah, and the Amir with his army sat on the other side, and there they either could not, or really dared not, arrest the criminals for fear of letting loose a wasps' nest about their ears. We insisted, and at last, luckily, a solution was found by which the Amir, by means of negotiations, persuaded Ajab and most of his gang to accept transportation into Turkistan, where they are still living quite happily. Two of the gang refused to go, and are still in Tirah. The point is, What is going to happen next time a similar murder takes place? Are we again going to risk a war with the Amir, with whom it is of the utmost importance from the point of view of the Russian menace that we should remain at peace? Personally, as matters stand now, I do not see that we can do anything else; and it seems to me, if for no other reason, that we must get control over our own people. I do not mean for a moment to say that we should declare war on the Afridis, and march in and take their country; we cannot afford to do it; but I say, that just as in Waziristan we are gradually penetrating by making roads, we should take every possible opportunity which may occur in Tirah of doing the same, and in other portions, too, of independent territory. If we do that, we may, in co-operation with the Amir, on his side of the border, settle and disarm the people. Until they are disarmed you will never have peace. Once you have got peace, communications will spring up easily; there will be good motor roads and

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railways to Kabul. Peace will release the enormous force now employed as covering troops all along the border. With the covering troops available, and the roads built, we should have no difficulty, when occasion arose, of going up to Kabul and assisting the Amir to prevent the Russians coming down any further and occupying Kabul. (Applause.)

Sir RALEIGH EGERTON: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My own close touch with Afghan affairs finished about fifteen years ago, but I have kept up a close study of them, and also have friends who occasionally send me notes on the subject. The position of Afghanistan *vis-à-vis* India and elsewhere has changed very much since I knew more about it, in so far as Afghanistan is now independent of Indian interference so far as foreign affairs go, has diplomatic representatives all over the world, and accepts them from all over the world. In those days the Amir could do nothing except through the Government of India. The Bolshevik propaganda, as we know and have heard to-day, is going on on racial lines on the northern frontier of Afghanistan, but I am not sure that it is making politically very great progress, because I believe all those people—Uzbegs, Tajiks, and Afghan Turcomans—are very proud of calling themselves Afghans. I do not think they boast much of their Tajik or other nationality. The Afghan name carries great force among all the people in that part of the world, and they are very proud of it; so I am not sure the Bolshevik Soviet propaganda will have very much influence in calling them to desert from their allegiance to the Amir. They are very fond of their country, too, and have always hated Russia; they hated imperialist Russia, anyhow, and I do not suppose the Bolshevik Russia looks very different to them. Another thing is that when the Bolsheviks really went into Turkistan they committed a very grave error in the roughness of their methods, and among other things alienated both local Afghan and Indian traders by confiscating all their goods. That produced a very strong feeling against them, which they must find it hard to allay. After a few years they did, under pressure, to some extent compensate the Afghan traders; but because of their hostility to us, and I suppose their desire to show our impotence, or something or other, I believe they gave no compensation to the Indian tradesmen, and there is a very strong community of Indian traders up in Bokhara and Turkistan east and west. When the Russians rather treacherously seized Bokhara, the Afghans saw their co-religionists who had to flee the country, and they brought tales into Afghanistan of great hardship and terrorism on the part of the Bolsheviks. Another thing, the Amir is no fool. As we have heard, he is an intelligent young man, and I think it very probable he puts very strong governors into those northern provinces where Uzbegs and others are living. I should not think he would send weak men there, and we know an Afghan governor

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can keep order with a very strong hand if necessity arises. Uzbegs and Tajiks are not very warlike; they are peace-loving people, and I think that political propaganda, as against commercial penetration, might not produce a very great effect. You see, in that part of the world the Amir has not for a very long time had any rebellion; it is only in the southern and more mountainous parts of Afghanistan that rebellions break out. No doubt the Russians have paid great attention to commercial penetration. There is no harm in that; we penetrate commercially all over the world. At the same time we know that the Russian Government, under cover of commercial penetration, covers a good deal of other designs. Of course, they have their two organizations in Soviet Russia: there is the Soviet Government of the Soviet Federal Union, and then they have also got their Third International, which is really another form of government, which is administered by Russia. Certain individuals are members both of the Government and the Third International. The Third International is out first of all to destroy Russia and break down all capitalist enterprise all over the world and establish the government of the proletariat. In its efforts to do that it has indeed completely wrecked Russia. The Russian Union of Soviet Republics wants to re-establish Russia to a certain extent, and attract foreign capital to re-establish the country. The Third International cannot stand seeing Russia really re-established, by capitalism as they think, because that would upset their principles, so that these two are rather at loggerheads. That has been seen in several instances. Once in Germany, when the Soviet Government had practically established good trade relations in that country and was in a fair way to attract German capital, the Germans discovered some Third International emissaries hidden away in the Russian Trade Embassy, plotting against the German State. Of course, the Russian Government repudiate such emissaries, but there is no doubt they are closely mixed up together. Though their aims are the same, their methods are different. Another point is, as Colonel Lewis said, that the Russians do "propagand" against us as a capitalist state. They do that in other parts of the world, but I think they found that definitely they must modify that attitude when they formulated their designs against India, because we cannot be regarded as a capitalist oppressor in India. We are an Imperialist, and it was as an Imperialist ruler that they decry us in India—an Imperialist oppressor. If they had gone for the capitalist in India they would have had to go for the Indians, the big cotton merchants of Bombay and other big Indian industrial centres. They are the capitalists; we are not really the capitalists in India. It is as an Imperial oppressor that they attack us there. They do the same against us, I think, in practically every part of the world, but especially in the East. When they get a bit further east, they find themselves up against the

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difficulty that they cannot talk about the Japanese as capitalist oppressors. The fact is that the Bolshevik methods are rather protean; they alter methods to suit local circumstances. As the Lecturer and Colonel Lewis pointed out, they have gone in for establishing small nationalities, and basing the benefits they offer to these people on establishing these nationalities, and I am afraid we have got to go back to someone now deceased, who talked about "self-determination of the smaller nations." That catchword has become the curse of the world. That expression, when put into practice, has lost us a good deal and the Russians are playing that catchword against us as hard as they can in Asia, and against other countries on their western frontier in Europe.

In the paper which has been read to-day the author advocates the extension and improvement of communications and trade and the development of Afghan Seistan as the best methods by which we can counteract Bolshevik intrigue in Afghanistan, which is really directed against our command of the situation by holding India, to which country they hope to extend their subversive operations eventually. These proposed methods have their merits, I admit, but in my opinion they are inadequate, and although in following them we might claim to be acting disinterestedly, in practice they would appear to be the exact counterpart of those of our antagonists.

I believe that the King of Afghanistan, like the Shah of Persia, is really quite inclined to accept or retain the friendship of England. But in both cases the difficulty of doing so openly is the same. Through both countries Bolshevik Russia is working, mostly underground, with the view to destroying our supremacy in India and over the sea route connecting that country with Europe. Towards this end they have no hesitation in stirring up rebellion among the subjects of the two rulers I have mentioned, and in both cases I feel pretty sure that the two astute personages have realized that any marked display of friendship towards us and acceptance of our guidance would only intensify the activity of the Bolshevik organization, which would foment disturbances among the people against any reforms or improvements which the ruler might establish at our instigation. It is therefore necessary that we should work unostentatiously. In Afghanistan in particular—and I must restrict my remarks to that country—it is necessary that we should, as Englishmen, win the respect and perhaps the affection of the people as well as those of their ruler. In his efforts at reform he has to overcome the narrow-minded opposition of the mullahs, so whatever course we follow it is absolutely essential that we should avoid any semblance of religious subversion. It is my firm belief that in order to attain the objects I have mentioned, the most powerful instrument we could take in our hand is that of hospital work—not medical missions. At our Legation in Kabul we should have a considerable

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medical staff, well equipped for both medical and surgical practice I have no doubt that the King would provide or facilitate the provision of accommodation for this. The personnel would have to be carefully selected, and a knowledge of modern colloquial Persian should be an essential qualification, for that is the language of the country—not Pushtu, as usually supposed. In addition to the requirements for a stationary hospital, there should be provided equipment for travelling dispensaries, which could be carried on mules, and sent periodically to visit the villages up to forty of fifty miles from the capital; I feel sure that the safety of such parties would be guaranteed by the King. By these means the good name of our race would gradually permeate the minds of the people, and in a few years' time hospitals with similar equipment might be established at Kandahar, Herat, and perhaps also in the very teeth of the Bolsheviks at Balkh or Mazar-i-Sherif, and extend our reputation even further afield. The cost of such organization would be insignificant when weighed against the advantages both to the Afghans and ourselves that we may reasonably expect from them. The personnel should be purely English in the higher grades, and Anglo-Indian in the subordinate ranks. The menials could be obtained locally in Afghanistan.

Major ROUTH: There are three small points. I was in Kabul in November. One of the points is the large amount of Soviet money which is being spent in Afghanistan in the spread of disaffection. It does not mean much at present, but it is raising up a force which may be a great danger in upsetting the present arrangement later on. Another point which has not been touched upon is the extraordinary high prestige of the British in Kabul at present. That is due partly to the policy of the British Government, but a good deal to the British Minister, Sir Francis Humphrys. (Applause.) It is very notable as compared with the other nations, the Germans, and particularly the Italians, and to some extent the Russians. There is one other point which was mentioned—that is, the communications with India. There is reason to believe that this matter is not being forgotten. I am not in a position to say what arrangements have been made, but I think both the Amir and the British Government do realize the importance of communications between the North-West Frontier and Kabul, and we may expect to see something in the not very distant future. (Applause.)

Colonel STOKES: Sir Edmund Barrow, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not know who wrote this paper, but from my own knowledge of the correctness of his account of the earlier effort made by the Bolsheviks, I am inclined to think that the second part is probably equally true. The Bolsheviks started out at the beginning with the intention of Bolshevizing the Mohammedans of Asia. That was due to their ignorance of the Mohammedans of Asia; because anybody who knew

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them at all, knew that Bolshevism would not appeal to them, and was bound to fail. They have seen it fail, and have started a far cleverer and much more promising game. They are trying to disintegrate those Mohammedan nations by the application of the Wilsonian policy of self-determination. It is a grave danger to us, and a much more difficult thing to meet. The writer of the paper seems to me to suggest that we should adopt the methods on our side which the Bolsheviks are adopting on theirs, but that seems to me to be merely playing their game. We have got a wall between Russia and ourselves, and Russia is a perfectly open and candid enemy. Nothing could be more open than the enmity of the Bolsheviks towards us, and if the Bolshevik has taken a pickaxe to knock the wall down from his side, it seems absurd to take another pickaxe and knock it down from ours. That leaves the problem unsolved. The question is, what can be done to stop it? I do not believe any amount of roadmaking or commercial penetration is going to help us. I think if you are going in for road-making in order to help the Amir, you are assuming in the first place that the Amir wants your help, and you are taking the problem a stage further than it has yet gone. I do not think the problem is so desperate as that. But the question of Afghanistan is only one portion of a much bigger general problem which is threatening us, and which, so far as I can see, no attempt is made to deal with. We have got between Russia and ourselves Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan. In the old days it was considered that our policy was to keep those three buffer states going, and if anybody knows a better policy they have not yet produced it. Unfortunately, for the last twenty-five years not so actively, but for the last ten or fifteen years very actively, we have been out apparently to destroy Turkey. At least we have convinced the Mohammedan world that such is our intention, and that is to-day the root of the problem in Turkey. You would have no Mosul question if the Turk was not profoundly convinced that Mr. Lloyd George's policy and the policy of the British Government as carried on to-day is the destruction of Turkey. If you can remove that, you can have everything you want, and no Mosul question. Why does Turkey want Mosul? We have done exactly what Colonel Lewis described the Russians as doing in 1885, when they sat down in the middle of a racial area. We have got half the Kurds in Iraq and half in Turkey, and the Turk says, "That is the lever they want to hold in their hands; they want to make trouble for us whenever they like," and obviously if we have half the Kurds in our hands we can always make trouble for Turkey. I submit to you this problem is not to be treated piecemeal. It is a perfectly connected problem. Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan are the barrier between us and Russia. Imperialist Russia was aggressive, we made agreements which were not kept very well; but we kept the thing going. Bolshevik Russia is openly hostile

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and out to destroy the Indian Empire, which it believes to be our Achilles heel. Meanwhile, what are we doing? Nothing at all. The British Ambassador to Turkey lives in Constantinople. Do we treat any other state like that? The British Ambassador to France does not live in Calais but Paris. The amenities of Kabul are probably not much greater than those of Angora, but the policy of the British Foreign Office appears to be to hold Turkey at arm's length, not to be friends with her, but wait and see. The situation, as described in this paper we have heard read to us, is, to my mind, serious and not to be neglected. To counteract—I do not think you can really counteract the trouble by making roads and commercial penetration—that puts you in a position to help Afghanistan if the next stage comes. But surely we ought to prevent the next stage coming at all, and the question is, how are we to do that? What we want is a constructive policy of friendship with these three Mohammedan countries. We do not want one inch of their territory; we have got no conflict of interests. I shall be told there is Mosul, but the Mosul question need not exist if you hold out the hand of friendship to these Mohammedan peoples. But I doubt very much whether this problem has ever been regraded as a whole in the Foreign Office. Although we have Sir Austen Chamberlain saying we have every desire to live in peace and amity with Turkey, our actions do not keep with our words. This is a very big and serious problem that faces us, if we are now to keep the British Empire going and keep India. (Applause.)

General Sir George MacMunn: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have had some very interesting and informative remarks made on the lecture. One thing I would like to point out, and that is if the worst comes to the worst, and in the course of the next ten or twenty years Soviet Russia insists on crossing the Kabul frontier with the desire of adding to the factitious republics some of the Afghan territory, it will no doubt be necessary for us to assist the King of Kabul against them. As has been mentioned, up to the time when the present Amir insisted on invading India—entirely unprovoked, just after the Great War was over—we had guaranteed his frontiers against Russia, and up to the day of the Great War the whole energy of the military authorities in India was devoted to preparing to carry out that obligation if necessary; and we were quite prepared, if need be, to send troops to Afghanistan, and generally to back up the Afghan forces against Russia. We are far better able to do it now than we were then, if we are compelled to do so. As Colonel Stokes has told you, it must be our policy to support these Mohammedan kingdoms, so long as they are worthy of it, that lie between us and Russia, whether Imperial or Soviet. We shall have to support Afghanistan, and are now in a far better position to do so than formerly. When we guaranteed the protection of Afghanistan by force of arms against Russia there was not a motor-car prac-

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tically, certainly not a motor-lorry, in the whole of India, and no motor road in Afghanistan or on the frontier. Now not only is there a considerable force of motor transport of the Indian Government, but industrial India has motor transport, and Great Britain has plenty to send. In addition to that we have motor works and repair shops in India, and these must increase; we have doubled the railway from Peshawar to the frontier, and have very much improved the railway line to the Quetta frontier, and very much improved the whole of our railway reserves. Therefore, if the worst comes to the worst, we are in a very much better position to support Afghanistan against her neighbours than formerly. No one wants more war, and certainly neither this country nor India; but we cannot allow a scoop of Afghanistan by Soviet Russia as part of their design to destroy India by Soviet penetration. But at the present period, just as the essential demand is for economy here, so in India is the demand the same, and I see no hope of the Indian Government being willing or able to adopt any methods of pacification of the frontier such as Colonel Lewis would wish to take. However urgent it may be to take over the tribal country, you may be certain we shall not do it. It is too costly, and Government must adopt the policy of sitting tight and hoping for the best. Such preparations for trouble as are possible will no doubt be made, and our own Foreign Office and the Indian Government are watching closely what the Soviet people are doing. There is only one way to meet propaganda—that is, by counter-propaganda; you must spread as good a story as the other fellow if you would prevail. I think the Indian Government understand that, and there is no better propaganda, as Colonel Stokes has said, than the extraordinary influence which the British Minister in Kabul is obtaining, and the general good opinion of the English that is prevailing in public opinion there compared with the attitude of other Europeans with whom the Afghans are in touch. It is a great source of strength to imperial Britain that even if people do not like us, which I doubt, they trust us. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: As no one else will step in, I must sum up. I am sorry, because I did not come prepared to speak on this occasion, but have at the last moment been compelled to take the chair. The paper was, as I said, needlessly short; we could have listened to a much longer and fuller paper with advantage; but, on the other hand, it has left us more time for discussion, and we have had the advantage of hearing speakers well acquainted with the subject, two of whom have recently come from Kabul. The only point I might say something about is Colonel Stokes's remark that he relied on a combination of Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan to oppose the Soviet menace.

Colonel STOKES: Not exactly that. You have got to keep those three countries independent. I do not say they would combine to resist Russia; you have got to keep them going between you and Russia.

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The CHAIRMAN: That modifies the remarks I was going to make. It is true they could form a barrier which might be valuable, but at the same time I am not hopeful about such a barrier. I have been all my life a Turkophile and Russophobe, but at the present moment I feel that the conditions under which I was a Turkophile have completely changed, and what we may now have to meet is a Russian and Turkish combination. Personally, I no longer believe in the Russian menace. The whole situation is so changed. Modern political progress—railways, steam communication, and such-like modifications—have put it out of the power of Russia to invade India in the easy way that they so jauntily contemplated twenty, thirty, or forty years ago. They seemed to think in the old days that the invasion of India was a simple problem; that they had only to enter Afghanistan, march through it, rouse the border, and drive us away from the frontier. But I think that the Soviets, in spite of their general military ignorance, recognize that it is not a feasible proposition under present circumstances, and that Afghanistan may be a barrier to themselves. If, as Colonel Stokes said, we can get Afghan support, there need be no fear of Russia. Those who have little acquaintance with the countries mentioned may suppose, from the position they occupy on the map, that invasion by them is quite a possible proposition. Afghanistan is, however, one of the most difficult countries in the world. It is seamed with mountains in every direction, and its tribes, though not autonomous, would all be united against *any* invader. There are no people in the world who would more readily rise to fight if their country were invaded. I believe that as long as we can keep Afghanistan on our side there is no fear of invasion by Russia. The distances, the local difficulties, and also the low organizing power of the Russians, will be, I might say, always on our side. They are sure to commit ghastly mistakes, and I hope we shall profit by them. I do not think I need detain you any longer. I entirely agree with much of what has been said by the last speaker, General MacMunn. I believe we are now in a very much better position to resist Russia, and that the Russian difficulties are probably far greater than they were even in Tsarist times.

I am sure you will all support me in giving a hearty vote of thanks to the speakers who have come here to-day, as well as to General Sir WILLIAM THOMSON, who kindly read the paper which gave us the substance on which to open a discussion. (Applause).

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THE BAKHTIARIS*

By Sir Arnold T. WILSON, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O.

No apology is needed for the following attempt to explain and elucidate the early origin of the Bakhtiari tribes and to give some account of their way of life, for this branch of the great Lur family has played an important part in recent history. It was their action in 1909 which made the establishment of the present constitutional régime in Persia possible, but they have a greater title to our gratitude and to fame than this. The greatest oil-field in the world—that of Masjid-i-Sulaiman—is situated in their territory, and has been worked under the protection of guards supplied by their chiefs and by labour drawn to a great extent from their tribes for the best part of twenty years in a spirit of entire amity and goodwill. The Bakhtiari tribes occupy the large tract of mountainous country in Southern Persia lying roughly between longitude 48° 40′ and 51° E., bounded on the south by the great plain of Khuzistan and on the north by the high-lying submontane districts of Chahar Mahal, Faraidun, and Khunsar.

Racial Origin.—"Who the Lurs are," says Curzon, writing in 1890, "and whence they came is one of the unsolved and insoluble riddles of history." He quotes Rich, who declared the Bakhtiaris to be Kurds, and mentions the further speculation that the Bakhtiaris are the relics of one of the Greek colonies left by Alexander in Asia, a hypothesis for which the further support is claimed of the similarity of the Greek and Bakhtiari national dances. It has also been suggested that they are Turks, Semites, and Kurds, and it has even been suggested that they originate in Bactria owing to the similarity to European, but not to Persian, ears of the words "Bactria" and "Bakhtiari." Recent research into Bakhtiari tradition suggests that none of these assertions is entirely correct, but that there is an element of truth in all of them.

The legend that tribesmen tell to explain their origin is connected with the son of Mardas, Zuhaq, who, at the invitation of the people of Persia, invaded that country, overthrew Jamshid, the fourth of the mythical kings of Persia, and reigned in his stead. Zuhaq, so the legend runs, was at first wise and virtuous like his father, but later he was tempted by the devil to slay his father and seize the throne. A victim to ambition, "by which sin the angels fell," he did so, and became the slave of the devil, who begged to be allowed to kiss his

* Lecture given at the Royal Society of Arts on March 4, 1926, to the Royal Asiatic Society, the Central Asian Society, and the Persia Society, illustrated by a film "Grass," kindly lent by the Famous Players Film Co., Ltd.

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shoulders and to touch them with his eyes. Flattered, Zuhaq agreed, and from each shoulder sprouted a black serpent. Many remedies were tried, but without avail; when cut off the reptiles grew again. Again the devil appeared, disguised as a physician, and prescribed as a remedy that the serpents should be fed daily on the brains of men, a diet that would ultimately prove fatal to them.

Daily two young men were slain to provide the serpents with their appointed food; after a time, however, the servants of Zuhaq substituted sheeps' brains, permitting the human victims who were brought for execution to the palace to escape to the mountains on condition that they never left their fastnesses, lest the trick be discovered. Followed by their wives and families these young men fled to the hills, where they lived, calling themselves Bakht Yari—the lucky ones.

According to another legend they are the descendants of a Moghul named Bakhtyar, who came with the Turks of Túrán when Afrasiab invaded Persia in the reign of Gushasp. The descendants of this man took to the mountains and defied all comers—even the redoubtable Parthians, till Ardeshir (Artaxerxes) the Sassanian subdued them and put over them rulers who lived in this mountain and carved the monuments which may be seen to this day at Malamir and elsewhere.

A third legend claims that the Bakhtiari were town dwellers till the time of Darius III. (Codomarius), "Darya Valm," who was placed on the throne of Persia about 336 B.C. by the eunuch Bagoas; at this time oppression caused many to abandon their towns and fly to the hills, where they became the progenitors of the Bakhtiari.

The Haft Lang branch of the Bakhtiari include under their ægis tribes of widely different origin and characteristics. In the warm depths of the Karun valley are to be found several communities of Arab origin, speaking a dialect which includes many Arabic words. These are the Arab Gao Mish, who, as their name implies, make their livelihood by keeping herds of buffaloes. The buffalo has no place among the stock of the true Bakhtiari nomad.

There are also several tribes of "Turks" who are in tributary relation to the Haft Lang chiefs, and are probably of Qashqai origin. These speak a dialect of Turkish identical with that of their Qashqai forbears.

Mention must also be made of the Zangina, a tribal subdivision who claim to have come from Kurdistan some ten generations back: there are also numerous other fragments of non-Bakhtiari origin, such as the Shalu-i-Haidar Khani who live in Dizward, a district between Dehdiz and Qal'ah Madrasah on the Sfahan road. This group are Jagatánis who migrated from Shiraz 500 years ago, and their chiefs trace their descent from Changiz Khan. Again, the Suhíd, a subdivision of the Dínárúní, who are classed as Dúraki, are really of Kúhgalú extraction, having come from Táshún in the Bahmai country some ten

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generations ago. To this day they retain their predatory instincts and have an unenviable reputation.

One of their chiefs traces his descent from Kaikubád.

Another section of the Duraki, the 'Arab-i-Ali Beg, trace their descent from the Mahawi, a tribe of Arabs who in former times lived in Bulaiti near Shúshtar, and are of Beni Turuf origin. Owing to internal dissensions a portion of them fled to the Bakhtiari country in the days of J'afar Quli Khán. They have prospered and own large flocks of buffaloes.

The Bábádi from time immemorial have been wild and lawless, and by successive governments have been driven out from various habitats for this reason, till at last they have come to rest among the rugged mountains of the Zardeh Kuh. Originally they were Arzáqeh Arabs living in Mesopotamia, migrating in the time of the 'Abbásid Caliphate to Basrah, where they remained six years. They moved thence to Ahwaz, but their lawless habits secured their expulsion to Andakáh, whence they were again displaced, till they came to rest in their present habitat. They defied Nádir Shah, who inflicted some punishment on them; the first Ilkhani to bring them under control was Husain Quli —he was also the last—and they have an unenviable, or perhaps we should say enviable, reputation for lawlessness.

Tribal legend and tribal tradition thus both indicate that the group of hill tribes now collectively known as the Bakhtiari are, in point of fact, refugees drawn from half a dozen different races, who have been absorbed into the original Iranian stock.

General Characteristics.—The ordinary tribesmen are destitute of any bookish education or knowledge of the outer world, though they may visit the neighbouring towns as foreigners for commerce or barter, but the exigencies of their active, roving life, ever confronting them with the unmitigated dangers of rugged mountains and swift rivers, and exposing them to the vicissitudes of climate and weather, keep their wits in a state of intelligent activity.

Pastoral people are not usually fools, and the ideal nomad grazier should be a combination of Rob Roy and the Lowland Scottish shepherd. The Bakhtiari has more of Rob Roy perhaps than of the shepherd in him, and his natural pastimes, when left to pursue his own courses, are rather raiding and robbery than poetic reflection or philosophic meditation.

Considering his surroundings and his neighbours, it is not altogether surprising if the Bakhtiari is a man of violence and not unacquainted with sin. If under the discipline of relatively powerful chiefs his quick temper may find satisfaction in belabouring a quarrelsome or sulky wife, or hurling himself on an annoying brother Bakhtiari, rather than in the excitement and danger of an attack on a neighbouring tribe, and if petty thieving and pilfering often take the place of robbery

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under arms and other high enprise, it is by no means always so. At least the manliness of the race has not as yet been assailed by the debasing influences of law courts with their chicane and false swearing to another's hurt. It is perhaps unnecessary for me to add that the average Bakhtiari tribesman is physically as fine a man as is to be found in any country, capable of extraordinary feats of endurance, wayward as a child and as lovable withal, a loyal friend and a good workman.

Tribal Divisions.—The Bakhtiari tribe is divided into two parts, the Haft Lang and the Chahar Lang. Two reasons are given by tribesmen for the division. According to one account, Bakhtyar the Mughul had two wives from whom he had four and seven sons respectively; from these eponymous heroes sprang the Chahar and the Haft Lang.

Another tradition is that the tribe was originally undivided. One day, however, they divided for the purposes of a raid into two parties, and in the fighting that ensued four from one party and seven from the other were killed, taken captive, or left behind, from which circumstance the divisional names arose.

Description of the Haft Lang.—The large majority of the Haft Lang are nomadic, and in the course of their seasonal migrations cover all the central part of the tribal territory.

In the winter they are found scattered among the low hills and undulating valleys fringing the Arabistan plains; but with the arrival of the vernal equinox they begin to turn their faces northwards, and then gradually make their way to the lofty central ranges and the high-lying and hill-girt plains beyond, which border on and shelve down to the central Iranian plateau. Autumn again sees them retracing their arduous steps along unmade tracks over the intervening ranges to their winter haunts.

Though nomads whose principal interests centre in their flocks and herds, they are not, like many of their cousins of Luristan, a pastoral people of the straitest sect, for they also practise agriculture. Indeed, many tribes cultivate two sets of crops, sowing wheat, barley, and other cereals in the uplands (yailaq) in autumn, which they reap on their return in the following summer, and again sowing wheat and barley in the garmsir (lowlands) in winter, to reap and harvest which some of their number remain behind when the general exodus takes place in spring.

The Haft Lang have absorbed, from time to time, many non-Iranian elements: the Behdarwand and the Babadi, for example, both claim to be of Arab descent, and Ranking* states that only the Duraki are of purely Lur descent (and even the Duraki includes many non-Iranian sections).

As a result of this varied composition, the component clans of the

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Haft Lang show much more independence than those of the Chahar Lang.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHAHAR LANG.—The Chahar Lang are now numerically inferior and confined principally to the south-east portion of the country, where they live a more or less sedentary life, and to its north and west frontiers, where they are nomadic. They are now (1926) independent of the Haft Lang khans, and pay taxation and receive orders from the Persian Government direct or through the local representatives of the Central Government.

Like the Haft Lang, though predominantly Iranian, they are of mixed race: the Makwandi, for example, who live round Jaru, came from Mecca, perhaps in the fourth century, when the Persian king Anushirwan conquered all Arabia.

Up till the middle of the last century the hegemony of the Bakhtiari tribe rested with the Chahar Lang, but with the fall of the family of Muhammad Taqi Khan Kiunarsi his rival Jafar Quli Khan, grandfather of the present ruling khans, took his place, and established the general ascendancy of the Haft Lang, which was maintained until 1924, when the Persian Government as a matter of policy decided to detach the Chahar Lang from the control of the Ilkhani and Ilbegi and to deal with them direct, as they are now doing.

The experiment has on the whole been successful and is undoubtedly popular with the Chahar Lang and with their chiefs, though the difficulties of the latter are augmented by the presence at certain times of the year of large numbers of nomadic Haft Lang tribesmen with their flocks.

The Chahar Lang may be divided geographically into two parts—namely, (1) the division living in the Junaqan Garmsir, known as the Junaqan or sometimes by the family name of their chiefs, Chahar Lang-i-Kiunarsi, or, as they more correctly should be called, the Chahar Lang-i-Kiumars; and (2) the division which has its habitat in Faridun, known as the Mahmud Salihi.

CHAHAR LANG-I-KIUNARSI.—(1) The chiefs of the Junaqan or Chahar Lang-i-Kiunarsi are:

(*a*) The sons of Khuda Karam Khan,
(*b*) Mahmud Khan of Dalun,
(*c*) Muhammad Husain Khan of Munganun,

who are cousins.

Khuda Karam Khan was the grandson of Muhammad Taki Khan, who is best known on account of his friendship with Sir H. Layard, G.C.B., who spent several years of his life (*circa* 1841) among the Bakhtiaris. The foundation of British friendship with the Bakhtiaris, which has since become traditional, were laid by him.

The genealogy of the Khuda Karam Khan branch is as follows: Khuda Karam Khan, son of Ali Riza Khan, son of Muhammad

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Taki Khan, son of Hassan Khan, son of Fath Ali Khan, son of Hassan Khan, son of Zaman Khan, who had his habitat at a place called Kiars, situated in the present Chehar Mahal.

The name Kiars may be traced in the name "Kiar," which is the name of one of the four divisions which go to make up the Chehar Mahal, the four divisions of which are: Chehar Mahal, Mizdaj, Lar, and Kiar.

Family tradition makes Zaman Khan descendant of the great Djemsheed (Jamshid) who lost his kingdom of Persia to Zuhaq, the son of Mardas, and who, as I have mentioned elsewhere, figures largely in Bakhtiari legends and traditions.

The legends regarding the great Jamshíd are too numerous, too fantastic, and too varied for inclusion here; suffice it to say that he is credited with supernatural powers. Through Jamshíd and his father, Hushang, the son of Siamak, "who fought with the barbarians called Deeves, assisted by lions and tigers," Zaman Khan's descent is traced to Kiumars, to whom is attributed the title of "Gil Shah," or "King of the World," who had his capital at Balkh and whose sovereign sway was even acknowledged by the wild beasts of the forest.

In bygone days the Kiunarsi used to live in Faridun, with the sister branch of the Chahar Lang, and having quarrelled and become "Yaghi" (rebellious) they migrated to Malamir, where they settled independent of the Haft Lang Bakhtiaris. In the end of November, 1841, the Mutamid-ud-Dauleh, at that time Governor of Isfahan, Luristan, and Persian Arabia, demanded a sum of 10,000 tumans from Muhammad Taki Khan, a part of which, 3,000 tumans, was revenue to the Royal Treasury. Muhammad Taki Khan not having the necessary sum, and being unwilling to extort it from the tribesmen under his rule for fear of alienating their sympathies, had to procrastinate, till at last the Mutamid-ud-Dauleh in desperation complained to Muhammad Shah and accused Muhammad Taki Khan of intriguing with exiled princes in Bagdad, of dishonouring Royal drafts on him, and of refusing to pay tribute. The result of which was that the Mutamid-ud-Dauleh was ordered to coerce this recalcitrant Chahar Lang chief in the following spring. The Mutamid-ud-Dauleh came, and with a large following was the guest of Muhammad Taki Khan, after which he went to Shushtar, but returned again to attack his former host in his fort at Kaleh Tul. Muhammad Taki Khan fled and took refuge with Shaikh Thamir of the Ka'b in the Fallahieh marches, was treacherously taken prisoner by the Mutamid-ud-Dauleh, and sent to Tehran, where he died in 1851.

On his death the chieftainship of the Chahar Lang passed to four men—namely, Ali Riza Khan, Ali Muhammad Khan, Ali Murad Khan, and Ali Quli Khan, the first of whom, however, appears to have been the only one of any account among them, and on his death, in 1879, the chieftainship passed to his son, Mirza Agha Jan.

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The Chahar Lang were at the zenith of their power in the time of Muhammad Taki Khan, and after his death appear to have lost cohesion and to have gradually fallen a prey to the ambition of the Haft Lang chiefs, who, since that time, have been the ruling branch of the Bakhtiaris, and possessed themselves of the territories occupied by the Chahar Lang—namely, Junaki and Malamir.

The Ruling Chiefs.—The present ruling chiefs trace their descent from one Haidar-i-Kur, the blind or, rather, one-eyed chief of the tribe of Papi, who inhabit the rocky fastnesses north of Dizful, west of the Diz. This chief Haidar having quarrelled with his own tribe in the reign of Fath Ali Shah, took refuge with the Khidhiri, now known as the Khidhir Surkh subdivision of the Zaraswand. This subdivision was at that time ruled over by one Khidhir, whose shepherd and servant Haidar became. Tradition has it that after Haidar had served Khidhir for some time the other chiefs, relatives and some say brothers of Haidar, came in search of him from Luristan, and after much wandering came to Khidhir, who from them learnt of the noble birth of his shepherd. Being ashamed of his churlish treatment of a man of high birth, Khidhir sent out robes to the shepherd and a party to bring him in from the mountains, where he was tending his master's flocks. On his return, his brothers tried to persuade the quondam shepherd to return with them and again take up the chieftainship of his tribe, but without success, and returned to their homes. Haidar was now received into the family of Khidhir, who gave him his daughter in marriage, by whom Haidar had one son, Ghalib, whom he taught to read and write. This man, when he grew up, became the confidant and scribe of the chief of the Khidhiri, and so gradually increased in power, and his sons after him, till their descendants gradually ousted the rightful chiefs of the Zaraswand, and eventually made themselves masters of the tribe. One of these, by name Ali Salih Khan, accompanied Nadir Shah, at the head of Bakhtiari sowars, on his expedition to India. Omitting a few generations, we come to Jafar Quli Khan, son of Asad Khan, in whom the present ruling chiefs have a common ancestor. Jafar Quli's competent sons, Hussain Quli Ilkani and Imam Quli Haji Ilkani, each held the Ilkhanship on their father's death for varying periods, and each dying, left behind him a large family. They were succeeded by Isfandiar Khan and Mohammad Hussain Khan, who worked together as Ilkhani and Ilbegi with wisdom and unanimity. They, like their respective fathers, were recognized by the Persian Government as hereditary leaders of the tribes and as governors of the province, for the revenue and security of which they were held directly responsible in virtue of patents of governorship, which conferred on them the titles of Ilkhani and Ilbegi respectively, appointments much coveted for the authority they conferred.

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Isfandiar died in 1903, after thirteen years' unbroken tenure of office, and Mohammad Hussain Khan in 1905. The subsequent history of the ruling family is one of dissension and disunion, with the inevitable result.

Archæological Remains.—Evidences of antiquity in the form of ancient roads and the remains of ancient bridges and buildings are to be found in almost every large valley, along every existing main road, and in most of the larger cultivated plains, and it is quite clear that at a very early date in Persian history—probably during the Achæmenian Period—it was part of a settled policy of the rulers of Persia to maintain good communications between north and south through the Zagros Range. Some of the main trunk roads can be traced to-day: one of them started from Shushtar, crossed the Diz, the Karkhah, and the Kashgan, or was joined by subsidiary tracks crossing these rivers, and went north through Khurramabad to Burujird, with a branch to Kermanshah through Tehran.

The Kashgan River is crossed three times between Khurramabad and its junction with the Karkhah by bridges of very great strength and beauty, which are only partially ruined even now. Of these bridges, two probably date from the Arab conquest; they are of similar construction to the great bridge at Arrejan and Behbehan. They consist of a series of eighteen or twenty piers of solid masonry, each pier (I speak from memory) being some 15 by 12 feet in size, with oval ends faced with cut limestone, the centre consisting of rough blocks of limestone set in a very fine quality of lime, the strength of which is such that, where the piers have been undermined by the gradual cutting back of the river and have fallen into the stream, instead of being disintegrated by the water they have been slightly worn away, cut into pot-holes, scoured and polished by gravel, as if they were a single boulder and not an artificial conglomerate.

The third bridge, which is between the first two, is known as Pul-i-Kalhur and is probably of Sassanian or possibly earlier date.

We have no certain knowledge of any arched bridges in Persia previous to the Sassanian Period, and only of one in Iraq—viz., at Babylon. It is a curious fact that the word "bridge" occurs nowhere in the Old or the New Testament. The idea of arched bridges is certainly much older than the Romans, and it is reasonable to suppose that it originated in Persia, unless, as in so many other things, China can claim priority.

The earlier roads of the Achæmenian Dynasty were probably provided with rough timber bridges thrown across the rivers wherever possible. The geological formation of the Zagros makes this comparatively easy. The Karkhah, which is about the same size as the Karun, flows at the Pul-i-Tang through a narrow rift not more than 15 feet across at the top, and I have seen a Lur jump from

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one side to the other without difficulty; though had he missed his footing, he would have fallen some 50 feet into the gorge. The Kashgan flows through a similar gorge at Pul-i-Kalhur, and there are similar narrow rifts on the Diz, the Zúrá, and several other rivers.

Every town of importance to-day seems to have been connected two thousand years ago by a good paved road with every other place of any size. Paved roads led from Persepolis to Shushan the palace, near Dizful, through Behbehan; another road led from Bandar Rig and Ganawah to Ram Hormuz. Behbehan-Isfahan, Malamir-Isfahan Malamir-Shushtar, were all connected, and a great caravan track led from Shushtar, through Haft Shahidan, over the Karun by a bridge the pillars of which can still be seen in the Landar gorge, northwards through Shimbar, where it forks, one branch going to Kaleh Bázuft and Ardal, another going probably over the Charri pass. There was, of course, a bridge across the Bard-i-Qamchi, and I have traced a well-defined caravan track from Gotwand through the Karun gorge on to the Lali plain and thence to Andakáh. Wherever the traveller goes in Persia—and more particularly in this district—if he keeps his eyes open he can see the remains of these roads, and often, running right across the existing track to-day, the foundations of early buildings consisting uniformly of large boulders laid on a rectangular plan; all that it is necessary to do, in order to get some idea of the antiquity of these ancient foundations and of the ancient rough walls of stone thrown across the passes and gorges all over the country, is to turn over one of the large stones and observe, as I have often done, that the surfaces which are buried are unweathered and are as fresh as when they were originally placed in position, whilst the exposed surfaces are heavily pitted and worn by centuries of exposure to the elements.

In the Faraun valley, north-east of the Malamir plain, there are some fine sculptures of Sassanian date, which are fully described by Layard:

"In a small defile or gorge, called Hong, I discovered five figures, somewhat under life size, carved on a detached rock. They appeared to represent, from their costumes, the meeting of a king of the Sassanian dynasty, followed by three attendants, with another king, perhaps a Roman emperor, on horseback. There was no inscription near them.

"I discovered another bas-relief near a ruined Imam-Zadeh known as Shah-Sawar.* The fall of part of a cliff on a hill-side had left the surface of the rock as if artificially scarped. Upon it was carved a tablet containing six figures, which appeared to me to belong to a much earlier period than the sculptures at Hong. They represented a king, probably of ancient Susiana or Elam, seated on a throne, receiving five captives with their arms bound behind their backs. These figures were

* "The king on horse-back."

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scarcely two feet in height. An inscription, probably in the cuneiform character, which had once existed beneath them, had perished from the effects of time and weather.

"But the most remarkable remains that I discovered in Mal-Emir were those in a ravine called Kul-Fara, or Faraoun. I counted no less than three hundred and forty-one small figures sculptured in the rock. They occupied five different tablets, and were accompanied by a long and perfectly preserved inscription of twenty-four lines in the Susianian cuneiform character. There were, moreover, short inscriptions carved across some of the figures.*

"The largest tablet, which was high up on the face of the rock, but easily accessible, contained ten figures, and appeared to represent a sacrifice. Men were seen in it bearing animals, and playing on instruments of music before an altar, near which stood a priest. The heads of most of the figures had been purposely defaced, probably by the early Musulman occupants of the country.

"The three faces of a large triangular detached rock were covered with similar figures, also represented as engaged in sacrifice or in some religious ceremony. The same subject was repeated on a second detached rock, and in a third tablet, with one hundred and thirteen small figures, in a kind of recess in the hill-side. In another recess was a bas-relief representing a king seated on his throne, with attendants, priests, and others worshipping before him. On a fallen rock at the entrance to the gorge I found the figure of a man about seven feet high—apparently a priest, as his hands were raised as if in prayer. On one side of him were nine smaller figures, and four beneath him.†

In a cleft on the south-west side of the plain is the Shikaft-i-Salman, which contains another remarkable piece of sculpture of the same period.

These inscriptions, which have been published for the trustees of the British Museum, relate to the restoration of certain temples and the carving of the sculptures and inscriptions in this gorge by the king of the period, approximately the eighth century B.C. There is no question that the fertile plain of Malamir, near which these inscriptions stand, must at one time have been thickly inhabited. It was known, as late as the seventh century, as Idaj, and not one but half a dozen ancient paved causeways of the Sassanian period converge on the plain, one from the ancient bridge across the Karun at Bard-i-Qamchi, one from the ford at Susan and over the Kuh-i-Gugird to the north-west, one north-east, which is traversed by the present Ahwaz-Isfahan road and

* These inscriptions are included in the first volume of the collection of cuneiform inscriptions published under Sir H. Layard's superintendence for the trustees of the British Museum.

† All these figures are fully described in Sir H. Layard's memoir published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for 1846.

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is in almost as good a condition now as it was fifteen or twenty centuries ago. A fourth runs round a spur of the Mungasht, probably to Bars. The whole Bakhtiari country is seamed with these relics of a road system which for completeness has no parallel to-day.

There is also said to exist a sculptured tablet in the Shimbar gorge. Sawyer is responsible for the statement that on the summit of one of the Sabz-Kuh peaks is said to be the names inscribed in the rock by "a mighty hunter king that came from the north"; he climbed the summit (11,110 feet) over snow and crystalline rock, but heavy snow (in May) prevented him from seeing the inscription, if indeed it exists. He also describes in some detail a pedestal and column—the whole some six feet high, in a cave, the appearance of the whole suggesting to his mind the remains of a cross in a ready-made catacomb, 10,000 feet above the sea, the chosen meeting place for rude but faithful shepherds (and, after all, it was to shepherds that the angels first chose to appear). Though persecuted through many centuries, Christian (Armenian) communities still exist, and many are the stone-built villages which are attributed to former prosperous Christian communities that have been wiped out by past fanaticism.

Finally, the following tradition quoted by Sawyer concerning three lime-cemented buildings on low mounds commanding the approaches of the Gurab valley near Kaleh-Bazuft is worth quoting:

"Long before the days of the Khosroes, when bows and arrows were the only weapons and iron unknown, there lived in this neighbourhood a king, Farukh Padshah (Pharoe ?), who had three sons—Salmon, Tur, and Iraq. On the father's death the three sons, as in duty bound, quarrelled, and each built himself an impregnable eyrie, the remains of which still exist, and, bearing their names, vouch for the accuracy of the tradition. In due course they separated, and each formed an empire—the eldest, Salmon, went westwards to Rum; the second, Tur, to Turkestan; and the youngest, Iraq, became the founder of the Iranian Empire."

Recent History.—In the reign of Shah Abbas (1586-1628) the Bakhtiaris helped to cut through the hills of Sohrab, which divide the headwaters of the Karun and the Zaindeh Rud, so that the waters of the former would supplement in summer the all too scanty supply afforded to the fields of the Isfahan plain by the latter: to this cutting, which was never finished, was given the name "Karkanun," an abbreviation of "Kar Kardanun" (the place where they have worked). At this time Jehangir Khan was chief of the Chahar Lang and lived at the mouth of the Tang-i-Baba Ahmad.

When Nadir Shah captured Delhi in March, 1739, he had with him 1000 Bakhtiari sowars under one Ali Salih Khan. On the assassination of Nadir Shah, in 1747, the Chahar Lang were under the powerful rule of Ali Mardan Khan, who had welded them into a homogeneous

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whole and whose ambitions led him to seize Isfahan, declaring himself Shah and exercising royal prerogatives. He actually struck a coinage bearing his name; he was attacked not long afterwards, defeated, and later killed by another adventurer of not inferior calibre, Karim Khan Zend, himself a Lur, or rather a Lek, by descent.

As so often happens on the fall or death of a powerful chief, tribal dissensions followed; the Chahar Lang lost cohesion, the Kiunarsi section went to Junaqan, with their headquarters at Malamir, whilst the sister branch, the Mahmud Salihi, remained in Faridun, where in 1794 they came under the yoke of the Haft Lang, who were ruled by Habibullah Khan; in the same reign (that of Muhammad Shah Khwajeh) Qalb Ali Khan made himself master of the Behdarwand: the Kiunarsi later were brought under control by Husain Quli Khan of the Haft Lang. The decline of the Chahar Lang dates from this event.

Sport and Animal Life.—To sportsmen these regions are highly unsatisfactory. The lion, so common fifty years ago, is now extinct. The leopard and bear survive, but are now rare. The mountain goat (ibex) and mountain sheep are commoner, but are restricted for the most part to the most waterless and least attracted areas. The francolin is met with in fair quantities, but it affords but little sport, as it refuses to rise. The inhabitants, hardy mountaineers and idle at all times, are for ever scouring the hills in search of anything that will give an excuse for a shot in season and out of season. Males, females, and young, whatever has life is hunted down and shot. Stalked from every side, and not recognizing the demarcation laid down by man, a wounded bird is frequently the cause of a hunter's quarrel, the commencement perhaps of a tribal feud.

The comparative paucity of bird life is a surprise to the traveller, and his surprise is increased when he learns from the researches of the Russian Zarudny, and more recently of Woosnam and Cheesman, that the number of species observed by these experts in the course of a few months in the area runs into many hundreds.

Arts and Crafts.—As is the case with other nomadic tribes, the handiwork of the Bakhtiaris is restricted to their own requirements.

The women of the tribe weave coarse woollen carpets from the wool produced by their own flocks, the warp of which is usually of five-strand cotton, obtained from either Isfahan while in the high country, or Ramuz, Shushtar, or Dizful while in the low country. The five-strand cotton is imported from India, and is much preferred, though country-woven two-strand or three-strand is also used. The wool also is of similar material. The wool is dyed at home by the women with natural dyes, which are all, with the exception of the indigo-blue, crimson, and violet, obtained by them locally from the various plants and coloured earths. The peculiar orange which is such a striking

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feature of Bakhtiari woven carpets is obtained by treating the ashes of a certain plant found in the mountains with the urine of oxen. The colours with the exceptions mentioned above are obtained from the same centres as the cotton, and happily for the industry the use of aniline dyes, either alone or as an admixture with fast dyes, is practically unknown among the Bakhtiaris.

Besides carpets, the women weave a coarse woollen fabric, on the outer side of which a nap of about ½ inch long is left, which is used chiefly for sewing up into sacks for the transport of grain, etc. This fabric is usually woven in lengths of about 9 feet 6 inches by 3 feet broad, which, in the finished form, are known as a "khur." The black goats'-hair cloth, used exclusively in the construction of their tents, is also woven by the women of the tribe, usually in lengths of about 20 by 3 feet. This is the "sack-cloth" of the Old Testament.

Crafts found among the tribes are few and of the most primitive nature, the most common being blacksmiths and carpenters, with here and there an armourer.

The national form of foot-gear, the "giveh," is also made by the tribesmen in its coarsest form, the soles by men called "giveh-kash," the uppers by those called "giveh-duz."

Each subdivision has its own "medicine-man"—it is impossible to concede to them the title of "doctor," for their attainments in the art of healing are as primitive as they themselves in appearance are uncouth—who relies solely on simples and incantations, which are looked upon as hereditary possessions. Such recoveries as are effected are due, not to the skill of the "medical men," but to the robust constitution with which the tribesmen and women are endowed. All the above arts and crafts are found among the sedentary population subject to Bakhtiari rule also, but, as is only to be expected in a higher degree of development, with the additions of masons and "gilim" weavers. The "gilim" is also woven, to some small extent, by the tribes, and is a woollen floor covering, usually about 9 by 4 feet, with a coloured pattern woven into it both sides alike, and has no pile. Another woollen fabric is produced, called "farsani," which takes its name from the village Farsan, in Mizdaj, which is a variation of the "gilim." The "farsani" has a pattern in colours much resembling the pattern for which the "Panj Deh" Turkoman carpets are famous, is one-sided, and measures about 10 by 4 feet. It is used for a variety of purposes—floor and bed coverings, wrappings for other fabrics, etc.

The actual method of weaving in vogue among the nomads is very much the same as is met with in any other part of Persia, the setting up of the loom, the knotting, tying, and finishing, all being the same, the only difference being that the looms, which are hand-looms, are invariably horizontal among the Bakhtiaris, as opposed to the vertical

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looms met with in the Kashan, Sultanabad, and other districts. To describe it briefly the *modus operandi* is as follows:

The loom, raised about 18 inches off the ground, is set up horizontally in one of the black goats'-hair tents, and on it is strung the warp (Luri "farishdak"), which is sometimes of wool, more often of cotton, for which the five-strand cotton, imported from India, is preferred, though two- and three-strand country-woven is also used. Any number of women and girls, from two to fifteen according to the size of the carpet to be woven, sit on boards and set to work, each weaving about a width of 2 feet. They have no small boys, as in India, or young girls, as in other parts of Persia, to read out the number of stitches of each colour in the pattern, but trust to memory and a miniature design or a carpet which they may be copying.

Each stitch (Luri "gireh") is made by tying the front and back thread of the warp together with a piece of coloured wool in such a manner that the ends are brought out together between the threads tied together, with the "wrap round" below the ends of the wool, which are then cut off with a knife (Luri "kard"), leaving about ½ inch of wool hanging from the knot.

This forms one stitch and the double ends constitute pile.

The process is repeated all along the line (Luri "chin") with the proper colours according to the pattern, and when a whole line is finished the shuttle (Luri "tap") is run through by hand with a cotton or woollen thread, according as the warp is of cotton or wool, to form the woof (Luri "miun tap") of the groundwork. Then the whole line is beaten down with an instrument resembling a heavy fork (Luri "karked" or "tapkub"), with blunt steel prongs fixed close together so as to insert themselves between the threads of the warp. Then the hanging ends, thus beaten close to the line below, are sheared off with a big scissors (Luri "qaichi") to an even length, so that the pile (Luri "khawb") may be even and compact, its length varying in direct ratio to the fineness of the carpet, the finer the shorter. If the lines of stitches are well and evenly beaten down the warp and woof should contain exactly the same number of stitches, but this exactitude is rarely met with, with a resulting slight elongation or contortion of the pattern. After the shearing the beams (Luri "pez") are reversed, the upper becoming the lower, and the warp-threads thus also reversed, the front becoming the back.

The carpet is commenced and finished by either knotting or plaiting the warp thread and weaving in a couple of strands of coloured cotton or wool, according to the material of the woof, between the so knotted or plaited threads and the first or last row of stitches. The edge-binding is done in the process of weaving as each line of stitches is finished, after each beating by the first and last girls of the workers, who wrap some strands of coloured wool round the edge-strings; as the

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carpet increases in size, it is rolled round the beam nearest the workers, or in other cases the boards are shifted forward under the carpet, upon the finished portion of which the workers sit.

The rate of work varies with the expertness of the workers and the fineness of the carpet, but the average rate of work among the Bakhtiaris per girl working on a width of 2 feet is 3 inches length in 10 hours.

The size of Bakhtiari carpets varies from about 7 feet by 4 feet 6 inches (over-all measurement) to 14 feet 3 inches by 7 feet 6 inches, the latter being the more common size among the nomads, while the larger sizes are made on the chiefs' own looms for their private use.

The quality also varies from 8 stitches (Luri "gireh") and 8 lines (Luri "chin") per inch (*i.e.*, 64 stitches per square inch) to 16 stitches and 14 lines per inch (*i.e.*, 224 stitches per square inch).

This may be contrasted with a good Ferahani silk carpet, containing 19 stitches and 20 lines per inch (*i.e.*, 380 stitches per square inch), or a good Kashani, containing 17 stitches and 16 lines per inch (*i.e.*, 272 stitches per square inch), or a good Kirmani, containing 16 stitches and 15 lines per inch (*i.e.*, 240 stitches per square inch).

The value of Bakhtiari carpets varies according to quality, size, etc., but to quote an example we may say that a well-woven carpet of the smaller size mentioned values about 15 tumans, while the larger size quoted values about 60 tumans. The women employed on the chiefs' looms are paid 2 krans and their food per diem plus 1 maund shah of wheat per month, all materials being found; the women and girls so employed are usually the relatives of the chiefs' own retainers or "amlajat."

Among the nomads the designs are indigenous and are usually broad, flowing floral designs in which animals sometimes appear, with broad borders, while the same holds good for the carpets woven on the chiefs' own looms, on which also designs of carpets from other districts are copied.

The point from which Bakhtiari carpets gain their individuality is their colouring, and it may not be without interest briefly to describe the methods employed by the nomads for producing those colours, and their method of production:

1 Royal blue (indigo-blue; Luri "abi").

2. Crimson (Luri "surkh-i-sir").

3. Violet (Luri "bunafsh").

The above are bought in the various trade marts, Isfahan, Ramuz, Shushtar, or Dizful.

4. Dark blue (Luri "surmai") is produced by an admixture of a greater percentage of indigo to water and less washing.

5. Black (Luri "mishki") is produced by boiling for a few hours a mixture of pounded pomegranate skins and blue vitriol ("zaq-i-siah")

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and water, to which indigo is later added. This mixture is reboiled and the dye produced.

6. Light green (Luri "sauz-i-pistai"). The leaves of the apple tree, or for an olive green ("sauz") the leaves of the willow tree, are pounded up with alum and boiled up for a few hours with water, into which mixture wool which has already been dyed yellow is dipped.

7. Dark green (Luri "sauz-i-sir"). The leaves of a plant called "jaz," or of another plant "isfarak," are pounded up with alum and boiled with water. The wool to be dyed is steeped in the dye so produced for twenty-four hours, washed in running water for twenty-four hours, resteeped, rewashed, and put in the sun to dry.

8. Coffee colour (Luri "bukhur"). "Kela," which is the ashes of *Quercus ilex*, is mixed with the urine of oxen, to which a small percentage of water is added and the whole boiled. Into this is dipped wool which has already been dyed violet, and the depth of colour is regulated by the number of dippings and washings.

Another method of producing a very dark coffee colour is to steep the violet wool for three days, or longer if necessary, in stagnant water.

9. Buff. Camel's hair ("pashm" or "kirk-i-shutur") is used in its natural state.

10. Yellow (Luri "zard-i-limui"). The leaves of a plant called "gandal" are pounded and heated to the boil with alum and water.

11. Bakhtiari orange or golden yellow (Luri "zard-i-tilai"). The leaves of a plant called "gandal," madder ("runyas"), or, failing this, turmeric ("zarchuba"), and pomegranate skins are pounded up with alum and well boiled with water, to which a large percentage of the urine of oxen has been added. The wool to be dyed is dipped in this dye and then steeped in running water, and the longer the steepings the deeper the colour.

12. Scarlet (Luri "surkh"), "kala" (wood ash), madder, alum and the juice of unripe grapes ("ab-i-ghura") are well mixed together and then boiled in a mixture of water and urine of oxen. The various shades of this colour are obtained by increasing or decreasing the amount of grape juice. Shades of the colours are produced by increasing or decreasing the length of time allotted to steeping.

The usual process of dyeing is to steep the wool in the dye for twenty-four hours, wash in running water for twenty-four hours, resteep and rewash for a similar length of time, and dry in the sun. A small quantity of bovine urine is added to the dye for the second dipping to ensure fastness of colouring.

This addition is regarded by the Lurs as a fixing agent, without which the colour would be evanescent.

Dialect.—The Bakhtiari dialect has been studied by several European scholars, notably by Major (now Lieut.-Colonel) D. L. R. Lorimer, C.I.E., whose valuable monograph on the subject has been

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published by the Royal Asiatic Society. He shows the Bakhtiari dialect to be in the main distinctly Iranian, with many old Pehlevi words omitted and with a few accretions from Arab, Turkish, and Kurdish tribal sources.

The Bakhtiari is an out-door animal and a mountain dweller, and is accustomed to exercising his lungs, if occasion require, across a valley or down a hillside. The less sophisticated tribesman is, therefore, apt to be a noisy companion in a drawing-room; on the other hand, he has, as a rule, the merit of articulating clearly, and the Bakhtiari dialect is in consequence not unpleasing to the ear, and has a real fascination for students of languages by the reason of its vividness and the wealth of homely imagery which is employed in every-day speech.

We have seen that the typical Bakhtiari is a shepherd, cattle-owner, and nomad; we have seen that he is also an agriculturist, that the country he inhabits is wild and savage, and that he is constantly exposed to the severities of nature, to heat and cold, to rain and snow and parching dryness. All these conditions postulate a vocabulary sufficiently variegated to deal with them, for they constitute the crude material of necessary conversation.

Bakhtiari Customs.—It is much to be regretted that this most interesting subject has not been more fully studied by those whom good luck has enabled to spend some time amongst the tribes. The Stick Dance is considered by some to be closely akin to ancient Greek dances, though it is more than doubtful whether any deductions can be made from fancied resemblances of this sort. I myself witnessed a mourning ceremony for a warrior who had fallen some two years previously. The men and women in their best clothes formed each two groups. Two large black tabernacles stood side by side in line, one for the women and one for the men, and at each outer flank stood a group of women and men respectively swinging their arms and bodies to the rhythm of a melodious but sad dirge. The other groups were some 200 yards off, and soon began a slow march towards the tents, the women making straight for the women standing near their tent, and the men for the men's group near theirs. As they came near each other, all the actors gave out signs of grief and woe, not discordantly, and beat their breasts with both hands fisted. On the groups closing, they disappeared into their respective tents, and began again their doleful songs. The whole ceremony was quickly and systematically performed without confusion. The proceedings, though perhaps more ceremonious than real, were realistic, and the women, in their dark, nearly black, clothes, unveiled as are all Bakhtiari women, standing and marching shoulder to shoulder in an orderly group, bore a grave and impressive appearance.

Other customs are referred to in some detail in that most interesting book entitled "Grass." Many of these observances are probably

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connected with pre-Muhammadan religious observances, for Islam penetrated into these hills at a comparatively late date. I myself have seen the eternal fire burning in the hills of Luristan. I have seen the women making their bows and saying their prayers to the high places, lofty peaks such as those that were sacred when Baal was all-powerful. I have seen great rocks in distant valleys red with the blood of recent sacrifice, and it is probable that the beliefs underlying these practices still linger on.

Of folk-lore there is much that might be written. Like all hill-men, they are fond of stories of animals, some of them with a religious tinge, but nearly all of them with a humorous touch. They have numerous stories about bears, whom they believe to be endowed with an intelligence far superior to that of other animals, and to have almost human feelings and habits. They claim that a bear will sometimes kill a man to possess himself of fire-arms, which, however, the bear is unable to use when he gets them. This is because bears were once human beings, being, in fact, the progeny of a miserly, inhospitable man, who, seeing a stranger coming and thinking to shirk the duties of hospitality, hid himself under a heap of wool, for it was the time of sheep-shearing, and desired his wife to tell the traveller that her husband had gone to the mountains and that, being a woman and alone, she could not receive him as her guest. She did as she was bidden, but the stranger, who was none other than Hazrat Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, knew that her man had hidden himself. Addressing him, "Arise, O Bear," he exclaimed, "and dwell henceforth in the woods," the wool adhered to the inhospitable Lur, he lost his speech, fled to the mountains, and became the first bear, being joined, we may suppose, by his wife at some subsequent date.

Of the leopard they tell another story—that it will always scratch a man's face, but will never touch a woman, and the reason is this. A woman once went to the Prophet Ali saying, "Sir, I have no husband. Find me a husband." "Certainly," said Ali, who found her one. A month later she came back. "O Ali," she said, "I cannot live with such a man; he is too cruel, too hard, too unkind, too brutal. Find me another husband." The Prophet complied. A month later she was at his door-step again. "O Ali, I cannot live with such a man. He is no man at all. Whatever I ask for he gives me; whatever I say, however unreasonable, he accepts. He has nothing for me but embraces and affection. He is not the sort of man that I can admire or live with." "Woman," said Ali, "you are hard to please, but I will give you one more husband," and a third was found. A month later she reappeared. "O Ali," she said, "I cannot live with this man. He is so calm and just, and reasonable, and proper, and dull, that I would sooner have my first husband back. He was indeed a man." "Woman," said Ali, "you are incorrigible. Become a leopard," and ever since

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then, whenever a leopard sees a woman, it passes her by, and when it sees a man it scratches his face.

Of the cock and the hen, who cannot fly, they tell the story that there was once a time when the Almighty was giving wings to all the animals. It was late in the day when the turn of the cock and hen came, and of certain others too late to try their wings. Most of the birds said, "Very well; God willing (Insha Allah), we will fly to-morrow." The cock and the hen did not say "God willing." They just said, "We will fly to-morrow," and in revenge for their presumption the Almighty deprived them of the power of flight, and that is why every Persian prefaces an expression of intention with the magic words "Insha Allah."

And they have stories, too, of frogs, to whom the Prophet gave orders that they should sing the praises of the Almighty at night when all other animals were silent; of the camels, who were a race of Shaikhs so proud that, instead of saying, "There is no God but God," they said "There is no God." In spite of warnings they persisted, and were turned into camels and became beasts of burden. That is why they grumble when they are loaded and look so proud and supercilious as they pass down the street, and that is why there is and never has been any such thing as a wild camel, although all other domestic beasts have their equivalent in the wild state.

The crane they call "Haji Laklak," for he flies to and from Mecca every year, and has on his head a white turban as a sign of his wisdom, like the priests.

The swallow, too, is a sacred bird who may by no means be killed or molested, however inconveniently he may build his nest in the drawing-room or bedroom. On his head is the blue turban of a descendant of the Prophets, and it was a host of these birds that destroyed the army of Abyssinia that was about to attack Mecca. And I will conclude with the proverb typical of many current in men's mouths: "Three things there be that no man hath seen—the eye of an ant, the foot of a snake, and the way that a mulla gets his living."

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ADEN*

By Major H. WILBERFORCE-BELL

(*Indian Political Service.*)

I seldom think of Aden without remembering a certain servant whom I engaged once in India in succession to another who had proved unsatisfactory. The day I engaged him I noticed a little heap of dust on the stairs. Two days passed and it still remained, so I thought it time to point the heap out to my new acquisition. His answer left me speechless. "Oh yes," he said, "I have seen it; but it is not my dust, it was there when I came!"

So was the Aden dust-heap there when we came on the scene in 1839. But it is a permanent heap by the side of the great highway of the Mediterranean, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean, which forms the backbone of our Imperial communications. Aden is the eastern counterpart of Gibraltar.

It is a small place in itself. If you look at the map you will realize better its confined dimensions. Including the sandy isthmus connecting it with the mainland, it comprises only twenty-one square miles of country, most of which is mountainous and uninhabitable. Sheikh Othman, an adjunct village situated at the neck of the isthmus, has an area of thirty-nine square miles, nearly all of which is desert. Further along the coast and at the opposite side of the harbour is Little Aden, a volcanic peninsula similar to Aden, and which has an area of fifteen square miles and a population of about 300 souls, all fishermen and their families. Little Aden was acquired by purchase in 1869, and possession of Sheikh Othman was similarly obtained in 1882, both as defensive measures. Thus the total area is about seventy-five square miles, most of which is uninhabited or uninhabitable. Sheikh Othman has a population of about 8,000, so the great bulk of the total population of about 56,000 lives in Aden.

When British troops entered Aden on January 19, 1839, the place was little more than a fishing village, where a few hundred souls made a livelihood from what the sea had to yield. Gone were the days when Portuguese and Turk had striven for the mastery of a place which was itself of first-class strategic and commercial importance in the affairs

* Anniversary lecture given at the hall of the Royal United Service Institution on June 10, 1926, the Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen in the chair.

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of the world. Ruined were the formidable fortifications—sited both against attack from the mainland as well as from the sea—which, for centuries previously, had been the last thing in defensive works. It was over the almost flattened ruins of these works that the storming parties of the Bombay European Regiment (which, after the Mutiny, was brought on to the British establishment and was disbanded in 1922 as the 2nd Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers) and the 24th Bombay Infantry (later the 124th Baluchistan Infantry and now the 1st Battalion 10th Baluch. Regiment) advanced. Dead was the harbour—due chiefly to silt, and very largely also to an extravagant customs tariff designed to satisfy the greed of a thoughtless Arab chief and his satellites—which for many centuries had been the very centre of commerce between the Eastern and Western worlds.

Ruin and desolation had succeeded prosperity and power, and after providing for security from attack without and from treachery within, the first important task of Aden's new masters was to make law and order where none existed. Such in a few words was the condition of Aden at the time of the British occupation, and I make no excuse for referring to the written words, relative to things as he found them, of Commander Haines of the Indian Navy, to whom was entrusted the business of building anew after a successful entry. He writes:

"The little village (formerly the great city) of Aden is now reduced to the most exigent condition of poverty and neglect. In the reign of Constantine, this town possessed unrivalled celebrity for its impenetrable fortifications, its flourishing commerce, and the glorious haven it offered to vessels from all quarters of the globe. But how lamentable is the present condition! With scarce a vestige of its former proud superiority, the traveller sees and values it only for its capabilities, and regrets the barbarous cupidity of the Government under whose injudicious management it has fallen so low."

I much regret that I am unable to show you a picture of Commander Haines, although I believe that there is one in existence. Subsequent to the capture of Aden he was its first ruler, and his fate recalls that of Warren Hastings. After some years' administration of his charge, he was accused of peculation and imprisoned in Bombay. There he was kept, even after a judicial trial had resulted in his acquittal, until his health completely gave way, and he was released from prison only to die. He was buried in the Back Bay Cemetery at Bombay, and his name was never officially cleared of the slur upon it. His guilt was as doubtful as was that of his greater predecessor, and the injustice of his treatment was no less infamous.

Let us now turn for a few moments to earlier history. The Arabs say that Cain was buried at Aden, in a tomb which was elevated to an inaccessible height by volcanic action. The picture shows the traditional spot, now high above the main pass connecting the old Aden

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with the new. The first authentic mention of Aden is in the twenty-third verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel, where it is described on equal terms with Sheba in its commercial relations with Hiram, King of Tyre. Then there is a blank, and later the Amalekites journeying southwards mixed with the Sabæans and formed the Himyarites. There were Himyaritic rulers of Aden for several hundred years before the birth of Christ, but the Himyaritic power disappeared when, in about A.D. 110, the Emperor Augustus sent a Roman expedition to the Yemen under Ælius Gallus. Before this Roman invasion, however, we are told by the author of the "Periplus" that Aden had fairly recently been destroyed.

Then comes another blank until A.D. 342, when it is known that the Emperor Constantine sent an unfruitful Christian embassy to Aden. But Christianity in the Yemen proper lasted longer than it did at Aden, until, at the beginning of the sixth century, the Jews of the Yemen massacred all the Christians except a few who fled to Abyssinia. These survivors induced the Abyssinians to despatch an army to the Yemen under one Aryat, who landed at Aden, and proceeding inland established an Abyssinian dominion. This invasion took place in A.D. 525, and altogether four Abyssinian kings ruled. The last of them, Masruk, was called upon to defend himself against Persian aggression, for Seiph, a descendant of the Himyaritic kings, applied to Kosroes, King of Persia, for aid in driving out the Abyssinians, which aid was granted. Masruk was killed, and in about the year A.D. 575 a Persian rule was established in Yemen and Aden with Seiph as Viceroy. I think I am right in saying that from that time until 1922, when Ras Tafari, heir-apparent of Abyssinia, visited Aden, no further member of the Abyssinian ruling family had set foot in Yemen. The last Persian viceroy died in A.D. 632, and the House of Umayyah then ruled until A.D. 749, when Aden passed with the Yemen beneath the yoke of the Abbaside Caliphs.

In 932, however, Aden became independent under its own Imam, but 106 years later Ibn Omar of Lahej established his rule in Aden, and this continued for 400 years, when the place was recaptured by the Imam of Yemen. The map now shown on the screen is that of the Yemen, of which Aden was anciently a part. The "Arabia Felix" of the Romans is still a smiling and fertile land, rich in soil and in agricultural and mineral possibilities. But, generally speaking, it is *terra incognita* to us. Few Europeans have penetrated to Sanaa, its capital, and the most recent Englishmen to have gone there are Colonel Jacob and Sir Gilbert Clayton. Some years before the war George Wyman Bury, a comparatively unknown wanderer, lived an adventurous life in the Yemen as chief of an Arab tribe, and his knowledge of the country was peculiar and unique. He died a few years ago, but he left behind him no record worthy of his doings, though his

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two books "The Land of Uz" and "Arabia Infelix" are full of interesting information.

Between Sanaa and Aden is an expanse of country which is in part fertile and in part a sandy waste. This country is occupied by a number of petty tribes, and it is not possible to consider Aden without also considering them and the country to which it is contiguous. Our sphere of protective influence in the Hinterland was settled in 1905, but I will refer later on to this. Beyond our sphere lies that of the Imam of Sanaa, the hereditary ruler of the Yemen, who still considers that Aden is part of his inheritance. The petty tribes owe an allegiance, which is nominal rather than actual, to either ourselves or to the Imam, according to which side of the line of demarcation they belong.

In 1454, two brothers seized Aden, one of whom became its Imam, and his line continued to hold the place until the Portuguese attacked it on Easter Eve, 1512-13. D'Albuquerque, with instructions from the King of Portugal, took an expedition from India, consisting of twenty ships manned by 1,700 Portuguese and 800 Indian soldiers. On arrival they proceeded to make a frontal attack. They carried by storm the island of Seera, a commanding position of defence, and here they took thirty-nine guns and killed most of the defenders. Then for four days they attacked the great wall which ran along the front of the harbour, being beaten off with heavy loss; and they retired after burning all the shipping they could get hold of. There was a Portuguese artist with the fleet and he painted a picture of the action, and the picture now on the screen is from that painting. I regret that I have been unable to trace where the original now is. Seera Island is no longer, strictly speaking, an island, for it is connected now with the mainland. But when the Portuguese attacked it, it was not so connected. It was a very strong and well-defended out-work, and its capture by the Portuguese was no mean feat. The island is of solid rock and lava, with scarce an atom of vegetation upon it. In very ancient times the Arabs said that if one were of pure mind and heart and ascended the place exactly at midnight on the night of the full moon one would be rewarded by the sight of a magic city far away in the desert. Legend says that this magic city has never yet been seen by eyes of man. The island simply radiates heat, and in the hot weather it is like a furnace. To the Arabs of our day it is shorn of all its magical properties and is known purely and simply as "Jehanum."

All that is left of the great wall which the Portuguese attacked so disastrously now forms part of the foundation of the British infantry barracks, and the remains are actually those of the sally-port. This photograph of Aden, taken from Seera Island, shows the changes wrought in appearance and in fact since 1512.

It is now that the Turks enter into the picture. About this time the Turks were dominant in Eastern Europe. They held the Mediter-

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ranean in thrall, and under Suliman the Magnificent had taken Egypt. Their principal antagonists in Europe were the Portuguese, who alone could meet them on equal terms at sea. When, therefore, the Turks learned of the establishment of Portuguese power in the East and of their activities in the Red Sea, they feared being attacked in the flank. A Turkish expedition was therefore sent to Aden, and in A.D. 1538 it arrived in Aden Harbour. Warned by the unsuccess of the Portuguese attack, the Turks obtained an entry into the town by stratagem, and leaving a garrison in Aden the fleet proceeded to India to attack the Portuguese off Diu. This attack was unsuccessful, and on their return journey a few months later they landed 100 pieces of artillery and a further garrison of 500 men before returning to Egypt. One of the guns which they left is now to be seen in the Tower of London. A few years later the inhabitants rose against the Turks and handed the place over to the Portuguese, but a Turkish fleet and army regained possession of the fortress. So matters continued until 1630, when Kassim, a descendant of the Prophet, proclaimed himself Imam of Sanaa in the revolt against Turkish rule. The last Turks were driven out of the Yemen twelve years later, and then early in the eighteenth century the Governor of Lahej revolted and seized Aden. The first English ship to visit Aden was the *Ascension* in the seventeenth century, and those who may be interested sufficiently will find an account of this visit in the "Journal of John Jourdain," which was published by the Hakluyt Society some years ago. It gives us an interesting idea of conditions at Aden at that time. In 1839 we took Aden for a variety of reasons. One of these was as a punishment for an attack on a British vessel. Another, and probably more important reason, was the necessity for establishing a coaling station for steamers somewhere between Suez and Bombay on the adoption of the overland route in 1837. Negotiations were made to obtain Aden by purchase, and the Sultan of Lahej had agreed to cede the peninsula for an annual sum of 8,700 dollars. He went back on this agreement, however, and so Aden was not obtained by purchase.

The Turks returned to the Yemen, but not to Aden, in 1871, and between then and 1901, when a boundary line was more or less delineated, they once or twice attempted to question our right to hold Aden separately. So matters remained until 1915, when they attacked Aden. They were held, however, although they were not definitely defeated until three years later, when they surrendered after the Armistice.

We were not allowed to remain in entirely peaceful possession of Aden after we had occupied it. Several attacks of a minor nature were made by the Arabs from the interior, who very much resented the British occupation. Islam has always had a strong and fanatical hold on the Yemen, and apprehension mixed with religious zeal was deeply

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instilled into them, hence a series of Arab attacks were made upon the fortress, one of them in 1844 by a horde of unarmed fanatics who were told that the bullets of the infidels would not hurt them. All these attacks were beaten off without much difficulty, and although vigilance was necessary for some years to come, we were never till 1915 in any danger of being seriously embarrassed. A few individual attacks were made on officers, but these ceased after 1851, when an Arab who had murdered an officer of the Cameron Highlanders was hung in chains outside the barrier gate and his body left there *pour encourager les autres*. When it had been up sufficiently long to serve its purpose, it was taken down and walled up in a recess in the rocks, which can be seen to this day.

As years went on the fortifications of Aden were entirely remodelled and strongly rebuilt. Modern armaments—quickly out of date, by the way—were mounted at what were considered vital spots, and the place was made practically impregnable from attack on the landward side. But the greatest change of all was the giving up of the old harbour of Aden for the present one at Steamer Point. This was necessary because convenient anchorage was desired for coaling purposes as one of the first results of substitution of steam for sails. Then, again, the old harbour became silted up, and in the middle of the last century, where there had been formerly 12 fathoms of water, ships of very small draught only could ride. So the old harbour, which had been a harbour for at least 2,000 years, became deserted, and it is now used only by a few fishermen. Thus it is that Steamer Point—or Tawahi, as it is more correctly named—began to supersede the ancient Crater at Aden. In 1839 Tawahi was a small fishing village, and so it remained for twenty or thirty years. The principal Government offices and commercial houses were in the Crater, and at Steamer Point were only a few houses erected, to which those who could do so went to obtain some respite from the long Crater hot weather. Steamer Point is considerably cooler than the Crater, which is, as its name implies, the inside of an extinct volcano. It is also healthier, and is not built, like the town of Aden, upon the ruins and desolation of its predecessors. The migration was therefore beneficial from almost every point of view. But the Arab inhabitants did not abandon the Crater, which is still the centre of trade. Hence the Treasury and Court were not affected by the move, and the greater part of the British garrison are still located where the bulk of the population is situated. For some years the garrison had its barracks in what was known as the Isthmus position. This was to the north of the Crater, but between the hills and the high defensive walls. But the place had subsequently to be abandoned, both on account of the heat and of the prevalence of malaria. Generally speaking, the climate of Aden is quite healthy for a short stay. It is hot, but between November and April not unpleasant. After a time in

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Aden, however, the climate is very deleterious. Steamer Point is far more bearable than is the Crater.

I do not suppose that there is a single visitor to Aden who has not heard of the Tanks. They are, indeed, world famed, being hewn out of the solid rock. None knows now when or by whom they were constructed, but it would appear that they date probably from the time of the Persian occupation in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Some authorities—notably Bury—have ascribed to them a much earlier date, but it is doubtful whether there is sufficient justification for this. Like the Pyramids, they have been fashioned with infinite labour, and are so constructed that when the uppermost is full it overflows, and so on until all are filled. The water pours into them through a rocky cleft from the desolate tableland immediately above the Crater. The deep-cut watercourse strongly resembles Dante's Inferno, as pictured by mediæval artists. The capacity of the Tanks is 8,000,000 gallons, but the water in them is never really fit to drink and is sold chiefly for washing purposes. In 1839 they were completely choked with sand and rubbish, and even their site was not known. But seventeen years later their re-excavation was undertaken, and they were restored in time to be filled by a heavy fall of rain on October 23, 1857. Besides these Tanks are seven or eight isolated ones dotted about the Crater hills. But they are unimportant and are now not even watertight.

The rainfall at Aden is extremely small, and most of the drinking water is obtained by condensation. It is only occasionally that a downpour occurs, and then only for a short time, and it is a rare thing for all the Tanks to be properly filled. The mode of water supply in what I might term the middle times is something of a mystery. Perhaps the amount of rainfall has gradually lessened. The construction of the Tanks would be scarcely worth while to retain a fall which occurs only about once a year, for such collected water could not supply a population of 30,000 for more than a few months at most. In the sixteenth century an aqueduct was constructed which led a certain amount of brackish water into Aden from the desert. Then again, there are still wells in Aden itself, which are said to have contained sweet water until comparatively recent times. All these wells now contain brackish water, and probably the brine of the sea has only lately completed its percolation below the Aden peninsula. The four pictures of the Tanks upon the screen give, I fear, but a poor idea of what they are or of the labour expended upon them.

One of the primary results of stabilized British rule has been that Aden has become an important commercial centre. Such commerce is, in fact, largely between the countries exporting hides and coffee and those importing these articles, and Aden comes into the picture chiefly as a port of transhipment. Nevertheless its importance as such is by no means small. It is the most important distributing centre both for

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European, American, and Indian ports as well as for those smaller ports on the Red Sea and on the African coast which are served principally by means of dhows. With this increase of trade there is also an increase of traders, for whereas Indian and Arabian merchants are concerned chiefly with the Red Sea ports, it is English, American, French, Greek, and other European traders whose interests lie further afield. Hence, as a port of call, the tonnage passing annually through Aden reaches very formidable figures, even when vessels entering to coal or replenish their oil tanks are excluded from the list. For example, in October, 1923, the number of vessels of over 200 tons burthen which used the port was eighty-three, the total tonnage of which was about 340,000. The total value of imports and exports for the month was considerably over one crore of rupees. This included both coal and oil fuel. But Aden is not a commercial outlet of the Yemen. That fertile country is, to all intents and purposes, a sealed book to us, and its commercial and mineral possibilities have so far remained practically untapped. The little commerce between Aden and the interior which exists is local in character, for excepting for hides and skins the exploitation of the products of the country, for which Aden is the natural outlet, remains one of the problems of the future.

The affairs of Yemen have always been closely connected with those of Aden, although in recent years the political relationships have been divorced. In 1642 a resuscitated Imam of Sanaa drove the Turks out of the Yemen, where his line remained supreme until 1871, when a Turkish army regained a control of the province, which was in many respects only nominal. But in 1728 the Governor of Lahej—which is the largest Arab town in the vicinity of Aden and is situated in a smiling oasis in the midst of apparently limitless sand and scrub—revolted and set up a state independent of the Imams. Other tribes also, in what is now called our Protectorate, gained a semblance, at least, of independence, and the ruler of Lahej (which then included Aden) allied himself with the Yaffai, Fadli, Haushabi, Amiri, Akrabi, Alawi, Subeihi, and Aulaki tribes, as a measure of mutual defence in case the Imams should endeavour to reassert an overlordship. Thus it came about that when the Turks returned to Yemen in 1871 they found a Yemen much smaller in extent than that over which they had formerly ruled, for our treaty with Lahej after 1839 embraced also the tribes in alliance with him. In typically Turkish fashion the Turks endeavoured to disregard things as they found them, and they proceeded to overrun the Amiri and Haushabi territory, and to threaten Lahej itself. Diplomatic remonstrance led to the withdrawal of the Turks, and they desisted from these methods until 1900, when a Turk constructed a fort at Ad Dareja in Haushabi territory. It was not until troops were sent from Aden that the intruders were expelled, and after a certain amount of parleying the Turks agreed to a boundary line being drawn which

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would mark the limits of the respective spheres of influence of the two Governments. Supplemented by troops, the Boundary Commission got to work, and eventually, in 1905, the dispute was settled by the erection of a line of boundary pillars, which extend from a point on the mainland near Perim for about 200 miles to Kataba on the Bana River. Beyond Lak Mat-es-Shub the line was not definitely marked, but its north-easterly direction only was agreed upon.

In 1911 the Imam of Sanaa made a treaty with the Turks, to which he adhered during the war, and the Armistice left him the inheritor of Turkish power in Yemen, since when he has declared that he does not recognize the boundary fixed by the Commission in 1905 because he was not a party to the agreement. He considers that the Yemen and Aden are one and indivisible, and does not recognize the changes that time has wrought. He affects to regard the Sultanate of Lahej as a revolted governorship, but nevertheless the Commission's boundary line still exists generally, and the tribes on each side of it acknowledge allegiance accordingly—either vaguely or otherwise, as may suit themselves.

But the Imam is a reactionary. He represents "fanatical Islam," and does not desire that his territory be exploited. It is said to be rich in agricultural and mineral possibilities, and if ever it is opened up Aden will be the country's most convenient outlet, particularly if the railway, which now runs from Aden to Lahej, is continued up into the interior. But there is at present little hope of the realization of such a project, and Sanaa and its fertile surroundings are likely to remain more or less inaccessible. Even were the Imam ready to welcome the railway, the commercial difficulty would not be settled. Trade will not flourish where it is insecure, and the education of the tribesmen in the arts of peace would be no light undertaking.

When the Turks were dominant in the Yemen, it is said that they dared not move troops from Hodeida to Sanaa excepting in substantial numbers; also, but with what truth I do not know, that they were practically confined to the vicinities of their barracks. If this is so, the Turkish control of Yemen was a threat rather than an actuality.

No lecture on Aden would be complete without mention of her peoples. They are a mixed collection consisting of Arabs, Jews, Somalis, Sidis, Indians, and half-breeds, besides the British garrison. Of all these peoples the Arab naturally comes first in importance. These Arabs are very bigoted, and have retained many old traits which have died out, or are dying out, in other Moslem countries. Their very language is somewhat archaic, and the Arab camel-men and petty traders who come into Aden are dressed in a loin cloth of indigo blue, just as were their ancestors in biblical days. The educated Arabs are not a progressive people, but one or two of them have attained local importance and some of them have become substantial traders. The Arab of the interior differs

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a great deal from the Aden Arab. He is independent and at one and the same time very democratic and very autocratic. The Arab chieftain rules by the will of his people and only so long as that will is favourable to himself. He has very definite ideas regarding his position as an autocrat, and as an illustration of this I know of no better than that afforded me by an Arab chief who came into Aden with his son. The son died while in Aden, and it became my duty to write to the father a letter sympathizing with him in his loss. His reply was: "I hope that God has given my son a seat in Paradise, but I hope that He will give me a better seat!" They have also a distinct though quaint sense of humour. A year or two ago it became necessary for an aeroplane to drop a few bombs on a neighbouring chieftain who was creating breaches of the peace. This pleased immensely one of his enemies, who wished that another chieftain could be similarly entertained. The aeroplane went, but did not bomb this gentleman, upon which the first Arab came into Aden and said that he had no respect for aeroplanes any longer, that they were like any other bird which did not lay eggs—they were no good!

Next and most interesting of the Arab people are the Jews. These Jews are a marked feature of Aden life, and they look as though they had stepped clean out of the Bible. They still retain all the reverence for the letter of the law which their forefathers had, and for many hundreds of years they have been in the Yemen a persecuted people. In 1910 a French Syrian named Yomtob Semach went on a mission of the "Alliance Israélite" to the Yemen. At the end of his mission he wrote a very interesting book of his experiences, from which I shall here quote. He said that the Jewish population at the time in Yemen numbered about 14,000, and he gave the following account of their origin:

"In my conversation with the rabbis the same phrase always recurs: 'Have we ever had the leisure to think of that which is past? The present is so hard, why dig into the past? We try even to forget our dead, only rarely do we celebrate the anniversary of a dead person. We know by tradition that we came here at the time of Solomon. We were for a time masters of the country, but afterwards what sufferings have we not experienced, and what persecutions! And that is all!'

"They know nothing else. It is I who recounted to them that Ezra, the Scribe, having invited their ancestors to return with him to Jerusalem they refused. The great Patriarch cursed them, since which time no Jew of the Yemen has borne the name of Ezra." So much for their history. Some of their present-day restrictions he mentions as follows: No Jew may—

1. Speak loudly before a Moslem.
2. Build houses higher than the houses of the Moslems.
3. Stare at a Moslem when passing him in the street.
4. Engage in the same commerce as the Arabs.

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5. Say that the law of Islam can have any fault.
6. Insult the Prophets.
7. Discuss religion with a Moslem.
8. Ride astride.
9. Shut his eyes when he sees a nude Moslem.
10. Have anything to do with Jewish law outside the temples.
11. Raise his voice during prayers.
12. Let out money at interest.

Then among the things they must do is, they must always rise before Moslems and honour them in every circumstance. Their distinctive dress and ringlet curls mark their identity. It is persecution which has made the Jews in Aden, as elsewhere, the unalterable people that they are.

A Parsee friend of mine in Aden told me that one Sabbath day (Saturday) he happened to be near a house out of the window of which fell a Jewish child. It was badly hurt, and the father who appeared at the balcony refused to do anything for the child because it was the Sabbath day. It was the Parsee who picked it up and took it to hospital. Several of the Jews of Aden are very rich, and one of them, Judah Messa, owns the whole of the front at Port Said, but refuses, however, to put his money in a bank and keeps it in cellars beneath his house stored in boxes. The story goes that when the Turks were on the point of capturing Aden in 1915 his house was picketed by Arabs sharpening their knives, and if the Turks had got in, there is little doubt that the wealth of the Messa family would have disappeared for ever.

The Somalis in Aden are turbulent and vain specimens of humanity from North Africa. Their customs are those of a brave and barbaric people, and as they are always looking for trouble they have to be carefully watched. They wear a long white garment which resembles a Roman "toga," and they usually cover their heads with lime so as to bleach their hair. They are not permitted to carry the spears and other weapons which they would prefer to do, but they like to be seen with a useful-looking stick or with a short hide whip which is known as a "wife beater." They seek employment at all sorts of odd jobs where hard work is not insisted upon, and they particularly like to own a harbour boat, where the work is lucrative and not too severe. Years ago Somali boys used to disregard sharks and dive for coins. But that occupation is now forbidden. People who know Somaliland say that all Somalis are not like the Aden specimen, but that only the worst cross over from Africa.

Finally, a number of Indians who have served the administration or come as traders since 1839 have intermarried with the Aden Arabs and have formed a community of half-Indian and half-Arab parentage. These people are clever, and a number of them during the war served as firemen in British ships, but the mixture on the whole is not a very good one.

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Social Aden flourishes and apparently always has done so. The English community, consisting of the Eastern Telegraph Company—who form almost a community in themselves—and a number of merchants and traders in addition to the troops, busies itself with all sorts of games and other relaxation to drive away *ennui* and make for fitness. Golf, tennis, football, hockey and cricket, bathing and fishing, furnish sufficient variety for the most exacting devotee of exercise, and there is also a very flourishing polo club, for whose annual tournament His Majesty the King presented, in 1912, a very fine challenge cup. The Union Club is almost as well known as are the Tanks, and some years ago an Historical Society was formed which unfortunately suffers somewhat from lack of permanent support, consequent upon the frequent changes of troops and individuals. Aden has now no newspaper. Some years ago the *Aden Focus* was published with unfailing regularity; but it suffered a decline owing to its principal feature becoming classed under the heading "Things we want to know." As you may imagine, people wanted to know too much, with the result that the *Aden Focus* was obliged to cease publication.

The Aden of the present day is a very different Aden from that of the past. The advent of the motor-car and the railway has given it almost a "rush" appearance, while the introduction of electric light makes the place almost modern. The future, who can foretell? The strategic points of the Empire have been materially affected by the Great War and by the Washington Conference, and Aden, being situated as it is, cannot be ignored either strategically or commercially.

I will now close my lecture with a few pictures on the screen. This picture and that which follows it depict the ancient road into Aden. It is, in fact, one of the most ancient highways in the world, for it was used when Ezekiel lived. Certainly no road in Europe has had so long a continued history. The gate at the top of the hill is on the site of the "Gate of the Water-carriers," mentioned by Abulfeda, the Arab historian, who flourished in the fourteenth century and fought under Saladin against the Crusaders.

The next picture shows the oldest building still extant in Aden. It is one of the minarets of a mosque, the ruins of which are apparently buried beneath it. It is usually ascribed to the Turks, but this is a mistake, since the Portuguese artist, Correia, showed it on his picture of 1512, which was before the Turks took Aden. It is also depicted in this view of Aden of the fifteenth century, which is, I understand—but for which I cannot vouch—from an ancient woodcut found in Vienna some years ago. The Latin inscription in the corner is to the following effect: "Aden, the emporium of renown of Arabia Felix, to which come traders from India, Æthiopia, and Persia. The city is magnificent, well fortified by nature and by art, celebrated for the number and crowding of its buildings, for its wall, and for the high mountains

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above the town, on the summits of which burning beacons indicate the port to navigators. It formerly had the shape of a peninsula, but now, by the industry of man, is surrounded on all sides by water." This last assertion is a glaring mistake. The sandy isthmus connecting Aden with the mainland is about half a mile across, and though this may be a considerably greater distance than formerly, yet the "industry of man" very clearly never attempted physically to cut off Aden from the Yemen.

The next three pictures show Aden Crater from different aspects. Then we have the British infantry barracks, the road to the Crater, and two views of the Main Pass hewn by us in the rocks to connect the Crater with Steamer Point. Maala Wharf, near the Main Pass, has for years been the haunt of the boat-builders. The frail craft they build have the high poop and shallow draught of fifteenth-century ships, and they still sail as intrepidly as sailed the ships of Columbus —of not much greater burthen—across the Atlantic. These picturesque survivals are doomed, alas! to disappear. The coasting steamer is driving them into a position of uneconomic production, and the boat-builder by ancient descent is seeking other means of livelihood.

The next three pictures are of Steamer Point, and then we have the "Gateway of Aden," which is also a war memorial. On one of its sides is a list of all units which defended Aden between 1914 and 1918. Finally, this is a very familiar Aden scene. (Applause.)

Discussion.

Mr. H. St. J. Philby: I am afraid the time is rather short, ladies and gentlemen, but if you will bear with a few words, I should rather like to say them. I had hoped to hear rather more from Major Wilberforce Bell about the modern state of affairs in and about Aden—the present political situation and so forth. As you will have realized from him, a great deal is known to us from various sources about Aden itself. He was, perhaps, inclined to talk about Aden and the Yemen as if they were a single entity, and as if anyone who knew the one necessarily knew the other. But that is not the case. Aden stands next door and is easily accessible to the Yemen, which, as Major Wilberforce Bell said, is practically a closed book. That is true to-day, in spite of the fact that for nearly a century Aden has been in British hands. Great Britain has never been lacking in people with the capacity to explore, people who do not mind roughing it a certain amount or even risking it. But Aden is extraordinary in respect of the authorities who have been there since the beginning of our connection with it. Perhaps they have always been frightened by the case of Commander Haines, to whom reference has been made. He was cashiered by the British Government and accused of embezzlement. He had

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probably been guilty of rather too great keenness in the prosecution of his job, and had gone further than he ought to have done according to the orders of the Government, and they chose that method of getting rid of him. I think that must have had an influence on the subsequent rulers of Aden: not only do they never go inside the Protectorate themselves, but they never allow anyone else to go. For that reason I cannot claim any competence to talk about the Yemen. The last time I went to Aden I did so with the express purpose of attempting the exploration of the little known country of Hadramaut, next door to the Yemen and a little further to the east. But I did not lose much time in discovering that the British Government's sole interest in that part of the world was to remain ignorant of it. I did not ask them to send me, I wanted to go myself; but they would not allow me to. I was then still in the service of the Government, and had to defer my project to a future time. If that future time does come I shall not go in by Aden, but by some back door and only finish at Aden. My experience was after all only the same as that of others who have made the same attempt. I was surprised at Major Wilberforce Bell's modest estimate of the work of Mr. Wyman Bury. I have always regarded him as one of the brighter lights of the British régime in the Aden region, and I think my opinion is probably shared by the great majority of people who are numbered among those who know something about Arabia. I think Mr. Wyman Bury stands in the very front rank of the people who have dealt with Arabia, and contributed their quota to the common stock of human knowledge of the country; and it is a great pleasure to me to be able to do him justice to that extent. I see here Admiral Richmond, and I should like to point out that it was really the Admiralty who ultimately before he died vindicated his reputation and his work. He died a young man; that is, perhaps, why he did not leave the records that would have been worthy of his intimate study of the country. He died of consumption, and most of his work was done under the grave disability of a raging consumption. I think that point should be brought out. It was the Admiralty, the department which is concerned with the sea, which really discovered and vindicated Mr. Wyman Bury's work on land. I believe the Admiralty attitude during the war was that if there was anything far enough away from the sea to be invisible therefrom, that thing was *ipso facto* of interest to it. It was extraordinary the amount of work they did in areas with which it might be thought they had nothing to do. They found out that Mr. Wyman Bury was an expert on Arabia. He had served in and around Aden and done magnificent work. His reward was to be told that he must on no account return to Aden, and that, if he did so, he would not be allowed to land. It must have been rather gratifying to him and very embarrassing to the Aden authorities when he did return and landed as a political officer from one of His Majesty's ships.

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That was sufficient vindication of him within a few years of his unfortunate death. To quote another case: some of you may know that during the war a regiment was raised called the Yemen Infantry. It was raised and trained by British officers for service in the Protectorate, and did very good work. Those officers—every one of them, or the great majority of them—were not only amply qualified but deadly keen to risk themselves, to go into the country and find out something about it. They were stationed at Shaikh Othman, and could come into the Aden club as often as they liked; but anyone who suggested going out in the other direction was discouraged. He was not allowed to go. If he had gone it would have been as much as his job was worth. As a result none of the officers went. When the Yemen Infantry was disbanded, all those officers who had some experience of Arabs and knowledge of Arabia—officers whom the British Government, one would have thought, would use in some country within reasonable reach of Arabia—were scattered to all parts of the earth, to China and elsewhere; and I suppose the reason was that it was feared they might contribute something to our knowledge of Arabia. It is true Colonel Lake, the Commanding Officer, was allowed to go into the Yemen with General Clayton's mission, which went there last winter. Now there was a man who knew the country inside out from the outside—he had never been allowed in—but he was allowed as a concession to accompany the mission, to which he proved of very great service, I believe I am right in saying at his own expense. The circumstances in which that mission was sent and returned stultified were sufficient to show how extraordinarily ignorant the British Government was of the country and of the condition. As a matter of fact, when I heard it had been sent, I wrote a little article to a newspaper pointing out how very silly it was. I did not think my view would be vindicated so completely by the failure of the mission, because I thought the Imam wanted a treaty, and we were going to give him one. But I have never understood why the Imam of the Yemen should have hankered for so many years since the war for a treaty with Great Britain. I have never understood what he hoped to get from it, and he must realize by now that the price he would have to pay for the treaty is the relinquishment of certain territory which he occupies absolutely wrongly and unlawfully. Of course he has no right to be there. The boundary between Yemen and our Protectorate was laid down by a diplomatic arrangement between Turkey and Great Britain. Neither of those countries had the slightest right to dispose of one inch of that territory, and that is why the Imam does not recognize that boundary line. Major Wilberforce Bell has pointed out that Turkey had a very shadowy and nebulous authority on one side and we none on the other side. That is why the Imam refuses to recognize it, and is sitting on our side of the line to show his right to it. Do we want him to

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leave that territory? If so, it can only be to save our face, because it is discreditable that he should be sitting on our boundary line and we unable to turn him out. Is it good to think we have to beg him to go out, and promise that, if he will go out, we will give him a treaty in return—a treaty which would be worth nothing to him, because we do nothing for the tribes on our side? Has the British lion fallen so low that he cannot turn the fox out of his own den? The whole truth is that it is not worth while to turn the fox out. Leave him there to look after the vermin—those truculent chieftains who subsist on the doles received from the British Government. Why waste money on them? Let the Imam look after them if he wants to. We derive no benefit from them. So why all this talk of a treaty? Let us realize that the mainland of Arabia has no interest for us. Let us go in there as explorers and merchants, but there is no need of British political intrusion in the country. It does no good, and it sets these Arab chiefs against each other and against us. As regards the Imam, he must realize some day that if he does not give up this hankering for a treaty with Great Britain, and turn his attention to securing a treaty with his powerful neighbour on the north, the new Wahabi king, he will find that the whole sentiment of Arabia will be in favour of that monarch, who has made good without any treaty with Great Britain or British influence behind him. While the Imam hankers for our treaty, he is challenging Ibn Saud by trying to nibble away at the southern part of the province of Asir and add it to his dominions. If the Imam goes on in that way he will collapse before the ever-growing might of the Wahabi, and while snatching at the shadow he will lose the substance. He will lose his own territory and never get a bit of British sympathy or support. We cannot sympathize with or support him. Only in to-day's paper I saw the report that the Imam has not seen fit to send a representative to the Moslem Conference, at the present moment being held at Mecca under the auspices of the new Wahabi king. That is a very serious omission from the point of view of the Imam, and may land him in serious trouble. I should not be surprised at all—it may seem strange to say so, but I feel encouraged to say it—for Ibn Saud has risen from very small things to very great things, and is now practically the only power that counts in the Arabian world; and I should not be surprised if in a very few weeks he emerges out of the Moslem Conference, and the pilgrimage which will succeed it, as the Khalif of Islam. That may seem rather a surprising deduction from present events, but I think everything is shaping in that direction; and if that development takes place, I think the Imam will find that he has made a very great mistake in not sending a representative to take part in the election of the Khalif.

It is just such facts as these that make it essential that we should think out and decide on a definite policy. I have indicated what I

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believe to be a right policy—namely, to have nothing to do with the main land of Arabia. We have Aden, and nobody suggests we should give it up. Aden and Perim are sufficient: the mainland we do not want anything to do with. Let us give up the attempt to subsidize petty sheikhs and petty chiefs one against the other, or we shall find ourselves involved in a quarrel where the only result will be that we shall have to admit that we cannot help our protégés. We shall have to retire and take all the discredit for the failure of our policy. Some of us believe in the policy of dividing and ruling; but that does not apply to Arabia: it would be better to leave it under a single unified control, as it will be in a short time. Ibn Saud is destined to rule the whole of Arabia. Let him rule the whole of it, and let us cease to divide these tribes one against another in our imaginary political interests. But the essential thing is that we should not divide ourselves in dealing with places like Aden and the Yemen. Let us give up the division of counsels which results from the present state of affairs. Aden is administered by the India Office, but political questions affecting the area are dealt with by the Colonial Office and military questions by the War Office. How can you get a connected policy arising out of the divided ambitions and counsels of those three Departments? I should say: Let the Admiralty take over Aden and have done with it, and leave the politics of Arabia to look after themselves. (Applause.)

Admiral RICHMOND: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Aden is of very great importance to us from the sea point of view. You have a great deal of the trade of Australia and New Zealand, not calling at, but passing by, Aden when going through those Straits. You have the whole trade of India, Burmah, Malaya, and Hong Kong, and the developing trade of East Africa coming that way as well. To have a secure harbour where your ships can work at that focal point of trade route, which is the very point at which the enemy would, if he could, attack, is of the very greatest importance. The holding of Aden gives the sea base we require. We should be in a parlous way if an enemy maritime power had possession of Aden; who could, if he continued to hold it, worry all that vast and important trade which passes in and out of the Mediterranean by the Red Sea. So far as concerns the Hinterland I know nothing about that at all. All that matters to us at sea is to be able to hold the fortress. If anything to do with the tribes of the interior affects the holding of the fortress, I am glad we should work with them as we are working. If it has no effect on holding the fortress—on which I express no opinion—I agree with Mr. Philby that we have no interest there so far as the sea is concerned.

The LECTURER: Mr. Philby has, I am afraid, rather misunderstood what I intended to say about Mr. Wyman Bury. I am sorry if I gave the impression that I did not appreciate what he had done. I think it

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is almost cheek of me even to suggest that I should appreciate what he did, because he did magnificent work. But what I do say, and what I maintain, is that he has left nothing that is at all worthy of his doings. His books are almost gazetteers, and he knew the Yemen so well, and had taken such an interesting part in its affairs for so many years, that I still maintain it is the greatest pity that he was not able, before he died, to give us something really valuable about his experiences in that country. As regards the political question of our position in Aden and the Yemen, I am afraid that, being a serving officer, I am also debarred from giving my opinion, and, anyhow, it really would not be worth very much. But I can say this, that the present policy of doing nothing seems to me to be about the very worst possible thing we could do. A policy of inertia has never paid, and yet we have adopted it in this extraordinarily interesting and valuable possession of ours for very nearly a hundred years. I think we are extremely lucky to have been left there. The circumstances have been, no doubt, that no other European foreign power has considered it worth while challenging us in that part of the world. But that point of view is entirely disappearing. Other nations are challenging us in that part of the world, and for that reason alone I think it is high time that we took into consideration the further political status of Aden, with the idea of improving the situation there. Aden's position, from the maritime point of view, is one on which I am not competent to give an opinion. Admiral Richmond says how very valuable a position it is to us, and that, I have no doubt, is the truth; but there is this which you must always take into consideration in considering Aden, and that is that the main harbour is not available for ships of very great draught. It is kept free for ordinary marine merchant ships with great difficulty, and when the *Renown* took the King to India in 1911 she could not go into the harbour but had to wait outside. I do not know whether the *Renown* is now to be classed among our very big ships; perhaps Admiral Richmond could tell us whether any substantially big ships of modern times could enter into Aden Harbour. That point of view must always be considered. There is not a great depth of water in the harbour. I do not think there is anything more that I can usefully say about this lecture, except to thank you very much for your patience in listening to it. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is entirely beyond my powers to add anything at all useful to what has been said. I have listened to the lecture and the speeches subsequently made with the greatest interest. We have all learned a great deal about Aden from what Major Wilberforce Bell has told us and from his admirable slides, which have really given us a view of the whole place; and we have been given a sketch of the history of the country, taking us through the ages of Turks and Abyssinians, up to the time when Aden became a British possession in 1839, and on. I think we must all wish that our knowledge

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of the Hinterland should be increased; Mr. Philby, I have no doubt, will some day get in by that back door and write a very interesting book, which will tell us really what is the state of the country. I feel that the power and greatness of our country is displayed more by these great links that connect us with the rest of the world than in any other way. I remember once a foreign diplomatist saying to me that he had never realized the power and influence and immense authority of the British Empire until he had travelled out to the Far East and observed at so many points of call the British flag. It had deeply impressed him; and, although it may not be a very pleasant place to live in, and although, perhaps, we may not feel it necessary to extend our influence beyond the immediate Hinterland of Aden, it is important that this link should be preserved to us. I only ask you now to join me in a most hearty vote of thanks to Major Wilberforce Bell for his admirable lecture. (Applause.)

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ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE Anniversary Meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, London, S.W., on Thursday, June 10, 1926, the Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen presiding.

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings, largely of a formal nature, by asking the Honorary Secretary, Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton, for his report on the year's work.

The HON. SECRETARY (Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In February last occurred the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first efforts taken to found this Society. They were taken by the late Mr. A. Cotterell Tupp, formerly of the Indian Civil Service, and Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, then a Captain. They met and formulated the idea of this Society, and in December of that year, 1901, the formal meeting was held which established this Society as a working force. I hope, in an early number of our *Journal*, we may be able to get somebody who has been a long time in the Society to write a comprehensive account of its progress and activities. You may be interested to know that of those who joined at the meeting in December, 1901, and during the following year, 1902, so far as I can see from our Rules, there are still as many as nineteen surviving and supporting the Society. In January, 1902, there were only 30 members, and the rate of increase appears to have been some what slow for a considerable number of years. In 1918, when Sir Edward Penton made over the Hon. Secretaryship, which he had held for sixteen years, taking it over shortly after the formation of the Society from Sir Francis Younghusband, who was the first Honorary Secretary but gave it up on returning to India, the war had left the Society with only 130 members. Colonel Yate held office from then until 1923 with Mr. Stephenson as his colleague, and during that time the membership increased to well over 600. During the past year we have lost 5 members by death, and 24 have resigned. Against those 29 casualties we have 81 members who have been elected, which gives us a net gain of 52 members on the year. (Applause.) Our present strength is 892 members; we cannot reach that mystic 900. When we get to that we shall want to get to the 1,000. During the past session there have been eight lectures delivered; the ninth lecture is to be delivered to-day; and the tenth lecture, which was postponed owing to the strike, will be given on July 8 next. The last number of the *Journal* for this season will appear on the first of next month, and then we shall complete the full series for the year. There are certain changes occurring in the Council

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and officers of the Society which, with your Chairman's permission, I will read out, he will then put them to the meeting for confirmation. Owing to the death of Lord Curzon the office of President became vacant, and Lord Peel, who has been our Chairman up to now, has kindly accepted nomination for it. In his place as Chairman of the Council, an invitation was sent to Lord Willingdon, who, as you know, is absent in China. The invitation was sent some considerable time ago, and no answer has been received. Since sending the invitation we have heard rumours of his appointment as Governor-General of Canada, and these have only to-day been confirmed in the paper; so the Council know now that the invitation to Lord Willingdon is not likely to be accepted, and they have to consider to whom they shall offer the post of Chairman of Council. There is another change, for, I am sorry to say other work claims so much of my time that I am not able to devote sufficient time to the affairs of the Society, so I must regretfully ask the Society to accept my resignation. In my place Major-General Sir William Thomson has been invited, and has kindly accepted the office of Honorary Secretary. You are going to be asked to re-elect Sir Edward Penton as our Honorary Treasurer; Mrs. Frazer continues as Honorary Librarian. Two Vice-Presidents have resigned under the Rules: Lord Ronaldshay and Lord Carnock. In their place you will be asked to elect Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm, and Major-General Sir Webb Gillman. As to Sir Neill Malcolm, his appointment as Vice-President will make a vacancy among the Members of the Council, as will the appointment of Sir Webb Gillman also. Sir John Maffey and Lieut.-Colonel Yate also disappear from the Members of the Council under the Rules, and in the place of these four you will be asked to elect the following—Lieut.-General Sir Wolseley Haig, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Cecil Kaye, and myself, leaving one vacancy

The CHAIRMAN: I think we may as well put to the meeting now the changes which have taken place and have been indicated by Sir Raleigh Egerton. As regards the new President, Lord Peel, I am sure we are looking forward to his being a most admirable President; he has had great experience, and at a comparatively young age reached high Cabinet rank. I think we are fortunate in having obtained his consent to succeed the late Lord Curzon and be our President. The various other names Sir Raleigh has mentioned I would also put to the vote, and ask if the meeting agrees to these appointments and changes. Those who are in favour kindly signify their assent.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

The SECRETARY: There is a new Rule proposed, and a few small alterations in existing Rules, which I will now read to you: "The following new Rule is proposed, and, if passed, will be numbered 16: 'The Council may elect at their discretion three Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Society from among ex-members of the Council whose

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services to the Society are considered worthy of such recognition.'" There are several members who have done notable work for the Society over a considerable period of years, and some recognition should be made of the work they have done. They are no longer available for active work on the Council, and it is felt that it would be the wish of the Society to offer them the post of Honorary Vice-President. They have been active members of the Council, and we have asked them whether they would accept the honour, and they have expressed their gratification at the suggestion. I will read out the names, and perhaps the Chairman will put them. The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. (Chairman of Council 1919 to 1923), the Right Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. (Chairman of Council 1908 to 1914), and Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate, C.S.I. (Hon. Secretary 1918 to 1923). First of all, I think we must ask if the new Rule be accepted authorizing these appointments.

The CHAIRMAN: Is the meeting in agreement with that new Rule and the appointments made under it? May I ask you to signify in the usual way?

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

The SECRETARY: There is one minor alteration in Rule 13, which instead of "four years" is to read "not more than four years." The Rule reads as far as I remember that a member may serve on the Council for four years, and then it goes on to say that every year two senior members will retire. They may have been on the Council only one year, and it reads rather curiously to say they shall serve on the Council for four years, and in the next line to say they may resign after a year or so. Instead of "four years" we think it will be better to say "not more than four years." Then the existing Rules Nos. 20 and 21, which referred to the formation and constitution of the Council, are very far down in the Rules; and it is proposed to put them further up as the Council is so frequently alluded to, and instead of being Nos. 20 and 21 they shall become Rules Nos. 12 and 13; and the first sentence of the existing Rule No. 13, which regards the appointment of the President, shall be a rule by itself, and numbered 14; and the present Rule 14, together with the present Rule 13, excepting the first sentence which I have just mentioned, will become one Rule, No. 15. Rule 16 will be the new Rule regarding the Honorary Vice-Presidents, and the subsequent Rules will be all renumbered consecutively in accordance with these changes. Rules Nos. 13*a* to 19 will be Rules 17 to 24, and Rules 17 to 24 will be Rules 25 to 37. Those changes are necessary, but we have to get your sanction.

The CHAIRMAN: I may say that all these changes have had the careful consideration of the Council. They are purely formal, but it was thought advisable to make them and to explain them. I take it that meets the approval of the meeting?

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The Resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have really very little to add, because I am not the proper occupant of the Chair. I am taking it in the absence of Lord Peel, who has been Chairman until to-day; and also in the absence of the new Chairman we are to have, but whose name we do not yet know, because of Lord Willingdon's appointment to Canada, which makes it impossible for us to look forward to having him as our Chairman, which I feel sure would have been very welcome to the Society. But he is called to very high Imperial office, and therefore it is no use reckoning on him any more. We shall have to elect a Chairman. I feel therefore I am not in my proper place, and not very competent to review the work of the Society. But I have got to do one or two things. One is to inform you about the accounts for 1925. I may say with regard to the accounts they seem to be satisfactory. They have been audited by Sir William Thomson and Major Rynd, and they show a balance of £55 on current account, and £25 on deposit account, and we have now got an investment of £250 in war stock and war savings certificates, which shows the advance the Society has made to be able to have such an investment. Although it is a small one it is slowly growing. That is the condition of our accounts, and at all events it is a balance on the right side, which is not always the case in accounts of this kind. I think Sir Raleigh Egerton has already mentioned that the membership has got up to 892. That, of course, is a quite satisfactory number, although we hope to get up to a still higher membership. I hope that any members who have an opportunity of inviting others to join the Society, who would be competent and interested members, will do so in order that our membership may be still further increased. The year has been a satisfactory one. The *Journal* has long since taken a recognized place among publications of its kind. I think many of you have found on looking into its pages that it contains useful information not to be found elsewhere, so that we may feel the Society is doing useful work in producing it. Our new President, Lord Peel, takes the place of Lord Curzon, whose death and whose great loss to the Society have already been alluded to. His was, of course, a great name to have as President, and he took a real interest in the Society. I remember very well having to write him and ask him if he would be the principal speaker at our dinner the year before last. He wrote a charming letter in reply, in which he said he felt very much the honour of being President of the Central Asian Society, and certainly would not think of refusing the invitation to address the meeting once more. He had his heart in the Society, and I believe we shall find the same with our new President, a member of the Cabinet, who has been Secretary of State for India, and filled many other offices, and whom you already know as a very competent speaker; and I think we are fortunate in being able to look

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forward to having him as our President. (Applause.) I do not like to sit down without referring to the great loss the Society is incurring in the resignation of the post of Honorary Secretary by Sir Raleigh Egerton. Few members know better than I—though other members of Council know equally well—how useful his services have been. He has filled a place which perhaps was not easily to be filled, because Colonel Yate had for a very long time conducted the work of Secretary most admirably, and had been exceedingly helpful in promoting the interests of the Society; in fact, I think we all know the name of Colonel Yate is intimately connected with our Society from the very early days. But since Sir Raleigh has filled the post he has shown a very great interest in all its work, and has been unremitting in his attention to it; and I think his loss will be a very great one. I am sure you will all join with me in offering the thanks of the Society to him for the services he has rendered, and which we hope he will go on rendering although not in the position of Secretary. (Applause.)

Mr. E. R. P. Moon: May I be allowed to dot one "i" in your valuable address, and that is in reference to the *Journal*. I should like to mention to those who, perhaps, have not been at our dinners, how our late President, Lord Curzon, always expressed his great appreciation and admiration for the *Journal*. Testimony from a man like that to the value of the *Journal* will, I am sure, make it more valued by others. (Applause.)

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THE KHAIBAR PASS AS THE INVADERS' ROAD FOR INDIA.

On various occasions provided by the affairs of the Khaibar, Western writers have repeated the opinion, which seems to have originated well back in the nineteenth century, that the seven "Great Invaders of India"—from Alexander in 327-26 B.C. to Nadir Shah in 1738-39—made their march eastward through that "narrow sword-cut in the hills," and crossed the Indus at "Attock."* The implications of a single available route to a sole river-crossing, conveyed by the block of coincident movements, being singular, now easily discredited, and needing credentials of having ever been accepted, I quote the two following examples :—

"Beyond Jam-rud lies the mouth of the Khyber, that flood-gate through which the overflow of swarming horde or military monarchy has again and again poured down into Hindustan."

"It is certain that Atak has seen the passage of every conqueror who has invaded India from Alexander the Great downwards."†

The belief dies hard, not unnaturally, since it had a respected literary origin from which it has been handed down in successive English writings, that origin being, I suggest, a tangle of matters concerning the Kabul River from which was drawn belief in a Greek traverse of Khaibar.‡ However this may be, belief in the multiple and exclusive invasion-uses of the Khaibar is noticeably *mal à propos* in the N.-W.F. Province, through which runs the ancient highway to India down the Kurram Valley to the Indus-crossing for Dhankot.§

One cannot but smile to think that the four invaders whose route this was—Mahmud of Ghazni, Muhammad of Ghor, Chingiz Khan, and Timur Beg—could now entrain at Thal.‖

The Western belief would have died out long ago, no doubt, if a table of particulars of the names and routes of the Seven Invaders had been accessible for ready reference by those unfamiliar with Indian

* *i.e.*, Atak Benares, the ferry-station Akbar Padshah established, fortified, and named in 1581-83, at the N.W. limit (*atak*) of his empire.

† *The Times*, February 24, 1924, and Murray's Handbook of the Panjab, 1883, p. 269.

‡ See *post*, the Alexander section.

§ Uncertainty as to the position of Dhankot (*var.*) is resolved by G.I. District Map, Sheet 15, 1866, which enters it on the river at the foot of Dunkote-Sir. The town was destroyed by the flood of 1841.

‖ A useful reference book, guiding to others, is Elliot and Dowson's "History of India as told by its own Historians."

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history. But to prepare such a useful table *ab initio* must be laborious. The period is 2,000 years; the information is scattered through many books; its road of research is beset with pitfalls; no one seems to have demanded to be told the routes until the activities of the N.-W.F. Province urged it. It is with pleasure that I proffer with these notes a concise statement of dates and routes which has entailed the less labour to me that my own book-work has enforced a delightful acquaintance with the literature and survey maps of Babur Padshah's territories, the north-western portion of which included the Kabul Valley and a wide circle of adjacent lands.

THE SEVEN GREAT INVADERS OF INDIA.

Names.	*Routes to the Indus.*	*Transits of Khaibar.*	*Indus Crossing.*
I. Alexander of Macedon; b. 356 B.C., d. 323.	327 B.C.: Charikar to Charsadda, moving between the eastern Hindu-koh and the Kabul River.	None.	At or near Und, 15 miles above site of "Attock" (1583).
II. Sl. Mahmud of Ghazni, *Turk;* b. 967, d. 1030.	Ghazni, Paiwar, Kurram Valley to boat-station for Dhankot.	None.	To and from Dhankot.
III. Muhammad of Ghor, *Afghan;* murdered 1206.	Ghazni, Paiwar, Kurram Valley to boat-station for Dhankot.	None.	To and from Dhankot.
IV. Timucin, Chingiz Khan, *Turk by family;* b. 1154, d. 1405.	1222: Balkh, Bamian, Burwan, Kurram Valley, Indus, Kohat, Peshawar Plain, Bajaur; returned by same route.	None.	Never crossed.
V. Timur Beg, *Barlas Turk;* b. 1336, d. 1227.	1403: Samarkand, Andar-ab, Badakshan, Pang-sher Pass, Kabul, Paiwar, Kurram Valley, Indus.	None.	To and from Dhankot.
VI. Babur Padshah,* *Timurid Turk;* b. 1483, d. 1530.	1519: Bajaur to Charsadda. 1525: Kabul, Khaibar Pass, Indus 15 miles below "Attock."	Several. The Pass was a road in his own territory.	Four times by the ford in Charsadda; once to Nil-ab, 15 miles below the site of Atak.
VII. Nadir Shah, *Afshar Turk;* b. 1687, d. 1747.	1738-39: Kabul, Khaibar, Indus; returned by same route.	Once, and on return route.	To and from "Attock" (Atak).

* No surmise is entered as to routes followed in years of which record has not survived.

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I. Alexander's Kabul Campaign.

327-26 B.C.

"Marking a searcher's track, his dead opinions lie."

Amongst the curiosities of literature few can be more singular or more entangled than the episode of the addition of the Khaibar Pass and the Atak Ferry—made in the thirties of the nineteenth century—to a route-order issued by Alexander some 2,000 years earlier. That order was that Hephæstion and Perdiccas, commanders of the main army (90,000), should go (*from the Koh-daman*) into "Peukelaotis" (*the modern Charsadda subdivision of the Peshawar District, lying along the Landai between the Indus and the Swat*), and there make preparation for crossing the Indus. Its brevity pre-supposed acquaintance with the road, but, in any case, whatever the Greeks had learned was supplemented by the expert guidance of Hindu allies who accompanied the entire march eastwards. "Peukelaotis" had marked advantages; it included the Hind Ferry (*Und, Ohind, var.*), to which goes the ancient Balkh-Lahor trade road, precisely suiting Alexander's advance for India, and it may have included the ford used by Babur Padshah, below Topi (*now the Pihur-Dalmohat-ferry?*).

What I shall say of the Greek routes to the Indus has been shown to me by Babur-nama work that has enforced close attention to maps and books concerning the Kabul Valley and its border-lands. Earlier commentators on Arrian's *Anabasis* are likely to have seen and said what these notes contain, but before writing of the routes I shall give a few examples of the intricacy inherent in the whole matter or imported by the Khaibar-Attock theory, examples which, it may be said at once, oppose its acceptance.

Obvious objections to accepting the modern additions are these:—They seem to have no textual warrant. If the feat of getting 90,000 men, with the *impedimenta* of 120,000, through the Khaibar and thrice across the Kabul River in May (*i.e., near Jalalabad, from Peshawar into Charsadda, and thence back for Atak*) had been achieved, it would have been chronicled; we hear even of the stony bed of Panjkora and of difficulty in crossing the river (*kho*) of Alangar. The new route is the longer from its *détour*. It withdraws a force of 90,000 behind a difficult river and into a pass-gully, and thus precludes co-operation with a hard-fighting force of 30,000. This cannot have been. Alexander had ordered the main army to obtain submission from all towns on its road; immured for thirty-three miles in Khaibar, how obey? I pass on to less obvious matters.

1. The earliest mention I have seen of "Attock," as Alexander's crossing-place of Indus, is made by H. H. Wilson in the *Ariana Antiqua* (Lond., 1841, pp. 137, 192). As being his, it would be accepted unhesitatingly. Discussing the navigation values of the Indus and

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the Kabul River, he says of the former, "Its upper part was descended by Alexander to Attock in boats, and, in fact, it is navigable for 40 m. above that fortress" (*Fort Atak Benares*) "to the vicinity of its *débouche* from the mountains." (*N.B.—Amb is forty miles above Atak.*) Wilson will not have written this without warrant. The limit of upward navigation on the Indus has been for many years fixed in gazetteers at a little above Atak, higher than which are the rocks and rapids of the tumultuous meeting of Indus and Landai. But may not Wilson have been right? Though his book was published in 1841, the statement quoted above seems to have been written earlier (? 1833); hence I suggest what may support Wilson's statement. The Hazara Settlement Report (1876, Cap. E. G. Wace) says, perhaps commenting on Wilson: "The Indus was not navigable above Dal Mohat Ferry in 1876, and boats did not ordinarily ply above Attock." But between 1833 and 1876 there occurred what may have left both the opposed statements correct—namely, the Indus flood of June, 1841, in which the river, flinging itself through its defile like a high wall of rocks, débris, and mud, held up the Kabul River (Landai) for twenty miles to Nisatta during twelve hours. Is it not conjecturable that, as its momentum lessened in its widened bed, the resolution of the forces of its forward fling and of the side-thrust of the imprisoned Landai let fall the Indus-burden of rocks near the confluence of the two rivers where now stretches the bar to the upward navigation of the Indus? May not Wilson have been right even in 1841?*

2. My second example is provided by Grote (*H. of G.*, 1888, x. 168) when he says: "It is presumed, probably enough, that Alexander crossed the Indus at Attock, the passage now frequented." It is true that the ferry was so in 1888, and was established in 1583, but Bábur's ferry was at Nil-ab, fifteen miles lower, in the Indus-Haro *duab*, and once alone crossed (*December* 16, 1525).† What I have said does not exhaust the opportunities for mistake about conditions existent 2,000 years earlier, since study of the Indus has taught us that it has for ages pushed its course westwards across the Panjab; it was near Fort Atak in 1583—where was it some 2,000 years earlier?

3. This entry is important, since it shows that the additions once appeared justified, and at a later date were rejected; they were admitted (one or both) to the Imperial Gazetteer of India in 1883, and to the Encyclopædia Britannica in 1902. Neither appears in the most recent editions of these great works, respectively in 1907 and 1910, where Ohind (the Hind Ferry of Charsadda) replaces Atak.

One would wish to learn the specific ground on which "Khaibar

* For a graphic account of the ascent by boat of the Indus from Khairabad to Marer *see* the Report of the Isazai Campaign, 1892 (Cap. A. N. Mason).

† Changes in the river are indicated by there having been an "Old Nil-ab" (*B. in E.*, *s.n.*).

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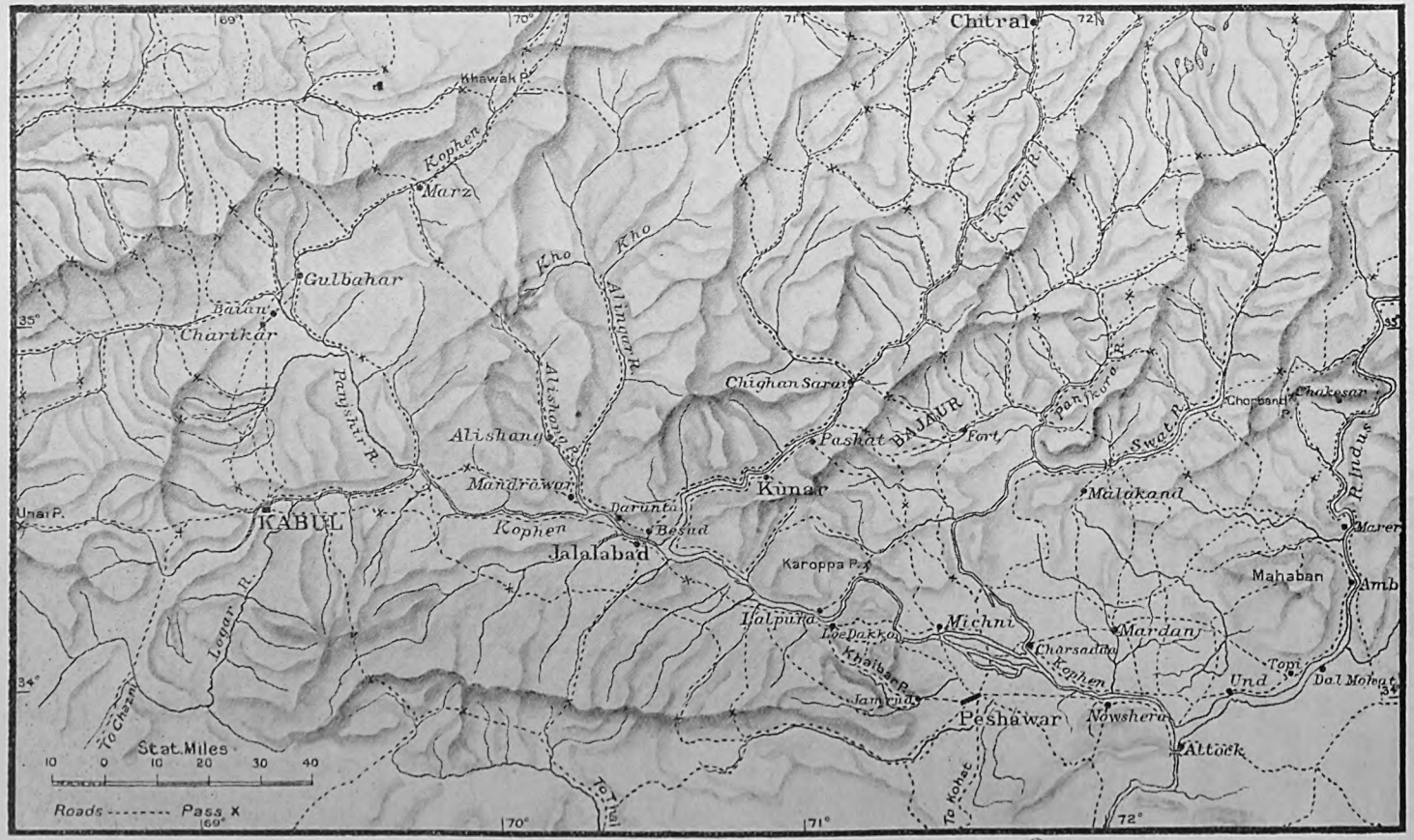

THE KHAIBAR PASS AS THE INVADERS' ROAD TO INDIA.

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and Atak" were accepted as correct additions to an order which needed none. Not to dwell, however, on matters so obvious as that the early acceptors were pioneer observers of the Kabul Valley, or on the prominence of both the additions on the Panjab-Kabul road, I suggest a simple and covering explanation, having the double use of disclosing both the origin of the unwanted additions, and the creation since 327 B.C. of a modern Kabul River.

This explanation is one of mistake and confusion due to disparate knowledge of the river of the Kabul Valley,* possessed, on the one hand, by Alexander, his "literary Greeks" (*Grote*), the geographers Strabo and Ptolemy, with other well-informed Greeks (mentioned in McCrindle's volumes), and, on the other hand, by the group of Western entrants into the valley in the nineteenth century (and later). The disparity is shown by the words and opinions of each group to be the result of the circumstances that whereas the Greeks, entering the valley into the Kohistan, knew the Kabul River whole, as Orientals know it, from its source in the uttermost parts of Paropamisus (*under the Khawak Pass* [11,640 feet] *of Hindu-koh* [*kush*]),† to its outfall in the Indus (2,079 feet), the Western group, entrants for the most part from the Panjab, appear to have known its lower course alone, from the Indus to near Jalalabad, and this mistakenly.‡

Here and there question stirs about the composition of the new river (*cf. Prov. Gaz. of Kabul, s.n. Kabul River*), and even brief observation finds it misfitting that the "rivulet" which brings from the Unai Pass all that the cultivators on its head waters do not use—it is fordable near Kabul after a forty-mile run—should be said to receive the great and swift Logar as its tributary; moreover, the "hair-pin" curve the Logar is supposed to make into "Panjsher" is a surprise.

Survey maps, ours not alone, delineating rivers whole, agree here with Greek and Oriental opinion, and I have chanced on two cases of repudiation of the new Kabul River, as being the river of the valley.§

The working-out of imperfect modern acquaintance with the Kophen seems to have been that the Western group, unaware that the Kophen Arrian says the Greek army crossed, is the upper course of the Kabul River and skirts Koh-daman,‖ transferred the Greek main army some

* Not of Kabul town. It has been known as the Kubha of a Vedic hymn (Mc.C., 1885, p. 83), Persian *Ao-i-Kabul* (Greek, *Kophen*), Timur and Babur's Baran, the English Kabul River.

† For a limitation in the use of *kush* see *B. in E.*, p. 485.

‡ Its main upper course has been supposed tributary and named Panjsher; to its thus truncated Landai-Ningnahar reaches a new upper course has been given—viz., Logar-cum-affluents, and to the whole river a new source, some 150 miles south-west of its own near Khawak (*and under the Unai Pass* [8,000 *feet*] *of Koh-baba*).

§ One Wilson mentions; the other is that of Sayyid Ghulam Muhammad, twice Warren Hastings' envoy to the Court in Kabul.

‖ One writer, indeed, transferred Alexander and his 30,000 also, who attacked the Aspii on Safed Koh and conquered the whole range.

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sixty miles to the south-west of Charikar, to the only "Kophen" of which they had information, and there crossed the 90,000 men and their belongings into Ningnahar, one writer fixing the crossing-place at the ford of our Hussars' disaster in 1879.

Contemporary writings reveal that anxious thought and ingenuity were spent in trying to adjust Arrian's statement to imperfect modern information about the Kabul River. It would have been a labour worthy of even Alexander to get those 90,000 men and their belongings across into Ningnahar with the river in May flood. One is certain the escorting Hindu chiefs did not counsel the attempt. But if the *tour de plume* were carried out and the crossing overcome, there would be no choice —return being unthinkable—the Indus had to be reached, and how except through the Khaibar, and how from Jamrud, but by what was the ordinary ferry of the nineteenth century? Thus I suggest the origin of the modern route as that also of the modern river.

There may be another explanation. We are not assured that 2,000 years ago there flowed a river to be crossed at the later Fort Atak; are we better assured that there existed a Khaibar gully through which a great army could toil? *

The Greek Routes to the Indus.

Arrian's well-authenticated narrative† of Alexander's Indian expedition, taken with its supplement of details from other Greek writers, allows the following summary:

1. The entire campaign was waged within an irregular quadrilateral, bounded north by the foot-hills of Hindu-koh and its extensions towards the Indus; south by the Ning-nahar and Landai reaches of the Kabul River; east by the Indus; and west by the Kophen (*here Upper Kabul River, mod. Panjsher*).

2. This quadrilateral was entered by the Greek army (120,000) in two divisions, one under Alexander's own command, and consisting of 30,000 picked, light-armed troops led by Craterus, the other of the main army, some 90,000, under Hephæstion and Perdiceas. It crossed the Kophen eastwards, from its camp on the west bank of the river to the road running along its eastern bank from the Panjsher Valley southwards. This road Alexander seems to have left at once to attack the Aspii, but Hephæstion's force to have followed to near Mandrawar, and thence, I suggest, to have taken the Kunar road, and (as it is known that the main army was first in Peukelaotis) to have turned off at Kunar (town) or Pashat, from either of which places Charsadda is easily reached.

* I have not noticed reference in writings concerning the Khaibar road of 2,000 years back, to the Ab-Khana, the Mulla-gori, or the Karapa roads (Masson I., 147, 223).

† For a list of Arrian's sources see McCrindle's "Ancient History of India," 1893, and new edition, 1896.

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As in considering the routes of the campaign it is useful to form an opinion as to the position of the Greek camp, I enumerate various matters which locate it as in the Koh-daman and near headquarters (Alexandria):—(1) The convenience of all concerned, for arrivals and departures across the passes or to the Indus; also for ease of access to the Kohistan grazing-grounds, to the hunting, fishing, fowling, and fertile villages none have described better than Babur; (2) nearness to the Trivium of trade roads near Charikar (*forty miles north of Kabul*); (3) Alexander's rule to cross rivers high on their course; (4) that he seems to have gone at once, after reaching the eastern bank of the Kophen, into the high mountain tract in which rises the Kho-es, which I take to be the Kho(-aspes)—*i.e.*, river of the Aspii (*Babur's Kau, Masson's Kow*) he first attacked; (5) on a differing ground, as locating four places to the east of Charikar—(*a*) Alexandria, from which, as headquarters, Alexander will have started to join his contingent, (*b*) Nikæa, to which having come he sacrificed to Pallas Athene, (*c* and *d*) the camp and the Kophen, to which latter he is said to have proceeded.*

The campaign opened with the well-known division of the army:—(1) Alexander's contingent which attacked successive tribes of the foot-hills from Alangar Valley to beyond Bajaur, whence he descended (by Malakand?) into "Peukelaotis" (*Charsadda*); and (2) Hephæstion's great force, with which went Taxiles and other Hindu chiefs, under orders to go into "Peukelaotis," and there to prepare for crossing the Indus. In the end his orders were carried out; the whole army reassembled (after much fighting by both divisions) in Peukelaotis, and all crossed, from a riverside town of the State (*Strabo*), by the Hind Ferry (*Ohind, fifteen miles above Akbar's Fort Atak*), the Indus terminus of the through trade-route from Balkh to Lahore. This route precisely suited an eastward march from near Charikar to Charsadda, since by it, from time immemorial, horse-dealers have brought Balkhi horses into the Kohistan to get into condition for the Indian market; and on those same lands will the horses of the Greek army have recuperated or their numbers have been brought up to due strength.

We know Alexander's own route from his successive encounters with the tribesmen of the foot-hills, for making which the road served as a base-line for advance on position after position. This is the ancient military road of invasion; it is, indeed, the frequented road from the Hindu-Kush passes to the Indus.

That the Hindu allies would guide the Greek main army by this road seems obvious; Taxiles (ruler also of Amb) will have used it to reach the Greek camp on the Kophen, where he and his fellow-chiefs

* Arrian, Lib. IV. cap. xx. and Raphellius, Gr.-Lat. p. 314; Rooke, I. 202, 266; McCrindle, new edition, 1896; Phillips' and other atlases; Masson, III. cap. vii. for valuable matter about Bigram.

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waited on Alexander. The brief royal order was sufficient for those who knew the country. It was Babur's road to Bajaur, thence to the then desolate Charsadda, and thence to the ford in the same state he used frequently.*

I now venture to suggest that for the main army to advance by the same military road would have the advantage of explaining why Alexander should have attacked the tribesmen, a matter I have not chanced to find acceptably explained. He is sometimes said to have done it and have placed garrisons in order to secure a road of retreat, but he had no thought of return through Kabul; had he been compelled to retreat from Trans-Indus India, there were better ways out into lands held by his own troops on the south, than the difficult Kabul Valley. Moreover, his garrisons could hardly have held their own, when his army had left them isolated. Nor does it seem reasonable that—as might be surmised—the attacks on the tribes were made with commissariat intentions; Alexander had as close companions men of high rank; for him and them to raid personally for cattle and corn seems misfitting. I have once seen it suggested that the main army took the Kunar road in order to protect the royal contingent. If one considers the narrow horse and camel roads, and into what thin line the 90,000 of Hephæstion's force would file on and on along the road, it seems not unsuitable to explain the action of the two divisions as co-operative, Alexander protecting Hephæstion's force as it moved eastward, by holding up the valiant, looting tribesmen, who, familiar with every point of vantage, could have destroyed even a great army in detail. The garrisons were temporary, one surmises, rejoining when the advance of the whole force permitted. These suggestions of a lay person about military matters are entirely diffident. What prompts them in part is that the Hindu and Buddhist peoples of the Valley must have desired to speed the Greek army across the Indus as greatly as the Greeks must have done to leave Kabul for Hindustan. The tribesmen were the common and perennial enemy from whom attack would be expected. Alexander had crossed country and had held up the Aspii from a long stretch of Hephæstion's road; the process could be repeated and repeated. Hence, concerted protective action on either side against the brave and stubborn tribesmen.

In concluding these brief notes, I wish to express my regret that in them episodes of the greatest interest couldnot be touched, amongst them being those of Massaga, Nysa, and Aornos. These, however, are all aside from the matter of routes.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

(*To be continued.*)

† The routes between Charikar and the Hind Ferry are well shown on the G. of I. survey maps Nos. 38 and 43 (Kabul and Kashmir), reprinted 1923, on which mainly the map accompanying these notes is based.

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SIR AUREL STEIN'S IDENTIFICATION OF AORNOS.

THE sudden appearance of the name Aornos in the headings of the daily Press must have discouraged some readers, intrigued others, and awakened in a select minority the delicate and soothing sensation of superior knowledge. To the latter the name Aornos would possess all the unction of that "blessed word Mesopotamia." Still even for those whose immediate mental reaction yielded, "A mountain stronghold in the north-west of India captured with difficulty by Alexander," it is, perhaps, not without interest to refresh their knowledge.

The capture of Aornos was the last condition necessary to make possible, or at least to justify, the invasion of India east of the Indus.

In 329 B.C. Alexander had established himself on the frontiers of India at Kandahar, where he founded the city of Alexandria-among-the-Arachosians. In the winter of 329-328 B.C. he pushed north and possessed himself of the upper Kabul Valley, where again, according to his custom, he consolidated his position by establishing cities, Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus and Nikaia. But before addressing himself to India he thought it necessary to dispose of the last remains of the Persian Empire lingering in Central Asia. An expedition to the Jaxartes (Syr Daria) occupied him and his forces till May 327, when he arrived back at the latest Alexandria. He now called on the chiefs of the lower Kabul Valley and the Raja of Taxila to come in to him. They did so without demur and notified their submission, and the direct route to India now lay open to him.

There remained, however, the independent tribes occupying the hill country lying to the north of the Kabul River, the inhabitants of the Kunar, Panjkora and Swāt Valleys, who showed no signs of submission, and unless disposed of would constitute a serious danger in his rear and to his line of communications with Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus. He accordingly decided to deal with them in detail. He divided his force into two divisions. One division he despatched under Hēphaistiōn and Perdikkas by the direct route to the Indus, where they might make arrangements for the crossing of the river, while he himself with the remainder of the troops took a more northerly route through the hill country.

Scholars' estimates from the available data of the strength of his total forces at this period vary from 85,000 to a minimum of 25,000 or 30,000 men. The strength of the force lay in its European elements,

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first and foremost the Macedonian regiments and then Greek and other mercenaries, but these were re-enforced by native contingents who had joined him at the various stages of his march from Persia onwards. Alexander dealt successfully with a series of tribes and of towns or "cities," which appear to have been numerous in a region where there are now none. The sites of most of these "cities" cannot be identified with any certainty, and the population, which was "Indian," cannot be regarded as the ancestors of the Afghan and Pathan tribes now occupying this region. The existence of cities, or even towns, seems to indicate a higher state of material and social organization, which must have persisted into the days of Buddhism, till the state of things described by the Chinese Pilgrims, the last and chief of whom was Hiouen Tsang (A.D. 629-645), was reached.

Advancing apparently up the Kunar Valley and thence through Bajaur, Alexander disposed of the Aspasians. Then crossing the Gouraios, (Panjkora) he attacked the Assakēnians and captured their principal city, Massaga, after a strenuous siege, in the course of which the Assakēnian chief was killed. Massaga appears to have been in Swāt. After this he invested and reduced two unidentified "cities," Bazira and Ora.

These successful operations led up to the final episode of Aornos, for, as Arrian says: "When the inhabitants of Bazira heard that Ora had fallen, they regarded their case as desperate, and at the dead of night fled from their city to the Rock, as all the other Barbarians were doing, for having left their cities they were fleeing to the rock in that land called Aornos." In the first place, however, he took up the thread of things in the lower Kabul Valley, down which Hēphaistiōn and Perdikkas had advanced to the Indus, establishing on their way a post at Orobatis, probably near the modern Nowshera. Alexander received the submission of Peukelaōtis, identified with Pushkalāvati as the modern Chārsadda, and "then occupied himself in reducing other towns—some small ones—near the Indus." He is then reported as "reaching Embolina, a city close adjoining the rock of Aornos." The quotations are from Arrian, whose account of Alexander is "the most complete and trustworthy that we possess."

Flavius Arrianus, of Nicomedia, in Bithynia, was born about A.D. 96. He was appointed Governor of Cappadocia by Hadrian, who held him in high esteem. He was a historian and philosopher of repute and a military commander and a military writer of ability. His chief work is the "Anabasis of Alexander," for which he claims as his principal authorities Ptolemy, son of Lagos, of Aornos fame and afterwards king of Egypt, and Aristoboulos of Cassandreia who also accompanied Alexander.

We may follow Arrian through his account of Aornos and its capture. After recording the flight of the Barbarians to this place

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of refuge, he remarks that there was a report concerning it that it had been found impregnable by Heraklēs. Sharing an old difficulty with Herodotus (II. 43), he does not know *which* Heraklēs was meant, the Theban, the Tyrian, or the Egyptian. But he personally discredits the whole story. He continues:

"The rock is said to have a circuit of about 200 stadia, and at its lowest elevation a height of 11 stadia." (These figures represent about 23 miles and 6,700 feet respectively. Diodorus gives the measurements as 100 stadia and 16 stadia). "It was ascended by a single path cut by the hand of man, yet difficult. On the summit of the rock there was, it is also said, plenty of pure water which gushed out from a copious spring. There was timber besides, and as much good arable land as required for its cultivation the labour of a thousand men.

"Alexander on learning these particulars was seized with an ardent desire to capture this mountain also, the story current about Heraklēs not being the least of the incentives. With this in view he made Ora and Massaga strongholds for bridling the districts around them, and at the same time strengthened the defences of Bazira."

After this follows the expedition to the Lower Kabul Valley mentioned above. Then:

"On reaching Embolima, a city close adjoining the rock of Aornos, he there left Krateros with a part of the army to gather into the city as much corn as possible and all other requisites for a long stay, that the Macedonians having this place as the basis of their operations might, during a protracted siege, wear out the defenders of the rock by famine, should it fail to be captured at the first assault. He himself then advanced to the rock, taking with him the archers, the Agrianians, the brigade of Koinos, the lightest and best-armed men selected from the remainder of the phalanx, 200 of the companion cavalry, and 100 horse-archers. At the end of the day's march he encamped on what he took to be a convenient site. The next day he advanced a little nearer to the rock, and again encamped.

"Some men thereupon who belonged to the neighbourhood came to him, and after offering their submission undertook to guide him to the most assailable part of the rock, that from which it would not be difficult to capture the place. With these men he sent Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, a member of the bodyguard, leading the Agrianians and the other light-armed troops and the selected hypaspists, and directed him, on securing the position, to hold it with a strong guard and to signal to him when he had occupied it. Ptolemy, who followed a route which proved rough and otherwise difficult to traverse, succeeded in occupying the position without being perceived by the barbarians. The whole circuit of this he fortified with a palisade and a trench, and then raised a beacon on the mountain from which the flame was likely to be seen by Alexander. Alexander did see it, and next day moved forward

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with his army, but as the barbarians obstructed his progress he could do nothing more on account of the difficult nature of the ground. When the barbarians perceived that Alexander had found an attack to be impracticable, they turned round, and in full force fell upon Ptolemy's men. Between these and the Macedonians hard fighting ensued, the Indians making strenuous efforts to destroy the palisade by tearing up the stakes, and Ptolemy to guard and maintain his position. The barbarians were worsted in the skirmish and when night began to fall withdrew.

"From the Indian deserters Alexander selected one who knew the country and could otherwise be trusted, and sent him by night to Ptolemy with a letter importing that when he himself assailed the rock, Ptolemy should no longer content himself with defending his position but should fall upon the barbarians on the mountain, so that the Indians, being attacked in front and rear, might be perplexed how to act. Alexander, starting at daybreak from his camp, led his army by the route followed by Ptolemy when he went up unobserved, being convinced that if he forced a passage that way, and effected a junction with Ptolemy's men, the work still before him would not then be difficult; and so it turned out, for up to mid-day there continued to be hard fighting between the Indians and the Macedonians—the latter forcing their way up the ascent, while the former plied them with missiles as they ascended. But as the Macedonians did not slacken their efforts, ascending the one after the other, while those in advance paused to rest, they gained with much pain and toil the summit of the pass early in the afternoon, and joined Ptolemy's men. His troops being now all united, Alexander put them again in motion and led them against the rock itself; but to get close up to it was not yet practicable. So came this day to its end.

"Next day at dawn he ordered the soldiers to cut a hundred stakes per man. When the stakes had been cut he began piling them up towards the rock (beginning from the crown of the hill on which the camp had been pitched) to form a great mound, whence he thought it would be possible for arrows and missiles shot from engines to reach the defenders. Everyone took part in the work, helping to advance the mound. Alexander himself was present to superintend, commending those that were intent on getting the work done, and chastising any one that at the moment was idling.

"The army by the first day's work extended the mound the length of a stadium [*circa* 200 yards], and on the following day the slingers by slinging stones at the Indians from the mound just constructed, and the bolts shot at them from the engines, drove them back whenever they sallied out to attack the men engaged upon the mound. The work of piling it up thus went on for three days, without intermission, when on the fourth day a few Macedonians forced their way to a small hill

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which was on a level with the rock, and occupied its crest. Alexander without ever resting drove the mound towards the hill which the handful of men had occupied, his object being to join the two together.

"But the Indians, terror-struck, both by the unheard-of audacity of the Macedonians in forcing their way to the hill, and also by seeing that this position was now connected with the mound, abstained from further resistance, and, sending their herald to Alexander, professed they were willing to surrender the rock if he granted them terms of capitulation. But the purpose they had in view was to consume the day in spinning out negotiations, and to disperse by night to their various homes. When Alexander saw this he allowed them to start off as well as to withdraw the sentinels from the whole circle of outposts. He did not himself stir until they began their retreat, but when they did so, he took with him 700 of the bodyguards and the hypaspists and scaled the rock at the point abandoned by the enemy. He was himself the first to reach the top, the Macedonians ascending after him pulling one another up, some at one place and some at another. Then at a preconcerted signal they turned upon the retreating barbarians and slew many of them in the flight, besides so terrifying some others that in retreating they flung themselves down the precipices, and were in consequence dashed to death. Alexander thus became master of the rock which had baffled Heraklēs himself. He sacrificed upon it and built a fort, giving the command of its garrison to Sisikottos, who long before had in Baktra deserted from the Indians to Bessos, but after Alexander had conquered the Baktrian land served in his army, and showed himself a man worthy of all confidence."

After the capture of Aornos and a few minor operations probably to the north of it, Alexander returned to the Indus and then proceeded by a difficult route to join Hēphaistion and Perdikkas, who had now constructed a bridge over the Indus, probably at Ohind, sixteen miles north of Attock. According to Curtius the march from Embolima, near Aornos, to the bridge occupied sixteen days. Progress was no doubt slow owing to the nature of the country.

This is the story of Aornos, as we have received it, according to the best authority, and it contains the principal data available to us for the identification of Aornos on the ground. The story and the data are given with some variation by our other informants, Quintus Curtius Rufus and Diōdorus Siculus. One important feature of the site, which is not mentioned by Arrian, is recorded by both these authorities. They say that the base of the Rock (according to Diōdorus on its southern side) was washed by the River Indus. This is further supported by Strabo XV., 687 (cited by McCrindle).

The question of the identification of Aornos has occupied European minds for the last ninety years. In 1836 General P. Court expressed the opinion that "it is probably the castle which was opposite Attak,

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and the vestiges of which we see upon the summit of the mountain. Its foundation is attributed to Raja Hodi." In 1848 General A. Cunningham advanced a claim for Rāni-gat, sixteen miles north by west of Ohind. This among other difficulties entailed reducing Aornos to a height of 1,000 feet, "which is, however," General Cunningham remarks, "a very great height for so large a fortress."

In 1854 General Abbott discussed the question at length, and concluded that Mahāban Hill is the most probable site of Aornos. This idea was combated in 1863 by Mr. Loewenthal, "a learned missionary," who pressed the case originated by General Court for Raja Hodi's fort at Attak. Abbott replied, reiterating his conviction that "the Mahāban is the Aornos of history," though he thinks that the question is "still open to discussion." In giving the above summary of claims and counter-claims in his "Ancient Geography of India," published in 1871, Cunningham still pushes his own favourite, Rāni-gat.

On the whole, however, Abbott's Mahāban held the field till 1904, when Sir Aurel Stein was able to visit the mountain, and found it quite unlike the classic descriptions of Aornos and quite unlike Abbott's description of itself. In his "Report of Archæological Survey Work in the North-West Frontier Province, etc.," for 1904-05, Stein excuses Abbott by remarking that he had only seen Mahāban from a considerable distance and from the side of Hazāra. It appears to have been a case of distance lending more than enchantment to the view as seen by the eye of preconception and faith. Stein's report, in fact, killed the Mahāban theory. It was apparently only in ignorance of it that Mr. E. R. Bevan, in the "Encyclopædia Britannica (1910-11), i. 548, wrote that "the best opinion now confirms Abbott's identification of Aornos with Mahāban." Later, in the "Cambridge History of India" (1922), i. 356, he says: "Unfortunately, it has so far been impossible to fit the Greek description of Aornos to any rocky height noted in the country to-day," and refers to Vincent Smith's "Early History of India," 1914 edition. Vincent Smith had rejected Mahāban on Stein's showing and also on other grounds, and said: "I agree with Sir Bindon Blood that Aornos must be looked for on the Indus higher up than Mahāban, and perhaps near Baio, which is above the sharp bend above Kotkai." That would appear to be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Sir Aurel Stein's present discovery.

Sir Aurel himself, in rejecting in 1905 the attempted identification of Mahāban with Aornos, had said, prophetically as it would now appear: "Considering how vague the geographical data are which our available sources furnish, and how little we know as yet about the detailed topography of the mountain tracts which lie along the Indus towards Buner and Swat, there still remains a possibility of our having to look for Aornos higher up the great river." But he was prepared for possible disappointment, and was ready in that case to fall back on a

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possible alternative discovery—that the record of the Aornos episode was not of a "truly historical character."

Now, twenty-one years later, he claims to have succeeded in the realization of the first alternative. According to the Simla correspondent of *The Times*, Sir Aurel Stein, travelling "in the mountain tracts of the Ghorband, Kana, and Chakesar between the Indus and the Swat watershed," found that "the range trending eastwards from the Swat-Indus watershed ends between the valleys of the Ghorband and Chakesar in a high-detached spur. This overlooks a big bend of the Indus, with a high peak above. The range is almost level for two miles, and is now used as a summer grazing ground, with a space for cultivation, known locally as Pirsar—that is, 'Holy Man's Height.' Sir Aurel Stein is convinced that all the topographical features of this plateau agree very closely with Greek accounts of Aornos, and that the site has been found at last. No genuine local tradition survives of Alexander's conquest. The rugged peak immediately above still bears the name Una."

This reference to the name Una seems to imply that Sir Aurel Stein regards it as representing the original name of which Aornos was the Greek rendering. That is a question for the philologists. Arrian also gives Aornos as the name of a place in Baktria.

Scholars, with knowledge on which to base independent opinions and reputations to lose, must perforce sit on the fence until full details of his discovery are received from the explorer; but such authorities as Dr. F. W. Thomas, Sir Denison Ross, Professor L. D. Barnett, and the President of the Royal Geographical Society, Sir Francis Younghusband, knowing Sir Aurel's qualifications as a scholar and his record as an archæological investigator, have given his claim what amounts to their conditional blessing. However cautious, and rightly cautious, they are in expressing any positive opinion, they have raised no point against it. Meanwhile the public, with no reputations at stake, may safely enjoy the luxury of uncritically accepting Sir Aurel Stein's discovery and regarding the Aornos controversy as settled, with little fear of being subsequently called on to recant their faith and revise their beliefs. And the writer at least will tender his congratulations to Sir Aurel on the latest addition to the remarkable record of his discoveries.

D. L. R. Lorimer.

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REVIEWS

THE ITALIAN EXPEDITION TO THE HIMALAYAS. Spedizione Italiana De Filippi Nell' Himàlaia Caracorum, e Turchestàn Cinese (1913-1914). Serie II.: Sotto la Direzione Di Giotto Dainelli; Vol. IX., I tipi umani: R. Biasutti e G. Dainelli. (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli.)

The Italian Expedition of 1913-1914 to the Kara-koram Himalayas and Central Asia under the leadership of Cavaliere Filippo De Filippi can be described as one of the greatest achievements in mountain exploration of recent times, and it has added considerably to our knowledge of the Himalayas. Probably no expedition to any part of the world has ever left its base so well staffed and equipped with scientific instruments, and it appears to the reviewer to enter on a new phase in the history of Himalayan exploration. It had the support of H.M. the King of Italy and the Royal Geographical Society besides other scientific institutions both in this country and Italy. De Filippi's programme included not only the exploration of some of the unknown glaciers of the Kara-koram Himalayas from a geographical standpoint, but investigations in all branches of science. Specialists with the most elaborate equipment took observations concerning meteorology, terrestrial magnetism, gravity, solar radiation, anthropology, and geology—in fact, all branches of physical geography were investigated with equal thoroughness. In addition, a small detachment from the Survey of India accompanied the Expedition, and their work has been described by Major Wood, R.E., in his most comprehensive report to the Survey of India.*

Owing to the outbreak of the Great War the work of the Expedition had to be curtailed to a certain extent. The publications of the results have also been delayed, but the volumes of this large encyclopædic work are now being brought out rapidly. The second Series is under the supervision of Dainelli, and comprises ten volumes, dealing with the geological and geographical results in their widest sense. The book under notice is the ninth volume of this Series, and deals exclusively with the inhabitants of Ladakh and Baltistan. It makes glad the heart of the reviewer, and we have nothing but praise for both the contents and the manner in which it has been produced. It is divided into two main parts. The first half, written by Dainelli, will interest the general reader, though only the specialist will be able to appreciate the immense amount of labour and research entailed in the writing and compilation of such an exhaustive treatise on the various races, religions, etc. The second half has been written by Biasutti, and is devoted to a detailed and invaluable report on the anthropological work done, which will delight the expert. There is an excellent bibliography, which speaks for itself, a number of maps, and a good collection of photographs, which will be referred to later.

Dainelli starts by giving us a clear and precise general résumé of the various

* "Explorations in the Eastern Kara-koram and the Upper Yarkand Valley." Narrative Report to the Survey of India Detachment with the De Filippi Expedition, 1914. "Dehra Dun": Printed at the office of the Trigonometrical Survey of India, 1922.

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races inhabiting the Kara-koram region of the Himalayas; this is followed by a short description of the languages and dialects spoken, which should be read in conjunction with the language map at the end of the book. Each race and tribe is next described minutely, in particular the Brokpas, the Baltis, the Ladakhis, and the inhabitants of Purig. Kargil is the capital of the Purig district, which is chiefly inhabited by Ladakhis, who have become Mahomedans; owing to its topographical position it forms a kind of buffer state between Baltistan and Ladakh. It was governed by a line of chiefs, now extinct, which, however, lasted down to the time of the Dogra war in the nineteenth century. The origin of the people of Purig is carefully worked out, and Dainelli appears to consider them as forming an ethnological group of their own, entirely distinct and separate from both the Ladakhis and Baltis. The differences and the similarities of the various races in so far as their characters are concerned are dealt with fully, likewise their distribution.

The earliest known religion in Baltistan and Ladakh is outlined, and its history traced until the introduction of Buddhism; we are then shown the subsequent expansion of the latter religion. We have most interesting information concerning the religion of the Dards, who in some districts are neither Mohammedan nor Buddhist in the pure sense of the word. It is not uncommon for one generation of a Dard family to be Buddhist and the next to be Mohammedan. The Dards to this day have many peculiar customs still surviving. The milk of cows is not used, nor do they make butter, and the cow is held in abhorrence in much the same way as a Mohammedan holds a pig. Sometime, about the thirteenth century, we have a wave of Mohammedanism spreading chiefly over Baltistan, to be followed later by inroads into Ladakh, all of which are clearly shown to us.

There are four types of architecture to be seen in the Western Himalayas, three of which would appear to have threaded their way in from the neighbouring countries. We have architecture of Indian Buddhist, Tibetan Buddhist, and Mohammedan origin, and, lastly, the original demon architecture. The first of these seems to have been introduced to some extent by the emigration of monks from Kashmir; their monasteries are easily distinguished from others owing to their typical Kashmir style. The Mohammedan architecture in this part of the world would seem to present no distinctive features; the mosques in Baltistan are frequently poorly built, being low in structure, with the usual mud-built walls. The last is particularly interesting, and Dainelli has been at great pains to collect as much information as possible. To the reviewer this appears to be the first real exhaustive attempt to grapple with the subject as a whole.

Lastly, Dainelli ends with several miscellaneous subjects. The castes are briefly dealt with, and there are excellent descriptions of the Mons and Argoons. In most villages in Ladakh we find Mons, and they are treated by the remainder of the inhabitants as of an inferior class; they are often musicians, and follow the trade of either blacksmith or carpenter. The Argoons are the result of a cross between a Turkistan father and a Ladakhi mother; this is, perhaps, the only case we have of two of the chief Asiatic religions intermarrying—that is, the Mohammedan and the Buddhist. The Argoons possess a kind of monopoly in the transport of goods between Leh and Yarkand. Dainelli goes into the question of polyandry with great thoroughness, and shows the general effect of it on the population. The historian will not go unsatisfied, for there is an admirable account of the local legends and the history of the people. It is, however, Dainelli's part of the book that will interest the general reader, and one can safely say that no stone has been left unturned to collect information and facts, though at the same time one is struck with the remarkably few words that have been used, and the precise manner in which it has been written.

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The anthropological report, the second half of the book, has been compiled by Biasutti, and is based on measurements of 408 males taken by Dainelli during the expedition, mostly whilst in the Skardu basin. These measurements follow the method laid down by the Anthropological Institute of Florence, and are of all the types found in Baltistan and Ladakh, over a hundred, however, being Baltis. The origin of the Baltis has for many years past given rise to different theories, but the general opinion among English writers is in favour of a Mongol origin. Vigne, one of the earliest writers, described them as a mixture of Mongol and either Persian or Indian. Cunningham clearly stated that they are a branch of the Mongol race, though somewhat modified by climatic conditions and intermarriage with the Aryan races of India. We then have Biddulph, who acknowledged a strong strain of Aryan blood, owing to mixture with the Dards. Dr. Neve is of opinion that the Baltis are of Tibetan descent. In the early eighties of last century the Hungarian anthropologist Ujfalvy took anthropometric measurements, which appeared to support his theory that the Baltis are of Aryan stock, thus differing from the writers mentioned. Biasutti would now seem to settle finally the much-discussed question by agreeing with Ujfalvy, Biasutti's opinion being amply supported and confirmed by strict anthropometrical measurements. There is also an interesting examination of a Balti cranium by Nello Puccioni following the table of measurements.

Travel books are occasionally open to criticism on account of their maps, but Dianelli disarms us, there being no less than six, all of which are good. One shows the distribution of the languages and dialects of the country, the Tibetan language being shown divided up into two main dialects—the Ladakhi and Balti. Dainelli does not stop here, but gives the minor dialects, and has coloured each area where these dialects are spoken. Then we have a map giving us the distribution of the costumes, defining the limits for the wearing of the Tibetan leather boots, and also the *pirak* or the Tibetan woman's head-dress. Besides these, there are others dealing with the distribution of religions, population, races, and, lastly, an anthropological map. The fine collection of photographs is placed at the end of the book, and nothing seems to have escaped the camera, for we have pictures illustrating practically everything mentioned in the text. The Expedition wintered in Baltistan and Ladakh, and, consequently, we find particularly interesting plates showing winter conditions in these countries; previous photographs would appear mostly to have been taken in the summer months. One excellent full-plate shows Buddhist remains outside Dras, probably early relics of the first Buddhist missionaries to Yarkand. Coming to types, we have a remarkable collection of photographs of individuals and a group of each race. In addition to full faces, Dainelli gives us side or profile views—yet another example of the thoroughness of his work. These fine photographs, apart from their interesting subjects, are admirably reproduced.

It is to be hoped that an English translation of this volume will be forthcoming, so as to appeal to a wider circle as a book of reference. One might even hope that, should it be necessary, some of the larger societies, such as the Royal Geographical Society and others, would combine and undertake this work. Finally, both Dainelli, under whose supervision this volume was written, and Biasutti, for his excellent detailed anthropological report, deserve our hearty congratulations. The issue of the remaining volumes of this series will be looked forward to with interest if the same standard of excellence be maintained.

B. K. F.

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INDIA. By Sir Valentine Chirol. Ernest Benn, 1926. 15s.

There are two classes of writers on India—those who have lived and worked among its various peoples, and attempt to describe Indian life and problems from within, and those who have set themselves to acquire a knowledge of India by study and travel, and write from the detached standpoint of outside critics. The former are apt to lack perspective, the latter that intimate and inner knowledge essential to wise judgment. Of this latter class there is no more competent authority than Sir Valentine Chirol. His present book is the last of a trilogy which began with the masterly exposition of "Indian Unrest," published in 1910. That was followed by the very vivid, if somewhat hasty, presentation of "India, Old and New," which appeared in 1921. At that time many well-wishers of India, who had not got down to the roots of its problems, were carried away by the premature enthusiasm evoked by a well-meaning but ill-constructed scheme of reform which, evolved by idealists and theorists, ignored the permanent, vital, indigenous forces that sway the minds of India's various races, castes, and creeds. Five years' experience of the reforms has brought sad disillusionment, even to such an acute observer as Sir Valentine Chirol.

A comparison of his forecast, in 1921, of India's political future under the reforms, with his vivid résumé of the last five years, furnishes much ground for reflection and much cause for anxiety as long as the cumbrous and un-Indian experiment of 1919 is continued on its present lines. Fortunately for India, that experiment is to come in 1929 under the review of the British Parliament, which, after local administration in India, will have to decide how far to "modify, extend, or restrict" it. For those who have to make that momentous decision, the present book will furnish valuable material. The book is described in an Introduction by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher as a "masterly survey of all the factors essential to the comprehension of modern India." The description may be accepted without tying the reader to a general acceptance of the author's conclusions. In many places the limitations inevitable even to the most acute observer, who is cut off from communication with the 99 per cent. of the population that have no knowledge of English, are apparent. From the undue prominence given to politics, and to the views of the Westernized and "politically minded" Indians, one realizes that the author's intercourse with the people was necessarily restricted to these classes. Anyone who has lived long in India knows how difficult it is to get at the back of a man's mind when he is talking to you in a—for him—foreign medium, or through an interpreter.

The book, therefore, often displays a marked, though unconscious, bias against the British administration and the British official, who are the favourite targets for the criticism of the Indian intelligentsia, and not less so because, in the past at least, they were striving rather for the benefit of the masses than to satisfy the aspirations of the educated classes. There is throughout a suggestion that for the last forty years, or since the National Congress has started, the British authorities have been culpably lacking in political acumen, and have failed to see or to estimate the significance of the Congress agitation, the victory of Japan over Russia, of Tilak's revolutionary movement, etc.

There is perhaps some foundation for these suggestions; but anyone who was in touch with the administration of India from 1886 onwards knows with what interest each of these new developments was followed by all ranks of the administration. The writer of this review has a vivid recollection of frequent discussions of the bearing on India of Russia's defeat in 1903, not only in high administrative circles but in every frontier mess from Abbottabad to Dera Ismail Khan. The Indian Central and Provincial Governments in pre-Reform days,

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though mainly preoccupied with the urgent problems of everyday administration, were by no means the dullards living in a fool's paradise of easy self-complacency that the author suggests. They certainly succeeded in the primary duties of maintaining internal peace and promoting progress, and even contentment, to an extent which must be the envy of the reformed and pseudo-democratic administrations that now hold the field but have lost their grip on a people accustomed to look to those in power—whether British or Indian—for a definite policy and prompt decision. But though much of the book must excite controversy—as is inevitable in a work covering such wide issues—the narrative as a whole is one of exceptional value and interest.

The chapter headed "The Tangle of Western Education" is a very masterly and convincing exposition of a complex problem. Of the vernacular press in Bengal in 1907-9 the author writes: "The revolutionary press treated murder as a culture to be scientifically developed in a religious medium." Of the educational institutions he says: "There were High Schools and Colleges which had become forcing houses of conspiracy, where some of the teachers systematically trained up their pupils to believe in murder as a patriotic duty." Many of us know these facts; but have they ever been so well expressed? The author has also done a real public service in bringing out how the various attempts to spread primary education among the masses failed from the days of Sir Charles Wood and Lord Dalhousie down to recent years, owing to the short-sighted policy of a Government that feared to face the heavy financial cost, and the apathy or hostility of the Indian intelligentsia—composed mainly of the hereditary literate classes—who were indifferent to the needs of the masses as long as they could secure such funds as were available for the higher education of their own class.

The chapter on the partition of Bengal and its revocation indicates that the author is in closer touch and sympathy with Hindu thought and feeling than with Muhammedan. He writes as if the only public opinion in Bengal and, indeed, in India was Hindu opinion, and as if the Muhammedans in Bengal before the partition were a negligible minority. Lord Curzon's separation of Eastern Bengal was a genuine and generous attempt to meet the aspirations of the backward Muhammedan majority in that province—over twenty millions—who till then had notoriously been the helots of the more advanced Hindus who dominated not only Western but Eastern Bengal through their monopoly of public office, of the Bar, the Press, and educational institutions. It was this Hindu dominance, backed by the murder gangs and revolutionary organizations of the schools and colleges, that led to the revocation of the partition a few years later. It was long a moot question which course would have been the more expedient in the long run—to face Hindu opposition in a good cause, or to undo an act which was undoubtedly beneficial to, and popular with, the Muhammedans in the hope of conciliating Hindu feeling. The result proves that the former course would have been the wiser. By their success in revoking the partition, the Hindu revolutionary movement was encouraged, while Muhammedan sentiment, not only in Bengal but all over India, was inflamed against a Government that, as they put it, had betrayed them. To that policy we undoubtedly owe much of the subsequent troubles with a section of the Indian Muhammedans culminating in the Hijrat Movement of 1921, the Moplah rebellion of 1921-22, and the violent anti-British Khilafat agitation which fed both. The irony of the situation is that the problem which Lord Curzon tried to solve by partition still remains, and is, in fact, now more acute than before. Mr. C. R. Das years ago tried to solve it by the famous Bengal Pact, offering the Muhammedans, as the price of their political support to his "anti-" British policy, a share in the loaves

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and fishes of Bengal proportionate to their numbers. But, as the author points out, Hindu opposition was so violent that the project was still-born.

The rival religions, "hating one another for the love of God," have now—in April last—tried to solve the problem in their own way by wholesale murder, arson, desecration of mosques and temples; and only the calling in of British troops, after scores of people had been killed and hundreds wounded, arrested a general massacre. Is it unreasonable to believe that if the Muhammedan sphere in Bengal had remained separate, as defined under the partition, these recurring and sanguinary outbursts would have been avoided?

The chapters dealing with the Reforms and their working are both accurate and illuminating. Here the author, with his wide experience and his knowledge of politics and politicians, is at his best. His matured view of the Indian Legislature that "their record, for the first legislation period at any rate, was not altogether discouraging" is equivalent to damning with faint praise. The author puts his finger on the main reason for the failure of the All-India Assembly to realize its inexperience—namely, the desire of the Government of India to flatter its vanity by weakly yielding to its immature pretensions when wise and firm guidance was called for. The Government, he rightly says, "took the first step down a very slippery plane when in spite of the definite promises of the (Reform) Act of 1919 it acquiesced (after one session) in an amendment declaring that India has already made sufficient progress in the path of self-government to claim an early revision of the Constitution without waiting for 1929, the date fixed in the Statute." Could official ineptitude go further? The acceptance of that amendment marked the *Nadir* of British administration in India. Fortunately its action was promptly repudiated by the Home Government.

The reference to recent administrative matters are not always marked by precision of thought and accuracy in details. The statement on p. 156 that the Morley Reforms gave the new Councils no powers of control and carefully maintained an official majority is not correct. Those Councils enjoyed control over new legislation, and, *all* the Provincial Councils, had a majority of non-officials, a majority of Indians, and, in some cases, a majority of elected members. Lord Morley's reason for retaining an official majority in the All-India Council is quoted on p. 155 thus, "that in no circumstances could he envisage a parliamentary system for India." Was he far wrong?

Again, on p. 254 the author justifies the action of the All-India Assembly in rejecting the 1923 Budget on the ground that the enormous military expenditure absorbed half the revenue of the state. This fallacy, which can only be supported by separating provincial from central finance, has been exposed over and over again. As a matter of fact, the total expenditure on defence in India is less than one-third of the revenues of the most lightly taxed country in the world, and amounts to less than half a crown per head of the population as compared with £3 per head in Great Britain. No great Empire was ever so cheaply protected as India to-day.

On p. 269 it is said that Gopi Nath Sahai (whose murder of a British merchant in Calcutta in 1924 was extolled by the late C. R. Das as a patriotic act) intended to murder an Inspector of Police. The assassin was after bigger game—no less than the fearless Commissioner of Police, Sir Charles Tegart, who has done so much to stamp out the revolutionary conspiracies in Bengal.

The account of the Akali Sikh movement in the Punjab (pp. 297-300) is inaccurate in many material respects, but there is only space to notice one. The author talks of "the short-lived trouble which broke out in the second year of the war, with the return of a few hundred Sikhs driven away from Canada and

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bitterly estranged by the anti-Asiatic immigration laws." Here he is confounding the return in September, 1914, of 300 Sikhs in the s.s. *Komugatu Maru*, who were not allowed to land by the Canadian authorities, with the return between October 1914 and 1916 of some 10,000 Sikhs settled along the Pacific coast, *but chiefly in the U.S.A.*, who had been infected with anti-British and revolutionary propaganda by Har Diyal and others, acting under German influence. Most of these men came back to India at the end of 1914 and the first half of 1915, with the declared intention of fomenting rebellion in the Punjab. Some hundreds of the most dangerous were promptly interned, and others were restricted. But those who were left at large succeeded for a space of nine months in spreading a campaign of murder and rebellion—combined with attacks on troops and police and serious, and not unsuccessful, efforts to spread sedition in the Indian Army—through the Central Punjab, which was only put down by special legislation and stern executive measures. Fifty-eight of the ringleaders were sentenced to death and over a hundred to transportation. The history of this dangerous conspiracy is fully described in the Rowlat Report of 1918. To write of it as a "short-lived trouble" caused by a few hundred returned Sikhs shows a very inadequate appreciation of the real facts.

But it is in dealing with the disturbances in Amritsar and elsewhere in March-April, 1919, that the author shows a more serious ignorance of facts brought out in official publications or established judicially in public proceedings before a British judge and jury. It would appear as if the author, who visited India (including Amritsar) in 1920-21 and then met Gandhi and the leading Indian politicians, had fallen under their spell in echoing their parrot cry of the "Punjab Massacres," and had never revised his first impressions in the light of facts subsequently established. Thus he writes (pp. 206-7) that Gandhi proclaimed *April* 6, 1919, as the date for a complete Hartal, and that *on that same date* occurred the first collision at Delhi between Gandhi's followers and the police. In fact, Gandhi first fixed the Hartal for March 30, and it was on March 30 that the Hartal at Delhi led to an attack by the mob on the railway station, which alone links the Punjab and North-West Frontier with the rest of India, to repulse which not only all the available police but the troops had to be called out. They had to charge the mob several times and open fire more than once to force them back into the city. Eight of the rioters were killed and some forty or fifty were wounded, as well as several of the police. Surely the author treats this very lightly in saying "there were only a few casualties at Delhi."

The point to note is that Gandhi, though, after the events of March 30 at Delhi and elsewhere, he realized that the Hartal must inevitably lead to bloodshed, decreed a second general Hartal throughout India for April 6. It was this distinct challenge to Government, enforced by wholesale violence and intimidation, that created the electric atmosphere charged with rebellion which precipitated the serious and simultaneous outbreaks at Amritsar in the Punjab and Ahmedabad in Bombay (1,000 miles apart) on April 10. On April 14 Gandhi at Ahmedabad, trying—as usual—to quell the storm he had aroused, described the outbreaks as "having been done in an organized manner." He was primarily responsible for them; but the author, like so many others who look to Gandhi's lofty professions rather than to his criminal actions, deals lightly with a man whose ascetic pose has covered a multitude of sins.

But the author has no language too strong for the unhappy officers of Government who had the ungrateful task of repressing the rebellion promoted by Gandhi's agitation, and here again many of his assertions are incorrect.

Thus on p. 209 he says: "*Throughout the Punjab* martial law was enforced with the utmost rigour," etc. There are twenty-nine districts in the Punjab,

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and only in *five* of them was martial law proclaimed, and even in them it was enforced only in the towns where serious outbreaks had taken place, and to safeguard the railway communications with the N.W. Frontier. The above statement would suggest that the (whole) Punjab was aflame, as indeed is asserted on p. 207. That is a libel on a province which, except for the town mobs in eight or ten places, remained conspicuously loyal throughout the crisis and gallantly repelled the Afghan aggression. The author might have noted that martial law was withdrawn in the Punjab after two months, while in Egypt, where there was a simultaneous similar outbreak, it remained in force for over two years, and in the case of the Moplah rebellion of 1921-22 for over six months.

The same inaccuracy characterizes the account of General Dyer's action at Amritsar (pp. 207-210). Take the statements:

1. "Order had been restored *before* General Dyer reached Amritsar."

2. "General Dyer with a *party of fifty Gurkhas* reached the Bagh and saw a dense crowd; most of them engaged in listening to speeches. . . . He assumed rightly enough that this was a public meeting in contravention of his orders and a seditious one."

3. "*Without a word of warning* he opened and kept up on them a fusillade," etc.

The report of the Hunter Committee, the Despatches of the Government of India, and of the Secretary of State, and, above all, the summing up of Mr. Justice McCardie in a well-known libel suit in which Dyer's action at Amritsar was the chief issue, show that none of the statements above quoted can be accepted without grave qualifications. To take them in order.

(1) It was because the Amritsar rebels held undisputed possession of the city after the general massacre of Europeans on April 10 that General Dyer was sent there with a considerable force on the night of the 11th to restore order. On the 12th, and morning of the 13th, the rebels were able to derail trains along the main line adjoining Amritsar, thereby cutting his communications, and to send out emissaries to foment the outbursts in Kasur on the 12th—when two British soldiers were clubbed to death, and several British officers and men and an English lady with her children narrowly escaped the same fate—to attack Treasuries and wreck most of the railway stations between Amritsar and Kasur.

On April 13 the situation in and around Amritsar was so alarming that the Government of India declared a state of "open rebellion" and imposed martial law, at the same time calling on all officers of Government to use the "most drastic action" in preventing the spread of the disorders and assuring them of full support.

(2) and (3). The author seems to have studied neither the Hunter Report nor General Dyer's own report of April 14. Had he done so, he would have seen that Dyer with a strong force had spent four hours on the morning of the 13th going round Amritsar City with the District Magistrate and issuing proclamations, orally and in writing at nineteen different places, warning the people that gatherings were prohibited and would be dispersed by him with armed force. His warnings were received with defiance and a hostile gathering at the Bagh was announced by the extremists as a defiance. It met a few hours later. While that gathering of 15,000 was being addressed by the men who had taken a leading part in the murders and rebellion of the 10th, Dyer came on the scene and dispersed it by force as he had given previous warning that he would. Had he failed to do so, his small force would have been annihilated by sheer weight of numbers, and one shudders to think of the consequences in the Central Punjab, for the cities of Lahore, Gujranwala, and Lyallpur and many towns along the railway were in a state of "open rebellion," but the news of the crushing of the rebellion at its source in Amritsar promptly restored order.

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His small force was not "50 Gurkhas," but, as his report shows, "25 Rifles 9th Gurkhas, 25 Rifles from 54th Sikhs F.F. and 59th Rifles F.F., making a total of 50 Rifles, and about 40 Gurkhas armed with kukris."

The author suggests that the meeting, though assembled in defiance of military orders, was rather a harmless affair engaged either in listening to speeches, or, as stated in the House of Lords by the Under Secretary of State in 1921, a prayer meeting. Dyer's view was that he had the rebel army in front of him. The nature of the meeting was under investigation by a British judge and jury for days. This is how the judge puts the matter in his published summing up:

"What was the meeting of *men* for?" (There were no women and children among the 15,000.)

"The question is, who were the speakers? One of them turned King's evidence, one was prosecuted for inciting the crowd to murder Mr. Scott and Mr. Stewart at the bank on April 10. Another speaker had been a clerk in that bank; he had led the murdering crowd to the room of Mr. Scott. A third speaker was one of the murderers of Mr. Scott, who was beaten to a pulp; a fourth speaker was also implicated in the bank murders; a fifth speaker had absconded to Kashmir.

"Another speaker was convicted of sedition and waging war, and the bank clerk had published a poem directly inciting to murder. This poem was being recited to the crowd just before General Dyer arrived. . . .

"What were these people speaking of? The man who had led them to the bank murders was there. General Dyer fired," etc.

Which account carries more conviction? Sir Valentine Chirol's, or Mr. Justice McCardie's? Sir Valentine had the advantage of seeing the place, but obviously received a garbled and one-sided account of what took place. The judge and jury gave the best part of five weeks to a consideration of the sworn evidence of over forty witnesses on both sides, who were most competent to speak and were able to depose to many facts which the Hunter Committee had declined to hear.

There is an equal discrepancy between the author and the judge as to the final judgment. The judge in summing up said:

"I express my view that General Dyer in the grave and exceptional circumstances acted rightly, and in my opinion, upon the evidence, he was wrongly punished by the Secretary of State for India. That is my view, and I need scarcely say that I have weighed every circumstance and every new detail that was not before the Hunter Committee."

The jury by a majority verdict of eleven to one readily accepted the Judge's view. After referring to the above passage, the author complacently adds on p. 210:

"But the Labour Government then in office at home held that the learned judge was not in full possession of the facts, and maintained and reiterated their predecessors' censure."

There the question rests and may be left to rest.

Whoever is in possession of the facts, the author clearly is not. However it may suit politicians to ignore the judicial decision on a main line direct issue, one does not expect to find a writer of Sir Valentine's authority in that *galère*, making an unjustified attack on an officer who, as the result of being "wrongly punished," is unable to defend himself. What ground has he for traversing a judicial finding, and which was not appealed against and is therefore final? No doubt it is not easy to shed opinions prematurely formed on a one-sided presentation of the case. The broader issue raised by the Labour Prime Minister's statement, behind which the author takes refuge, has been discussed in Sir Lynden Macassey's brilliant article "Executive *v.* Judiciary," in the April number of the *National Review*. It is clear that the question will not be left to rest; if not

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taken up by Parliament, it will certainly not be overlooked by those who value historical truth and British justice. To call General Dyer's action, as he does, "preventive massacre" conflicts with both. It is a pity that a book, in many respects so valuable, should be seriously inaccurate in several matters which have been the subject of recent controversy.

There are many other assertions beside those noted which need correction, but this review has already run to excessive length. Doubtless the author will make the necessary corrections in any further issue, and thereby further enhance the value of his work. M. F. O'D.

MESOPOTAMIA CAMPAIGN, 1914-1918. Vol. III. of Official History. By Brigadier-General F. J. Moberly, C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O. H.M. Stationery Office. 15s.

The first two volumes of the official history of this campaign having established for the author a high repute, the third might well leave a taste of disappointment. But it is not so; the early record of easy, perhaps too easy, success in 1914-1915 was followed by the tale of unrelieved gloom and disaster which led up to the fall of Kut in April, 1916. The present volume deals with the triumphant vindication of our arms under the late General Maude —the busy five months from December, 1916, which witnessed the wearing down of the Turkish XVIIIth Corps near Kut, the capture of Baghdad, and the dispersal of the Turkish XIIIth Corps hurrying too late back from Persia.

Although the destruction of the Sixth Turkish Army thus forms the theme of General Moberly's volume, the record is not one of smooth successes. There were many failures, and although an official historian is precluded from critical comment, the facts are so clearly set out and the relative values of events so well maintained that this book is of far wider interest than just among those who voluntarily, or for examination purposes, are students of military history.

Indeed, it is safe to say, even at this close distance of time, that this volume covers the zenith of the modern Turkish state; subsequent events have only followed from decisions taken at that time. For in 1916 Turkey, for the first time in her own sphere, held the initiative. It is true that at the beginning of the war she had invaded Egypt as far as the Canal, but that was German not Turkish strategy; she had achieved the easy success in the Caucasus which forced upon us the Dardanelles Expedition, that again was fortuitous, and directly due to the weakness of her chief opponent, Russia, rather than a deliberate plan. So, even though Erzeroum had fallen in February, 1916, the Russians could surge no further forward than Erzingan without delaying many months to build a railway; the British were at a standstill before Gaza in Palestine, and in Mesopotamia, if they still wanted Kut, there were plenty of troops and to spare to defend it. Turkey could strike, and at once the Pan-Turan idea bubbled to the surface. Baratoff's army in Persia was the excuse to invade a neutral country, and the fact that those particular Russian troops were peculiarly averse to fighting was an added incentive. An easy invasion as far as Hamadan followed, but it is clear from General Moberly's narrative that the criticism of the Turkish historian, Muhammad Amin, which he quotes, to the effect that Kut and Baghdad were lost by the Persian escapade, is well founded.

The day we entered Baghdad, March 11, 1917, was also the date of the first stroke of the paralysis of the Russian revolution. Again Turkey had the initiative, again the lure of Pan-Turan led her armies away, this time into the Caucasus, where the only resistance was to come from their allies the Germans, already in occupation at Tiflis by special request of the Georgians, and the

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handful of British under General Dunsterville, who made such a fine resistance at Baku. But again these easy political invasions were brought to naught; Turkey suddenly found that Allenby had destroyed her main army, our Salonica army, on the collapse of Bulgaria, was free and on the point of moving on the capital, which they could reach long before the scattered conquerors of the Caucasus could return to defend it. So an armistice, which was virtually a capitulation, became the inevitable outcome of the Pan-Turanian policy when put into practice.

Later, when fortune and the Greeks gave Turkey another chance, and she had a virtually clean slate presented to her with the Treaty of Lausanne, again the political fever supervened, this time in the more acute form of a fierce nationalism, the spread-eagle imperialism of Pan-Islam and Pan-Turan developing into a virulent and narrow tribalism. When the wiser dictator, Mussolini, fosters both the monarchy and the Papacy, who in return give him powerful support, the more elementary Mustapha Kemal must needs destroy the machinery of Church and State, arrogating to himself the ridiculous triple position of Head of the State, President of Parliament, and leader of a political party. In the religious sphere Young Turkey has deposed and deported the Caliph, dissolved the monasteries, and disestablished Islam. The present state of affairs is well described in an article of especial interest in the April number of the *Army Review*, "A Republic in the Making," by Lieutenant-Colonel F. S. Thackeray, in which he says:

"For nationalism runs riot at Angora. 'We were but Mussalmans, now we are Turks.' 'Turkey for the Turks.' The war cry of the Turkish National Pact was 'L'Empire Ottoman est mort. Vive la Turquie.' Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turanianism have merely a moral value as stimulants. . . . With the Mussalman States of Central Asia her relations are sentimental and religious rather than political and economic."

Twenty years ago Lord Cromer in his great book "Modern Egypt" wrote: "Islam reformed is Islam no longer. It has yet to be proved that Islam can assimilate civilization without succumbing in the process." Modern Turkey has yet to learn that the assimilation of alcohol and the wearing of "billycocks" are not progress. Recently Mustapha Kemal sanctioned the execution of several Turks for refusing to obey the "hats" order. An absurd incident, but it symptomizes war on Islam as an established faith; Angora seems to take the view that the blight on her progress has been the Koran.

Pan-Islam and Pan-Turan have led to a morass, and just as Julian's doubtful victory at Ctesiphon marked the beginning of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, so can we see the beginning of the end of modern Turkey in the brief period so faithfully recorded in General Moberly's Vol. III. of the Mesopotamia Campaign.

Syria, Iraq, Palestine, and Egypt are under the control of Western Powers; Mecca is in the hands of the Wahabis, the most full-blooded of all the followers of the Prophet. Can Turkey without Islam survive? We have always, and necessarily so, been sensitive to Moslem opinion in the East, and particularly attentive to Turkey as the suzerain of Islam. We can wonder whether we shall go far out of our way to help the new non-Moslem Turkey when Mussolini elects to recreate the Roman Empire in Asia Minor. When Russia next besieges Kars, the key of the Southern Caucasus, for the moment in Turkish keeping, will there be another Williams and a British staff to organize and inspire the defence as in 1855? Clearly Turkey cannot expect British friendship if she continues to practise the time-honoured pastime of "twisting the Lion's tail." On our side it is to fly in face of facts to contend that our policy since the Armistice has been

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a source of national pride. The present attitude of both countries, as indicated by the Mosul settlement, gives great hope for a better understanding in the immediate future.

This is not the place for a military review, but it must be said that General Moberly's narrative from that point of view is accurate and clear, and survives all tests that memory and limited personal records can apply. The maps are good, constant references to them, if annoying, cannot be avoided; but the profusion of footnotes is very distracting, and it would seem that in many cases they could be woven into the text with great advantage. The nomenclature of regiments is sometimes given in strange forms; perhaps it seemed to the author too slangy to talk, as soldiers do, of the "East Lancs" and "North Staffs," but the half-measure of leaving out the word Regiment, and saying "The East Lancashire had advanced," reads very awkwardly.

This volume is, as has been said, full of interest, and it is good news to know that the last phases of the campaign, including the doings of the Eastern Persian Cordon and of the mysterious Dunsterforce, are to be told in a fourth and final volume, now nearing completion.

W. M. T.

THE RISE OF THE IMAMS OF SANAA. Translation, with comments, by A. S. Tritton of the Aligarh Muslim University. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 7s. 6d.

This in the main is a work compiled in the tenth century A.H. The latest Imam under reference is Ismail al Mutawakkil (1055-1067 A.H.). The book describes the "steam-roller" warfare between Turks and Imams which ended only in 1911-1912 A.D., when the Imam of to-day, Yahya al Mutawakkil, buried the hatchet to throw in his lot with Islam against the Italians in the Italo-Turkish campaign.

Mr. Tritton in his comments relates the prophecy that "in the latter days one of the Prophet's family should possess Shahara and destroy the power of the Turks." Their power has been destroyed by Britain, and the present ruler lived mostly at Shahara during the Great War, and also before 1911, when the Turkish and Imamic forces alternately took, and were dispossessed of, San'a. Against this place and the garden-city of Al Rauda—five miles to its north—the Turkish attacks were chiefly directed, and Al Rauda to-day presents a very battered appearance. Mr. Tritton discusses "the selfish interest and delight in strife, rather than the love of religion, which made the Arabs under Turkish rule hesitate to join the Imam." It is true that the Zaidi creed is less bigoted than the Shafa'i in the Yemen; but many Arabs in the latter-day warfare were well aware "on which side their bread was buttered," and not of them could it be said, as of Cato:

"Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa Catoni."

It was not "hypocritical," as Mr. Tritton rightly believes, that while the Arabs refused Turkish rule "because the foreigners were evil-doers," yet in writing to Turkish Pashas the Imam praised God for Turkish victories which the Sultan-Caliph upheld, and glorified Islam. The Yemeni Arab has never loved his Turkish overlord, but, being a Muslim, he would naturally exult over Islam's defeat of the infidel. This spirit continues to this day; and yet the Arab loves strife for strife's sake, as one of their poets has said:

"To us men is prescribed the fight; to you women the trailing of the skirt."

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It is a pity the translator writes "Yemen" instead of "The Yemen." "The transliteration of foreign names can hardly be called systematic," he says; but his system is mostly satisfactory. Yet I dislike "Sanaa" and "Saada" even in the *text*, for the double *a*'s suggest to the European eye and ear no fitting pronunciation. The index, of course, gives the correct transliteration, and yet here I notice the slip of "Arhab" for "Arḥab" (*cf.* Rechabites). So, too, "Laḥj" (monosyllable) is the correct form. "Bîr" is also a slip, and "Mokha" is better than "Mocha"; and I note that Mr. Tritton uses elsewhere the *kh* to represent this sound. Has not the commercial commodity stereotyped the *ch*? The use of *ṛ* for the letter "ghain" is confusing. This is the French device, and with them is good, for their "*r*"-*grasséyé* closely represents the "ghain." To English ears this sign can suggest *r* only. Many Englishmen cannot pronounce ġ ("ghain") without combining the sound of *r*, and this inability may be laid at the door of a faulty transliteration.

It is refreshing to note that Mr. Tritton does not support the almost universal error of the double *s* in the word "Husain." "Dhimar" should be "Dhamar," and "Yafrus" is correct—not "Yafris." All this is, perhaps, captious criticism, and yet the book is an appeal to "scholars," chiefly.

The Arabs assert that Bait al Faqih al Zaidiyya, which lies on the outskirts of the B. Sulail, on a level with the island of Kamaran, was the *original* town of that name, and that thereafter was founded the town further south, B. al Faqih, on the road between Hodeida and Zabid—and Allah best knows!

The tobacco plant, it is said, was tabooed by the Imam; and to day the Imam neither smokes nor drinks coffee, though he eats moderately of the qat-leaf (*Catha edulis*), which his people, unfortunately, "ingorge without restraint.

The "collective ownership of the clan" ("al qabyala") is stated; but a clan will, for filthy lucre, split up into two mutually hostile parts, for, as the Prophet said, "Everyone has his own pet calf, and the calf of my People is the dirham." Properly speaking, the ideal Arab unit is the *family*. Hence it was possible for the Turks to keep the tribes in subjection by the principle of *divide and rule*. Tacitus, in his *Germania*, wrote: "Long may it last, I pray, and persist among the nations, this—if not love for us—at least hatred for each other. . . . Fortune can guarantee us nothing better than discord among our foes!"

It is interesting to learn that "the Jews, armed with slings, fought for the Imam." Nowadays the Jew goes compulsorily *un*armed. In our Aden Protectorate I know of just two wholly Jewish villages where the inhabitants have peculiar prerogatives.

The punishment of harlotry is still exacted. I recall once in Dala head-quarters a body of sheikhs coming to my camp to ask if certain women were countenanced by me in a village near the soldiers' tents. When I protested, then, "May we oust them?" they asked. I consented, and the village was speedily cleared, and the unfortunates put down across the Turkish border.

Mr. Tritton is not correct when he says that the name Zaidi is never given to the Imam. His followers, too, glory in the term "Ziyūd"; and to-day the Imam leans chiefly to his Zaidis for support, and to the B. Maṭar of the Bakil in particular. When in San'a in 1924 I always asked for an escort from this clan, and this pleased Imam Yahya.

I must differ from him, too, when he says that, roughly speaking, the appellation of Sharif is used "outside the Yemen." As a matter of fact, the fine distinction between Sharif and Saiyid, as descendants respectively of Al Hasan and Al Husain, is adhered to. Imam Yahya is descended from the former, while many of the Imams have traced their descent from the younger son of Ali. I admit, however, that the present ruler is usually styled Saiyid.

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Again, it is not correct to say that "in Zaidi belief any descendant of the Prophet who was a just man might become Imam." There are some twenty-one qualifications for the Imamate, and many of these are physical.

The word "dawīl" is not surely referable to a "daula"? "Dawil" in the Yemen means *old—cf.* Al Sheikh al Dawil, the *old* village of Sheikh Othman, by Aden.

The translator treats of "the casuistical treatment of an oath imposed by force." This is true. Sitting in the Aden courts as a magistrate, I remember a Bedouin witness who, when about to be put on solemn affirmation, said to me: "Think you I shall lie if *not* put on oath?" After this I never put his kind on oath. Others have thought that an oath imposed by an unbeliever may be broken with impunity. It is true that an oath given in the name of the local saint of Yafrus (near Ta'izz), one Ibn 'Alwān, is held to be most binding. In the Yemen, Ibn 'Alwān is held in almost as high esteem as the Prophet. The Zaidis, however, do not make pilgrimages to the saints' tombs as the Shāf'ais do.

The Yemenis to-day are not quite smooth-faced. Everyone keeps some hair on the face to swear by—usually on the chin.

This work of Ahmed, "controlled by certain specified books now in the British Museum," should be welcomed by the scholar, and it is hoped that Mr. Tritton may see his way to continuing the series. The work abounds in place-names. The Yemen is thickly populated. Whitaker's estimate of 700,000 is a stereotyped error. The figure is nearer 5,500,000. A map would have fitly crowned the volume, which most surely was a labour of love.

H. F. J.

THE ARAB AT HOME. Paul W. Harrison. London: Hutchinson and Co. (1925). Sketch map and illustrations. 15s. net.

Some five hundred books more or less directly connected with the Persian Gulf have been written in English during the past hundred years, and probably about five times as many concerning the countries of the Middle East. Not more than one-tenth of this number have that peculiar literary charm which is the hall-mark of sympathetic observers who, by long residence and habit of mind, have not only much to tell, but much to teach their readers, because they have learnt much.

Amongst such books Dr. Harrison's work will long hold a high place; indeed, we may well regard it as the most informing and most thoughtful work that has appeared on the Persian Gulf region during the past thirty years. The author is describing things he has seen, not once only as a chance traveller, but on many occasions during long years of work as a medical missionary; not only in a consulting-room, but as a traveller in regions where Europeans have seldom, and European doctors scarcely ever, penetrated. Arabia, and particularly Nejd, is a crucible in which mankind has been scorched and buffeted by sun and wind and, though the process is not yet complete, Dr. Harrison's discerning eye has found gold, though he does not hesitate faithfully to describe the dross from which the precious metal has emerged, and is emerging.

Perhaps the most important parts of his book are the chapters in which he describes the life and bondage of the oasis-dwellers of Hasa and the pearl-divers of Bahrain and the neighbouring coast. The former lie beyond the reach, as yet, of European ideas, but the latter have for the past fifty years lived, if not under the British flag, in a principality whose chief is very directly under the

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political influence of Great Britain. That such bondage should exist and should have been intensified during the last twenty years is, as Dr. Harrison perceives and is not afraid to record, not entirely creditable to this country. Dr. Harrison's estimate of the attitude of the average Arab towards British merchants and officials is not wholly flattering, but is probably as accurate as is possible amongst a population whose views of the suzerain power are apt to vary according to the character and reputation of the local representative of Government for the time being.

As a disinterested physician and surgeon, without political affinities, the author had opportunities of meeting and conversing freely and frankly with all classes, not excluding women, and this circumstance invests his book with quite exceptional value for those whose business brings them in contact with Arabs, whether in Mesopotamia or the Persian Gulf. Like Doughty, he admires the simplicity of their life and aims, their passionate belief in the one God and, through it, in the unity of the universe, in which they perceive more clearly, perhaps, than Westerners, how small a part is played by puny man. He does not attempt, however, to idealize the subject of his work nor his environment. Heat and cold, hunger and thirst, vermin, sickness, and death are to his Arab friends, as they were to us all in Europe not so very long ago and to very many during the Great War, a necessary part of life, not things to fear or to avoid contact with, but things to face stoically and even lightheartedly as the common lot of men. It is a book that should be often in the hand, and permanently on the shelves, of all those who live between Suez and Karachi and of many others who may see here, as in a glass, what our own early ancestors endured and what they held dear. Those who have ears to hear will understand from this book why it is that it is in the East that great religions have been born, and why it was in Central Arabia that the Wahabis, the most militant sect of modern times, were born in the eighteenth century and found fresh life in the twentieth.

A. T. W.

Iraq. By S. H. Slater, C.I.E., C.M.G. *The Nineteenth Century and After*, April, 1926.

This article is a brilliant summary of events in Iraq during the last five years. Nobody is better qualified to write their history than Colonel Slater, I.C.S., who, until the end of 1924, was Financial Adviser to the Government of Iraq. Whatever that country may have lost through his return to India, we may congratulate ourselves on the liberty of speech which his withdrawal has brought to him.

The author begins his story with the promises made to the Arabs during the Mesopotamian campaign. He points out that no undertaking was giving to set up a national government immediately. Any such pledge would not only have interfered with the military administration, but would have embarrassed the peace negotiations. In referring to the much criticized régime of Sir Arnold Wilson (1918-20), Colonel Slater, with intimate knowledge, says that the country enjoyed good government (perhaps better than it has ever had before or since), that taxation was lighter than it had been in Turkish times or was to become later when a constitution was set up, and that medical and utility services were introduced "of a standard of excellence beyond all natural expectations." Nor can Sir Arnold Wilson be blamed for the rising of 1920.

In 1921 Mr. Winston Churchill held a conference in Cairo for the prime purpose of cutting down drastically British expenditure in the Middle East. That

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object was achieved, mainly by replacing regiments by aeroplanes. But it was in the hope of still further reductions, and of an eventual cessation of British expenditure in Iraq, that the conference also decided to hand over the administration of Iraq to an Arab government, with Faisal as king, but with a British High Commissioner and British administrative inspectors, who had "numerous definite functions but indefinite responsibility." Colonel Slater states incidentally that the Middle East Department of the Colonial Office "entirely separated the Iraq Government's British advisers from the High Commissioner." In these circumstances, it is surprising that British assistance has achieved so much. One would have assumed that the advisers would be required to subordinate to the general policy of the High Commissioner any advice which they give to their ministers, and that the High Commissioner would be instructed to consult the advisers before initiating any policy, not while interfering with them in matters of detail.

The author pays a tribute to the dexterity with which the first High Commissioner, Sir Percy Cox, "a man with the sagacity of Ulysses and the front of Wellington," set Faisal upon his throne and an Arab ministry upon its feet. Then he passes on to the change of British policy in 1923. The reduction in the mandatory period—from twenty to four years—has been sometimes attributed to Arab progress or Arab agitation. Colonel Slater rightly traces it to the British Press cry for the evacuation of Iraq. The reduction was ill-advised, and seriously retarded the progress of Iraq.

"Was Iraq in the least likely to be able to defend and support herself in four years? No one could seriously answer that question in the affirmative. What, then, would happen at the end of the period? Chaos? Turkish domination revived, with its inevitable reprisals on those who had coquetted with the infidel? or a plausible pretext for further and more intense British control? No wonder that a profound uneasiness possessed the minds of men."

Little more than two years later, the new policy had to be reversed at the bidding of the League of Nations Boundary Commission, who quickly realized that an Iraqi Iraq was utterly impossible without British protection for a prolonged period.

Colonel Slater gives an illuminating account of the working of the new administration, and of the responsibilities assumed by King, High Commissioner, Constitutional Assembly (now replaced by a two-house Parliament) and Cabinet. It is fairly obvious that in the last resort the most important wheel in this somewhat elaborate machinery is the High Commissioner, now Sir Henry Dobbs. To the services which he and his staff (especially Miss Gertrude Bell) and the British advisers have rendered the author gives generous praise.

As to the future, the author is somewhat pessimistic:

"A rapid increase in the Iraq army is postulated by the existing policy, and its ultimate cost cannot be less than £1,500,000 a year. Mr. Amery is confident that the full strength can be attained, and its cost met from Iraq revenues, probably by 1928. There is no foundation for this optimism. The finances of Iraq cannot for many years support a greater expenditure than the present. And, even if the financial difficulty did not exist, no one seriously believes that a country like Iraq, internally turbulent and externally subject to aggression along an immense open frontier, can ever provide for its own defence with local forces drawn from a total population of 3,000,000, of which the tribal part (at least two-thirds) is not amenable to recruitment."

And again, on the political outlook:

"There are no signs that Faisal's government has yet struck root in the soil of Iraq. The constitution has had no organic growth. It was thrust ready-made on an inarticulate country. It has been neither strong nor beneficent. If the

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inhabitants of Iraq enjoy an unusual tranquillity, they owe it to the foreign Power which protects them by its forces. Not all the wizardry—or should we say witchery?—of Miss Gertrude Bell can prevail over the plain fact of the insufficiency of the Faisal kingdom. She has hypnotized the minds of many. She has practised Couéism on King Faisal himself with such assiduity as to make that susceptible monarch actually begin to believe in himself. But the star of the Hedjaz dynasty is not in the ascendant. The balance of power in Arabia has recently changed against the Sherifian line. In defending our new protégé we may soon find ourselves fighting our old friends. There is little doubt that, if we adhere to our present policy, Iraq will remain for many years an anxious charge and financial burden on future British Governments."

Perhaps Colonel Slater would have been rather more hopeful if he had written after the execution of the new Anglo-Turkish-Iraqi treaty, which gives Iraq a satisfactory northern frontier, a reasonable prospect of friendly relations with her most powerful neighbour, and fair security for British capital. But there can be no doubt that the country's hopes must long continue to depend on the presence of British aeroplanes, like guardian angels, above and around her.

Everybody who wishes to know what is going on in the Middle East should read this article. Nor should it be overlooked by students of political science. Few more courageous or interesting constitutional experiments than the new régime in Iraq have ever been given birth.

E. H. K.

RELIGIONS OF THE EMPIRE. A Conference on Some Living Religions within the Empire, held at the Imperial Institute, London, September 22 to October 3, 1924, under the auspices of the School of Oriental Studies (University of London) and the Sociological Society. Edited by William Loftus Hare, Joint Hon. Secretary to the Conference. With an Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., Ph.D. Duckworth. 1925.

In 1923 it was decided to hold a Conference of Living Religions within the Empire, in conjunction with the Wembley Exhibition. Although it was originally decided to hold the Conference at Wembley, it finally took place at the Imperial Institute from September 22 to October 3, 1924. The papers read, together with an Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross and a Sketch of Modern Religious Congresses by the Editor, have recently been published, and form a very interesting and instructive volume. The book is useful, not only as a record of the proceedings of the Conference, but as a work on the religions of the Empire of permanent value.

The record contains the work of some notable people. The Khalifat-ul-Masih, head of the Ahmidya sect, came to England especially to attend the Conference, and contributed a paper on the sect he leads. Mr. N. C. Sen, son of the famous reformer, Keshub Chander Sen, dealt with the Brahmo Samaj religion. Mr. Ruhi Afnan, who contributed one of the papers on the Bahai cause, is nearly related to Abdul Baha, after whom that religion is named. Sir Francis Younghusband, Sir Patrick Fagan, Professor Margoliouth, and Professor Geddes—to name only a few of the better known—have contributed to the volume. In all, some seventeen religions were dealt with. Christianity and Judaism were omitted. It was felt the Conference would be unduly extended if these were included, while they were probably too well known to need expounding to any audience meeting in London. Some religions of recent origin, such as Christian Science, Theosophy, and the new Spiritualistic Church, were also omitted.

Lack of space precludes any individual review of the papers now published.

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Nearly all were written by adherents to the religion with which they dealt. They are, therefore, descriptive rather than analytical, and criticism and comparison are absent. But, on the whole, they each form a sincere and fair summary of a religion as seen from the standpoint of a well-informed believer. Written entirely without any spirit of aggressiveness or controversy, collectively they strike a note of strength combined with tolerance, and mutual trust without surrender, in keeping with the highest ideals of the Empire, which all would like to see perpetuated. Two papers were devoted to Hinduism, while two more dealt with the Arya and the Brahmo Samajes, comparatively modern movements which sprang from it. Two papers dealt with the general aspects of Islam, while the Shiah sect, the Ahmediya movement, and Sufism were discussed separately. The Bahai cause, which originally sprang from Islam, is appropriately placed in a different section. Primitive religions were discussed in four papers—namely, "Some Account of the Maori Beliefs"; "Beliefs of Some East African Tribes"; "The Bantu Religious Ideas," and "Some Aspects of the Religion of the West African Negro." These were, perhaps, in some ways the least satisfactory of the collection, but it is, of course, more difficult to give a satisfactory account of the beliefs of a primitive people within the limits of a paper, as the gulf between such people and the reader is so much greater and more difficult to bridge. Neither can the influence of environment nor the embodiment of customs required for tribal or individual self-preservation, which are important factors in primitive religions, be sufficiently explained in any short account, and knowledge of them cannot be assumed by the writers. Eight papers dealt with the Psychology and Sociology of Religion, the side of religion of special interest to the Sociological Society, which, with the School of Oriental Studies, promoted the Conference. Again a detailed review is impossible. By agreement all politics and controversy were excluded whereby harmony was secured, even if practical interest was curtailed. But, in these days of acute antagonism and conflicting racial and party interests, none can doubt the wisdom of the limitation. Probably members of over a dozen races attended the Conference.

Finally, it can be said that the promoters of the Conference succeeded in a very difficult task. Interest, as well as harmony, was achieved. Most divergent beliefs were stated and mutual understanding was promoted. Sir Francis Younghusband certainly struck the right note in his opening address when he urged that "not even patriotism is enough," and that religion should form the basis of imperial unity. The Editor, in his Sketch of Modern Religious Congresses, gives a brief account of those which took place up to the war (the Report of the Conference of Paris in 1924 was not to hand when the present volume was published). It is said that another World Congress is to be held in Rome in 1927. But it is to be hoped that the importance of following up this Conference will not be lost sight of. If the spirit then displayed can be preserved, it offers a great asset towards the attainment of imperial unity and international amity. The present volume deserves to be widely known and studied. It contains in one volume a mass of information only previously available in many scattered sources.

M. F. W.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR MORTIMER DURAND, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.: A BIOGRAPHY. By Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G. London: Cassell. 1926. 25s.

To members of the Central Asian Society this Life of one of our most distinguished Presidents has a special interest, but Sir Mortimer Durand's career has a claim on the attention of all who are interested in our Imperial history. His

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record of thirty-one years as an Indian civilian was followed by twelve years in high diplomatic posts, and perhaps no other officer of his service, except the first Sir Bartle Frere, has played so important a part in public affairs unconnected with India. In 1910 he contested a Parliamentary seat unsuccessfully, and was possibly fortunate in escaping those disappointments which so often befall men of great ability, trained in a school that is out of touch with Home politics, when they enter the House of Commons late in life. But if Sir Mortimer failed to become a Parliamentary figure, his pen added to his reputation. Possibly his friend and biographer is inclined to claim somewhat too much for his verses, some of which are closely modelled on those of Sir Alfred Lyall, but three well-written biographies, a regimental history, an historical romance, and a novel of current Indian life, make up a remarkable literary output for a man who was for more than forty years engaged in exacting official duties.

Durand, the son and brother of soldiers, would have chosen the Army as a career, but his father's judgment directed him into the Indian Civil Service. He was lucky in being selected for political employment within two years of his return to the country of his birth, and his very brief apprenticeship as a junior district officer in Bengal was followed by continuous service for thirty years under the Indian Foreign Office. It is somewhat tantalizing that the exceptionally vivid and interesting diary in which he describes his boyhood and student days breaks off when he was only twenty-three: the extracts printed in this book show that it might have been an autobiography of high merit. The account of a trip to Paris in 1877 to help a French aunt amidst the Communist troubles, and the descriptions of the daily life of a newly joined Indian civilian in Calcutta and the Bengal mofussil are most attractive. Once Durand had reached Simla his personal record became closely intertwined with the history of Indian foreign policy. Sir Percy Sykes has succeeded in his treatment of the problem that presents great difficulty to all biographers of men engaged in public affairs, the question how far it is necessary to attempt a history of the times in order to write the life. For this book gives us a clearly cut portrait of the man, with just enough description of the political affairs in which he was engaged to make the presentment of his work interesting to the general reader. Durand's official life in India was passed almost entirely as a Secretariat Officer, except for a short term of work under Sir Alfred Lyall in Rajputana, but he got away from headquarters far more often than has been possible for later generations of Indian Secretaries, and acquired a first-hand knowledge of the most important international and frontier questions that confront the Government of India. Sir Frederick Roberts took him as Political Officer to Afghanistan in 1879, and fourteen years later he revisited Kabul, under very different conditions, to conduct the difficult negotiations which secured the fixing of "The Durand Line." In the interval he had gone with Lord Dufferin to Upper Burma, and parleyed with the Chinese on the Tibet border. Sir Mortimer's father had been closely concerned in Afghan affairs at the time of our first Afghan War, and this volume gives a useful sketch of Afghan history for half a century, which might, with advantage to the general reader, have been supplemented by a brief table showing the ramifications of the Barukza's house. Durand saw four Viceroys at very close quarters—Lord Lytton, Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin, and Lord Lansdowne—and the book adds appreciably to our knowledge of them. Lord Lytton would start serious work with his lieutenant after midnight, devote two or three hours to sketching the settlement of very important matters, and retire to rest in Olympian indifference to the fact that Durand had to sit up all night in order to get things into order for next day. Vicious selfishness of this kind is far too frequent in the holders

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of the highest offices, and is far too seldom revealed to the world. Lord Ripon's defects were of a quite different order, and Lord Dufferin and Lord Lansdowne won the affection and respect of their brilliant Foreign Secretary, for in 1885 Durand, with only twelve years' service, deservedly attained this coveted post.

In 1894 he left India to become Minister at Teheran, where it fell to him to face the troubles that followed the murder of the Shah Nasr-ud-Din. It need hardly be said that Sir Percy Sykes's close knowledge of Persian affairs lends special value to his record of this period. Durand maintained his habit of getting away from capital cities and personally studying the conditions of a country, and a difficult tour though Arabistan and Luristan had good results. From Persia Durand, now permanently established in the Diplomatic Service, migrated to Madrid and thence to Washington, where his experiences gave him a peculiar and intimate insight into the character of President Roosevelt. Sir Percy Sykes has done well in giving to the world the true story of the way in which that eminent man succeeded in getting rid of a British Ambassador whom he considered insufficiently accommodating, and one wonders what Americans would say if our statesmen stooped to secret wire-pulling in Washington in order to discredit a United States Ambassador in London. This was the last public post filled by Sir Mortimer Durand, and it is now made clear that he filled it with credit, remote as his earlier experiences had been from the peculiar conditions of American life.

It can be judged from this brief summary what an interesting story Sir Percy Sykes has to tell, and he must be cordially congratulated on the manner of telling it.

M. C. S.

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APPENDIX

COUNTESS MALMIGNATI'S TRAVELS IN ARABIA

READERS of this *Journal* will welcome Countess Malmignati's explanation of the various points raised in my review of her book, "Through Inner Deserts to Medina," published in Vol. XIII., Part I., and I trust that I may be permitted not only to offer some further comments on the subject, but to assure her that, far from having any personal quarrel with her, I cordially reciprocate her hope that we may some day meet in the Rub'al Khali, and shall at any time be delighted to provide her with letters of introduction to Ibn Sa'ud should she require them. I would only beg of her to realize that a reviewer's duty to the public is to point out such shortcomings as he may find in the works submitted to him for review, and in this particular case I think I may fairly claim that my criticisms of the Countess's book have been more than justified by her subsequent explanations.

To take first the question of dates, the Countess was so sparing of chronological detail that one was at least entitled to assume that the very few dates she gave us were in accord with facts. As I assumed, the year was 1914. In her book Countess Malmignati tells us that she spent a considerable part of that year's *Ramdhan* at Damascus, and that she started on her great journey on June 5. In my review I stated: "It is quite obvious either that the Countess is romancing about her *Ramdhan* experiences at Damascus, or that she did not start on her great adventure on June 5." In her explanation she admits that *she did not start on June* 5, and tells us that she "did not remember exactly the dates when writing the book." In the circumstances I find no difficulty in believing that she "did see the life of Ramadan" at Damascus and was there in July, 1914.

Now in 1914 the month of *Ramdhan* began on July 21, and we know from the book that the Countess spent the first two weeks of the month—say till August 4—at Damascus while her camels were being purchased by Muhammad Bassam. Incidentally, and with all due deference to the Countess, the gentleman's name is *Muhammad* Bassam and not *Mahmud* Bassam, and I cannot accept her statement that "*everybody* there called him" by the latter name. She then started and spent a few days—say till August 8—at Adra, whence it took her five days to get to Palmyra—say on August 13. There she stayed four days, and on or about August 18 the great march began. On

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September 3 the Ruwalla tribe, with the Countess in their train, arrived at Zilfi—700 miles from Palmyra in a bee-line—having covered the distance in sixteen days or, allowing for deviations from the straight line, at an average rate of some fifty miles a day. There is surely still something wrong with the Countess's dates, though she expressly states on page 111 that they "covered sixty miles each day." Such a rate of travel is, to say the least, exceedingly improbable in the case of a moving tribe of 400 tents, but on page 126 the Countess goes out of her way to tell us that she had been with the tribe "more than two months" before the idea of visiting Zilfi occurred to the Ruwalla *Sultan*. If, therefore, the Countess left Damascus in the middle of *Ramdhan*, it is improbable that she arrived at Zilfi on September 3.

As regards Zilfi itself, I ventured in my review to remark: "The Countess here presents us with an initialled sketch of the mosque of Zilfi, which, to say the least, is a pure fiction of her imagination. Zilfi is entirely innocent of anything so beautiful as the dome and minaret of the sketch." This thrust she has no difficulty in parrying, thus: "But who says that the picture of the mosque on page 134 is that of Zilfi! It only says beneath, 'and the muezzin's cry was heard from the tower of the minaret' . . . But there is no pretence that the picture presents the mosque of Zilfi. It was just put there to fill out the empty spaces marked through the loss of the photos." Unfortunately it also "says beneath" '(p. 134),' and on reference to that page, which the picture faces, I find the following remarks: "We arrived at an inhabited place. It was Zilfi. It consisted of a lot of low, square houses made of dried earth, with a mosque in the centre. We stopped at some distance from it. . . . Suddenly *the muezzin's cry was heard from the tower of the minaret* and all dispersed . . ." It was surely not unreasonable to assume that the picture was intended to be an illustration of the text, but the point is that Zilfi has *no minarets*, though the Countess returns to the charge on page 141, where she says: "I got a shock when I could still recognize the minarets of Zilfi."

As regards the misprints which figure so prominently in the book, I should be grateful if the Countess would provide me with a clue to the identification of the "El Faidassi," the Ruwalla *Sultan's* enemy. And I must confess my inability to understand her grievance with the Turks, to whom she seems to attribute her treatment at Zilfi and elsewhere. The Turks in 1914 had no authority of any kind in that part of the world—much less any officials—and it is far from easy to believe that the Governor (Kaimakam) of Buraida at that time was dressed in European clothes! But it is yet more difficult to believe that the worst troubles of the Countess should have occurred in the very district of Arabia—the Qasim—of which Muhammad Bassam himself was no mean citizen. She scarcely seems to realize, indeed,

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that the Bassam family is one of the leading families of 'Anaiza, the near neighbour of Buraida.

I still find it difficult to accept Countess Malmignati's book and her present explanation as constituting a satisfactory account of what must have been a very remarkable journey, and she is surely mistaken in persisting that "before accomplishing my journey I was taken prisoner by the Turks, who confiscated all my photos, notes, and sketches." If she was captured, it was by Arabs, and the Turks at Madina more than compensated her for her hardships by allowing her, a Christian woman, to visit the tomb of the Prophet—surely an unique experience. And in view of her statement about the loss of her photos, notes, and sketches, does she wish us to regard her photo of "Arabs from Zilfi" (p. 142) and her sketches of (1) "At the house of the Kaimakam" (p. 144), presumably of Buraida, (2) "A street scene, Medina" (p. 182), and (3) "The railway station, Medina" (p. 186) as serious representations of local scenes or merely as "tail-pieces"?

But after all, in view of the Countess's admission about June 5 and her claim to have spent a good part of the month of *Ramdhan* at Damascus before starting on her journey, the question of dates becomes all-important, and perhaps the Countess will be good enough to throw further light on the matter. H. St. J. B. Philby.

To the Editor of the Central Asian Journal.

I should be grateful if you would insert this note in the next issue of the *Journal*. Mr. Vanderplas, the Dutch Consul at Jidda, has pointed out to me that in my Burton Memorial Lecture I was in error in stating that the non-Muslim cemetery at Jidda is maintained exclusively by the British, French and Italian Consulates at that place. I take this opportunity of admitting and apologizing for my omission of the fact (of which I was unfortunately ignorant) that the Dutch Consulate shares equally with those mentioned by me in the upkeep of the cemetery, and that the Dutch firm of Messrs. Van der Poll and Co. contributes to the work a sum equal to that of the four Consulates put together. Mr. Vanderplas himself was the administrator of the cemetery for two and a half years during 1921-23, and writes: "I found the cemetery in a sad state, the graves having been plundered by thieves and Bedouin. The system of drainage, the rebuilding of the crumbling walls with glass on top which proved efficacious against the marauders, the registering of whatever tombs could be identified, were all my work."

It is as well that these facts should be placed on record, and I would crave a few more lines of your space to tender my apologies to another eminent Dutchman for my omission to mention his work in

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what was a very cursory survey of the sources to which we owe our knowledge of the Hijaz. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje is, I believe—now that Charles Doughty is no more—the surviving doyen of Arabian explorers, and the greater part of his active work was done in the Hijaz. In his case I cannot plead ignorance, but merely the limitation of time imposed on the lecturer, and perhaps the fact that his work lay rather in the realm of the scientific study of Islam at its sources than in that of general exploration, with which I was more particularly concerned in my address. Nevertheless I should have included mention of him in the small and distinguished category of explorers of the Hijaz, and I should like to take this opportunity of stating my conviction that his labours have contributed as largely as any other man's to Europe's knowledge of Islam and its birthplace. It is a thousand pities that his publications are not more readily accessible to the English reader.

H. St. John Philby.

18, Acol Road, N.W. 6,
June 9, 1926.

OBITUARY

MAJOR GUY YERBURGH, O.B.E., Irish Guards.

The Central Asian Society has lost a popular and accomplished member in Major Guy Yerburgh, O.B.E., of the Irish Guards, who died on March 13 at Bramshott Court, Liphook, at the early age of thirty-three. Passing straight from Cambridge University into his regiment in 1914, he served with distinction throughout the war. He was a noted golfer and a keen shot and fisherman. He married, in 1921, Hilda, eldest daughter of the Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Bart., Chairman and Vice-President of the Society, who, with two infant sons, survives him.

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1925

RECEIPTS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To 797 subscriptions for 1925	797 0 0	
,, 32 ,, in advance	32 0 0	
,, 5 ,, in arrears	5 0 0	
		834 0 0
,, 1 Life subscription		15 15 0
,, *Journal* subscriptions	10 3 4	
,, ,, sales	8 13 2	
		18 16 6
,, Sundries	4 3 6	
,, Petty cash sundries	10 9	
		4 14 3
,, Interest on War Loan	5 0 0	
,, ,, Deposit	7 16 5	
		12 16 5
,, Balance at bank, January 1, 1925 ...	29 14 5	
,, ,, of petty cash, January 1, 1925	4 4 5	
		33 18 10
		£920 1 0

5 per cent. War Stock... ... £100
National Saving Certificates ... £150

EXPENDITURE.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Office rent	41 3 10		
,, Rates and taxes	22 15 9		
,, Telephone	9 4 2		
,, Secretary's salary	125 10 0		
			198 13 9
,, *Journal*: Printing	312 14 9		
Postage	27 8 6		
Reporter	33 16 6		
Map plates, etc.	9 7 10		
			383 7 7
,, Hire of Hall	34 13 0		
,, Printing	20 14 9		
,, Lantern	25 4 0		
,, Slides, etc.	18 5 9		
			98 17 6
Due by Dinner Club			9 1 5
,, Library			4 2 5
,, Expenses of Annual Dinner			25 12 8
,, Postage			45 14 5
,, Stationery			9 13 9
,, Office and sundry expenses			51 0 11
,, Returned subscriptions			9 18 6
,, Bank charges			3 14 4
,, Balance of current acct., Dec. 31, 1925 ...	55 2 11		
,, ,, deposit acct., ,, ,, ...	25 0 0		
,, ,, petty cash	10		
			80 3 9
			£920 1 0

May 13, 1926.

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NOTICES

The following books have been received for review:

"Religion and Folklore of Northern India," by William Crooke, C.I.E. Prepared for the Press by R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E. 9″ × 6″. Pp. 471. (Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford. 21s.)

"Life of the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.," by Brig.-General Sir Percy M. Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G. (Messrs. Cassell and Co. 25s.)

"The India Office," by Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 299. (Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd. 7s. 6d.)

Journals and cards have been returned through the post addressed to: Captain S. G. Bennett, Rear-Admiral P. M. Royds, C.B., Captain V. G. Robert, and Bassett Digby, Esq. The Secretary would be grateful if any member knowing the address of any of the above, would send it to the office.

Members only are responsible for their statements in the *Journal*.

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NOTICES

MEMBERS are asked to inform the Secretary of any change of address, and when home on leave to send the address to which lecture cards and *Journals* should be sent. Also to notify the office at once if cards and *Journals* are not received.

Journals have been returned by the Post Office for Bassett Digby, Esq., P. H. Tozer, Esq., and Miss Nina Mylne. The Secretary would be glad of their new addresses.

Attention is drawn to the notice of the second edition of Major Soane's book, "To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise." The book has long been out of print, and the new edition with a Memoir of the author by Sir Arnold Wilson will be very welcome.

Mr. Roy Chapman Andrews, whose book "On the Trail of Ancient Man," a very vivid and readable account of his great discoveries and journeys in Mongolia, was received too late for an adequate review in this number of the *Journal*, has promised to lecture to the Central Asian Society on November 10.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

Vol. XIII October, 1926 Part IV

THE TRIUMPH OF THE WAHHABIS*

By H. StJ. B. PHILBY

The title which I have chosen for my address to you this afternoon is "The Triumph of the Wahhabis," though I notice that on the invitation cards sent out for this meeting your secretary has seen fit to use the singular of the last word instead of the plural. She has doubtless been influenced in doing so by her sense of the dramatic, and I may perhaps be allowed to congratulate her also on being actuated by the prophetic instinct characteristic of her sex. When I communicated the proposed title of my address to her I had every intention of talking

* A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on Thursday, July 8, 1926, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., Sir Michael O'Dwyer, I.C.S., presiding. Mr. H. StJ. Philby delivered a lecture on "The Triumph of the Wahhabis," which was to have been delivered in May last, but was postponed owing to the general strike.

The Chairman, when introducing the lecturer, said: Ladies and Gentlemen, —I do not suppose there is anyone, outside Arabia at all events, who knows more about the Wahhabis than Mr. Philby, and very few who know as much about Arabia. He has acquired his knowledge by close personal intercourse with all the leaders of Arabia, and by travelling in the country; he has, moreover, the advantage of being a personal friend of Ibn Sa'ud, the famous Wahhabi leader. We all know that from the first Mr. Philby took the long view with regard to Arabian politics, and that view appears to have been realized. At the same time he has seen Arabian politics from the other side, because he has had the advantage of close acquaintanceship with the great Shereefian family, King Hussein and his sons, Ali, who is at the moment Regent in Baghdad, King Feisul, and the Emir Abdullah of Transjordan. At one time Mr. Philby was personal adviser of the Emir Abdullah. He was also in the Hejaz at the time when hostilities were still going on between the Wahhabis and the Hejazi. He is therefore more competent than anyone in England to discuss this question Of course there are many sides to the discussion, and no doubt some here will put forward views not quite in agreement with those of Mr. Philby. The Wahhabis are triumphant at the moment; it remains to be seen whether that triumph is going to be short-lived, or have a permanent and dominating effect on the future of Arabia and the future of Islam.

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about the Wahhabis, but she apparently foresaw—and foresaw rightly—that, when it came to the point, I should be forced to descend from the general to the particular, and to use the stage crowd merely as a background for a hero. That hero is, as she has told you, *the* Wahhabi, the great Wahhabi, 'Abdul 'Aziz ibn Sa'ud, who a quarter of a century ago was an exile in an obscure seaport of the Persian Gulf coast and to-day is King of the Hijaz and Sultan of Najd and its dependencies—the undisputed ruler of the great bulk of the Arabian peninsula, as his great-great-great-grandfather was more than a century ago.

The history of the triumph of the Wahhabis is, as you will see in the course of my address if you do not know it already, the history of the triumph of this man, and the secret of his triumph lies in his single-minded and unswerving adherence to an ideal based not on considerations of personal profit or aggrandisement, but on his own conception of his duty to his people and to his God. It lies also largely in his pursuit of that ideal by the purely practical methods dictated from time to time by the actual circumstances in which he found himself, and by a careful study of the reasons of the failure of his predecessors in the same or similar circumstances. That his predecessors—notably his own ancestors at the beginning of last century and the great Muhammad ibn Rashid of the rival Shammar dynasty towards the end of the century—failed on the very threshold of success admits of no dispute. And I shall be told, no doubt—and with much show of reason—that it is yet too early to acclaim as final or lasting the triumph which has crowned the career of Ibn Sa'ud. Dr. Hogarth, speaking at our annual dinner only ten days ago, warned you of that, and it may be so. Nothing is really final or lasting in this world. The world itself, as the Arab proverb says, is transitory, or, if I may quote from the *Observer* of only last Sunday, "the globe, like those who inhabit it, is an unrestful and catastrophic stuff." But we are concerned here less with philosophical ideas than with the practical politics of a few puny generations, and, judging from that standpoint, I make bold to believe that there has arisen in Arabia a dispensation which, for reasons which can be specified, may be regarded as permanent for all practical purposes—as permanent, for instance, as the Turkish Empire which endured for some four or five centuries into our own times, or at least as permanent—let us not be too ambitious in such matters—as the German Empire which has collapsed so recently after an even shorter career.

I have often stated the reasons which have imbued me with a conviction of the permanence of the new régime of the Wahhabis in Arabia. It is, I think, well worth our while to have them restated and to ponder over them, and I ask your indulgence to that extent before I enter upon the real theme of my address, but I should like you to bear

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two points in mind. The death of Ibn Sa'ud at the present juncture would, as Dr. Hogarth pointed out on the occasion I have referred to, seriously imperil the stability of the structure he has built up, but that is a contingency with which I do not reckon. He is a comparatively young man. He is a normal life in every sense of the term in the ordinary way of actuarial calculation. And his father is still alive and hale and hearty, as may be judged from the fact that he has recently made the arduous journey of 600 miles from Riyadh to Mecca to attend the great pilgrimage. The other point is that, given a normal span of life, Ibn Sa'ud is by no means at the end of his expansionist tether. The new dispensation will yet extend over a greater area than it covers at present, and the unification of Arabia in the wider sense of the term will increase rather than decrease its prospects of permanence under the changed conditions of the modern world.

What, then, are the essential points of difference between Ibn Sa'ud and his predecessors which seem to assure him of success where they failed? Arabia is, as you know, a country of shifting nomad populations eking out a precarious existence in a constant struggle with Nature, and organized for that struggle in a tribal system which more often results in fratricidal struggles between the tribes themselves, than in their combination against the common enemy, who has nothing good to offer them this side of the grave, but holds out to them extravagant promises of the luxury awaiting them in the hereafter as the reward of a lifetime spent with the maximum of resignation in the endurance of various forms of asceticism from which there is no escape in any case. Such a people naturally develops a simple, direct, and purely materialistic philosophy of life, accepting with unquestioning faith the existence of a Supreme Being made in its own shape and blessed with nothing else to do than to shape and direct the destinies of the universe and its denizens. Belief in him is the sole touchstone of human virtue, as disbelief is the one unforgivable sin. However disagreeable his circumstances may be, the will to live is sufficiently strong in unsophisticated mankind to make the preaching of pessimistic doctrines about the future exceedingly unpopular. The trials of the present are but by way of preparation for joys to come. Belief in the future is therefore the common heritage of all Arabian humanity as a shield and buckler against Nature, who by the parsimony of her gifts has turned man's hand against the whole of the animal kingdom, including man.

The history of Arabia aptly illustrates the results which one would naturally expect from such conditions. The normal condition of Arabia is, or has been, one of constant fratricidal warfare—man against man, family against family, tribe against tribe, or principality against principality. But ever and anon across this lurid background of warring elements there flashes an illuminating streak as of lightning—a

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spark of the divine quality in man, which for a moment, longer or shorter, stays the sorry pageant of human strife or directs it into more profitable channels, and seems to galvanize the striving factions into union for the purpose of a common onslaught on richer pastures where all can browse at the expense of others. Then slowly but surely the fire begins to glow less brightly and the common harmony fades away. Arabia lapses into the barbarism of tribal conflict to which until modern times—these times of our own—it might have seemed to be eternally and inevitably predestined.

Of the great movement of this kind—the great movement which gave Islam to a great part of the world—I need hardly speak on this occasion. Arabia inspired that movement, but soon ceased to play any effective part in its development, and relapsed into its old anarchy with nothing changed except, of course, that it had permanently replaced its ancient paganism and polytheism with a simple monotheistic creed which it was destined to retain through all the centuries in its simplest form. But the inspiration to unity had disappeared with the exhaustion of the original fire, which could not be kept at white heat without a constant supply of fresh fuel in the form of new provinces to conquer. From time to time thereafter the old spark reappeared only to die down again, but I will pass on to the middle of the eighteenth century, when it flashed forth once more to kindle a fire whose embers, though frequently damped down by the vicissitudes of fortune, have never lost their glow. That was when the Wahhabi movement took shape under a combination of religious and political forces. The appearance of a prophet happened to coincide with the accession of an ambitious and able chieftain to an obscure throne in the middle of Arabia. The tribes were once more galvanized into union by the preacher harping always on the old motif of the one inexorable God of the hereafter, and their united forces were directed into the channel of a worldly crusade by the temporal chief. Within half a century Arabia was a single state under one ruler with a state religion as its backbone. That religion had to be maintained at white heat to perpetuate the unnatural harmony of the tribal forces on which the state depended, but the incentive of fresh lands to conquer was no longer there and the alluring prospect of conquest faded into the dull monotony of defence. And what is more, there was an enemy at the gates, a powerful and relentless enemy, no less an enemy than the Ottoman Empire, the premier military state of Islam. The mighty atom of the Wahhabi Empire slowly but surely disintegrated under external pressure into its original elements, and by the second decade of the nineteenth century Arabia was back again in its old anarchy.

The lesson culled by Ibn Sa'ud from the history of this old movement was that the full pressure of a religious motive cannot be maintained indefinitely in a community incapable of further growth by

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conquest, and that, in the absence of such a motive for union, Arabia is destined by its pastoral and tribal organization to anarchy. These drawbacks were enhanced by the existence outside Arabia of a strong hostile state capable and desirous of invading it.

That lesson had not, however, been fully appreciated by the next pretender to the hegemony of Arabia. In spite of an attempt to resuscitate the Wahhabi power about the middle of last century by Faisal ibn Sa'ud, the dynasty of Ibn Sa'ud collapsed incontinently under an onslaught of one who must be reckoned among the greatest men who have ruled in Arabia. Muhammad ibn Rashid of Haïl had the initial advantage of being the undisputed chief of the largest, strongest, and most homogeneous tribe in Arabia before he began to look further afield. Perhaps on this account he did not attach much importance to the need of a religious inspiration for the movement he contemplated. The fact remains that his movement was of a wholly political character and aimed no further than the hegemony of desert Arabia, leaving the Turks in possession of what they held on the coasts. Largely on account of the dissensions prevailing in the Wahhabi country he succeeded in his object, and died the ruler of all desert Arabia. But again the factor of the absence of fresh fields to conquer came into play. The Shammar tribe soon wearied of garrison duty in the lands conquered by them and returned to their homes. The tribes they had conquered and ruled reverted to their original independence, and not many years after Muhammad ibn Rashid's death the empire he had left to his successors had ceased to exist.

Here again was a lesson to be learned by Ibn Sa'ud. A powerful, homogeneous tribe can play the part of conqueror without the inspiration of a religious motive just as a group of tribes united by a religious motive may do. In such a case patriotism takes the place of religion, but, under Arabian conditions, is no more lasting as a driving force. Patriotism can be maintained at white heat by an imperialism promising ever greater conquests and riches, but, when the end of the tether is reached, the tribesman has no desire but to return to his homelands, which are spacious enough for his cattle. He leaves his conquests to take care of themselves. The outstanding shortcoming of Arabia is its tribal organization, its pastoral character, and the instability inevitably arising from the complete dependence of its population on the vagaries of its climate.

Now I hope that by this preliminary discourse on the character of Arabia and its inhabitants I have succeeded in convincing you, as I feel sure Ibn Sa'ud has long since convinced himself, that no ruler can hope to establish a permanent régime of any kind in Arabia unless he sets himself deliberately and energetically to tackle the chief enemy, the only serious enemy of the country—namely, Nature herself. This may seem a large order. One is apt to dismiss Arabia summarily as a

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hopelessly barren desert country doomed for ever to the precarious pastoral existence, accompanied by anarchy, which has been its lot since patriarchal times. But it is really not such an impossible task as it may seem. Of that I am convinced, and in that conviction I think I can claim to be in full agreement and sympathy with Ibn Sa'ud himself, whose progress up to date in that seemingly impossible task and whose triumph over the preliminary obstacles in his path I propose to sketch as briefly as possible.

In 1901, at the age of twenty, 'Abdul 'Aziz ibn Sa'ud, who had spent his boyhood imbibing the elements of political wisdom at the feet of Shaikh Mubarak of Kuwait—a good friend of Great Britain and one of the outstanding figures of his generation in Arabia—launched out into the Arabian desert with a small following on a mad adventure which was justified by success. He captured Riyadh from the Haïl dynasty and spent the next eleven or twelve years in recovering the rest of his ancestral domain, in consolidating his position, and in thinking out his plans for the future.

He had paid one debt to his ancestors by recovering the territory which should never have been lost, and he unquestionably aimed at paying another debt—a debt of revenge—by wearing down and defeating the rival dynasty of Haïl. But whether at this time he looked further back into history or further forward into the unknown—whether he dreamed of the greater possibility of restoring the empire which had been won and lost a century before—it is impossible to say and idle to conjecture. As I have already said, he was intensely practical, and whether he harboured such dreams in the inner recesses of his mind or not, he can scarcely have regarded the accomplishment of such ambitions as being within the range of practical politics. Turkey was still a military Power to be reckoned with in those days, and Turkey was in secure possession of the coast-lands of Arabia—the Hasa on the east and the Hijaz, 'Asir, and Yaman on the west. She also held Mesopotamia and Syria, and the Great War was yet to come. Let us be content, then, to suppose that Ibn Sa'ud went to the wicket with every intention of making a century if he could, but determined to deal with each ball faithfully on its merits. At the beginning of his innings the bowling was too good to be trifled with and he was content to play himself in and lay the foundations of a great score. Even he could scarcely have foreseen how bad the bowling would yet become or that he would reach the coveted century with a perfect orgy of raids on the boundary.

Be that as it may, Ibn Sa'ud contented himself at the outset with attending to the foundations of his state, so often wrecked in the past by earthquakes owing to radical defects of structure. The old cement of religious or sectarian fanaticism was good enough for him and, indeed, could scarcely have been improved on, but the old bricks made

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without straw were rejected as lacking in the essential quality of durability. The tribal organization of the Arabs had to be broken up before the virile qualities of the Badawin could be used effectively in the building up of a homogeneous and powerful state, and Ibn Sa'ud saw from the beginning that a policy of agricultural settlement afforded the only hope of success. The only difficulty was to find suitable or sufficient land for the purpose, for we have only to look to the borderlands of Mesopotamia and Syria to realize that, if land is available, the natural tendency of the nomad is to settle on it. So Ibn Sa'ud set himself to look for land for the permanent accommodation of the military contingents which, at first on a small scale and later on an ever-increasing scale, he called to the colours in the name of the old religion.

His first experiment was made in 1912 at the desert wells of Artawiya, which are now the site of a flourishing town of some 5,000 or 6,000 inhabitants—the pattern or prototype of some fifty or sixty *Ikhwan* colonies which have grown up during the last twelve or thirteen years in different parts of the Arabian desert. The scheme was simple in the extreme, and has been faithfully followed without variation from that day to this. The ignorant Badawin were easily aroused to a sense of their backsliding from the principles of the true faith. They were equally easily roused to fight for that faith in a crusade which promised immediate Paradise to the killed and substantial booty to the victor. Necessarily, however, in the absence of external enemies whom it was possible or wise to attack, the victims of the faithful were their own brethren or cousins who still preferred to remain in darkness. Tribe was used against tribe with merciless genius, but the political genius of Ibn Sa'ud never showed to greater advantage than in the reconciliation of the victors and the vanquished. That reconciliation was effected in the name of God, and it was at this stage that Ibn Sa'ud's scheme of agricultural settlement came in.

That scheme primarily served a military purpose, for every colony that was created became in effect a cantonment of a contingent of his standing army; and more than that, it served the greater political purpose of breaking up the old tribal system which was the basis of his policy. The motto of each colony was the service of God as the flag of each was the green flag of the one true faith; and the swearing of allegiance to that flag and that God involved the severance of all earthly ties. The colonists adopted the style and title of *Ikhwan*, or brethren of the faith, and the new tie superseded all the old ties of tribal solidarity and loyalty. Men of different tribes were drafted into the new agricultural colonies, whose nucleus was always a mosque built out of funds provided by Ibn Sa'ud. They were armed by Ibn Sa'ud on the condition that they should be ever at his beck and call. Further, they received assistance to dig wells, to build houses to dwell in, and

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to make fields out of the desert. In return, they forswore the practice of tribal raiding and the rights of revenge. They would fight only at the call of Ibn Sa'ud in the service of God, and at that call and in that service they would not scruple to attack tribes to which they themselves belonged by birth. The white heat of fanaticism would only have to be maintained for a short time, perhaps a generation, to allow the new system of amalgamations to bear fruit through the operation of mixed marriages. If that could be done, the military strength of the state would be enormously and permanently increased; for we should always remember that the backbone of the Badawin armies of the past has been the contingents drawn from the heterogeneous oasis settlements whose inhabitants have lost their tribal sense. The true Badawin tribe is not and never can be a reliable fighting unit. It has no stake in the land, and its motto is to run away in order to "live to fight another day." That spirit never made conquerors.

Such, then, was Ibn Sa'ud's scheme. It was sound in conception, and circumstances have favoured its development according to programme. Wars of conquest have been the order of the day since its inception, and that factor has facilitated recruitment, which has also been speeded up by the methods employed by Ibn Sa'ud against hesitant or recalcitrant tribes "to encourage the others." Arabian conditions place a natural limitation on the size of armies operating in the country, but the recent Hijaz campaign, to say nothing of the expeditions which knocked at the gates of Transjordan and 'Iraq simultaneously with its inception, provides proof enough, if proof be needed, that Ibn Sa'ud has so arranged matters as to have a constant supply of fresh military material ready to his hand to obviate any epidemic of war-weariness. Very few of the troops which attacked Taïf in September, 1924, and captured Mecca the following month took part in the capture of Jidda and Madina at the end of 1925. That was not due to casualties, for, amazing as it may seem, the official Wahhabi return of casualties admits to losses of less than 100 men in fifteen months. That estimate is certainly not far short of the truth, though the Jidda newspaper published during the siege claimed to have inflicted something like 50,000 casualties on the besiegers, and in doing so it gave circumstantial details of the deaths and burials of various Wahhabi generals who were certainly alive and vigorous at the moment of the final triumph. The credulity of people who read newspapers and hear reports in the East is strange enough but not altogether surprising, seeing that it is paralleled by that of the more sophisticated West. I remember, for instance, that in 1923 His Majesty's Government circularized their various officers in the Middle East—myself among the number—for an expression of their opinions on the probable trend of events in Arabia in view of the death of Ibn Sa'ud, which had been reported on unimpeachable authority from

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Baghdad. I replied that it was somewhat premature to consider such a problem, as Ibn Sa'ud was not dead, and I think I can claim without undue immodesty that subsequent events have fully justified my confidence in the star of the Wahhabi monarch. We were also told in those days that Najd was suffering so severely from famine that its tribes were migrating *en bloc* to bask in the sunlight of Mesopotamia, and that financial stringency was tending to impair Ibn Sa'ud's control of his people and the authority of his government. A good many quite intelligent people believed such tales, and nobody ever thought of sending any reliable person to find out if they were true or not. That fact, perhaps, explains his success at least in part. He had the advantage of developing his designs behind a smoke-screen of ignorance with which Europe, and particularly Great Britain, obligingly shut themselves off from a knowledge of unpalatable facts; and when in due course he burst through that screen, it was too late for anybody to intervene.

I must get back to my record of Ibn Sa'ud's progress. I have shown how in 1912 he had initiated his scheme of militant agricultural colonies. At first progress was necessarily slow though steady. He was hemmed in between Ibn Rashid on the north and the Turks in the east and west—a dangerous combination. He made tentative advances to Great Britain with a view to an alliance against the latter, whose philandering with Germany in the matter of the Berlin-Baghdad railway distinctly threatened British security in the East; but the British Foreign Office maintained a "correct" diplomatic attitude, and Ibn Sa'ud was told that he could expect no assistance from us against Turkey. In these circumstances he had to fend for himself, and he decided to take a risk. It was a big risk, and perhaps the only serious risk he has ever taken. He attacked the Turks in the Hasa province, and fortune favoured him doubly. His sudden onslaught met with complete success. The Turkish garrisons surrendered and left the country, and before Turkey could organize its revenge she was busy with other things. The Great War began and Turkey disappeared from the Arabian scene.

At the same time Ibn Sa'ud had an opportunity of playing a part in the game of world politics. He was now assured of British material and moral support in the campaign against Haïl, to which he had been committed from the beginning of his reign. That chance passed away from him almost at once through no fault of his own. The British representative, Captain Shakespear, was killed in the first skirmish, and the Indian Government, responsible for the Mesopotamian campaign, became rattled and passed the ball to the British authorities in Egypt, who had the advantage of acting under the vigorous inspiration of Lord Kitchener. The Sharifian campaign was the result. Ibn Sa'ud was immobilized by the skilful diplomacy of Sir Percy Cox, who forced an unfavourable treaty on him in December, 1915, and

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extracted from him some months later a formal expression of friendly sentiments towards Sharif Husain of the Hijaz, the leader of the Arab rebellion. And throughout the war period the Wahhabi monarch had to put up with the mortification of seeing himself unable to make any headway against one rival, who enjoyed the full support of Turkey, and of watching the other steadily and lavishly supported by Great Britain in a manner calculated to place him on an unassailable pinnacle. He had the sense to face the facts of the situation and remain quiet in spite of a certain amount of mild provocation from the ambitious Husain, with the result that, at the end of 1918, his position was intact and consolidated, but not in any way advanced, while his rival, hailed by the whole world as one of the victorious Allies, aspired to rule the whole peninsula.

The scene was then already set for the inevitable conflict, with the omens distinctly against Ibn Sa'ud. During the last year or so of the war an increasingly noticeable exacerbation of feelings between Ibn Sa'ud and Husain had compelled Great Britain to resume contact with the former, if only to divert his attention from his grievances against Husain and thus to secure for the latter the complete freedom from other preoccupations necessary for the whole-hearted prosecution of the Hijaz and Syrian campaigns. Husain himself and, more particularly, his son 'Abdullah were more anxious at this period to counter the growing power of Najd than to worry about the Turks, who could be safely left to the attentions of General Allenby. There was no difficulty about finding a reasonable ground of quarrel, and when I went to Arabia in October, 1917, I realized that one had already been found. The border oasis of Khurma, which like other communities of Najd had supplied a contingent to the Sharifan armies in return for a share in the golden stream of sovereigns let loose by the British Treasury, had withdrawn its contingent on account of a stupid slight inflicted on their leader by the king and his son. Husain, enraged by this action, determined to punish the oasis, whose people, being Wahhabis, appealed to Ibn Sa'ud and were taken under his wing. Such was the *fons et origo mali* of a modern siege of Troy, full worthy of the heroics of a modern Iliad, if there were but a Homer in modern Arabia.

While I was at Riyadh Khalid ibn Luwai, the outraged chief of Khurma and the future conqueror of Taïf and Mecca, arrived there to visit Ibn Sa'ud. When I passed through Khurma a few weeks later there was already a stirring of the leaves presaging the storm to come. Six months later, when I was back at Riyadh in June, 1918, I heard, as it were, the first shot in a war that was destined to drag on for nearly eight years and to end in the collapse of the Hashimite kingdom of the Hijaz. King Husain had carried out his threat to send a punitive expedition against Khurma and the village folk had routed the Sharifian army, capturing all its guns and machine-guns. The glad

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tidings were immediately sent to Riyadh, where the news of the first Wahhabi victory over the forces of the Hijaz was received with great enthusiasm. My main function at that time was to persuade Ibn Sa'ud to maintain friendly relations with King Husain, and you may imagine my dismay as I listened to the volley of rifle shots which heralded the passage of the Khurma messengers through the streets of Riyadh to the Wahhabi palace. Ibn Sa'ud warned me very frankly that he could not maintain friendly relations with a monarch who insisted on fighting, and all I could do was to persuade him to be patient and to leave His Majesty's Government to call off Husain while he himself turned his attention to an attack on Ibn Rashid in the north. But he had no sooner agreed to do this than news came in of a second attack on Khurma by the Sharifian forces, who had fortunately been defeated as on the first occasion.

The position had now become really serious. The people of Khurma threatened that if Ibn Sa'ud declined his duty of protecting them they would send forth their women to rouse the tribes, and Ibn Sa'ud had no alternative but to promise that if they were attacked again he would go to their rescue. The British Government was forced to intervene to keep the peace, and both sides were warned of their responsibilities on the understanding that Great Britain would in due course arbitrate on the dispute between them. At the same time efforts were made to induce each of the parties to adopt a more friendly attitude towards the other. It was obvious that really cordial relations were out of the question, but Ibn Sa'ud, who was anxious to stand well with the British Government in the hope of securing substantial assistance in his campaign against Hail, agreed somewhat grudgingly and unwillingly to write a friendly letter to Husain. The letter was dictated in my presence and duly despatched, but Husain was in no mood for reconciliation after the decisive defeats which his punitive expedition had suffered. He returned the letter unopened to Ibn Sa'ud and apparently issued orders to his son, 'Abdullah, to reduce Khurma at all costs. Meanwhile I had given my word to Ibn Sa'ud that Khurma would not be attacked again, and the British Government had begun to weigh the pros and cons of a dispute which was likely to precipitate a conflict at a moment when, from the point of view of operations in the Hijaz and Syria, a conflict was most undesirable. Cairo and Baghdad, supporting their respective protégés, adopted different views of the problem and put forward irreconcilable proposals for its solution. The British Government was too puzzled to do anything but hope for the best. It would undoubtedly have adopted the Cairo solution if it had not been that Ibn Sa'ud was *de facto* in possession of the disputed oasis and King Husain had already twice shown his inability to dislodge him. As it was, it sat on the fence and did nothing to prevent Husain once more trying conclusions with Providence. Ibn Sa'ud was beginning to

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get busy against Haïl when the news of Husain's third attack on Khurma arrived at his camp. The Sharifian forces had again been decisively defeated, but Ibn Sa'ud was now definitely committed by his promises to taking up the cudgels for the people of Khurma, who had hitherto looked after themselves. A direct conflict between the two parties had now become inevitable, but the sudden and successful termination of the war in these parts by the armistice with Turkey served to allay the alarm with which such a prospect had hitherto been regarded in official circles. The war had indeed left an almost ideal balance of power in Arabia. Ibn Sa'ud stood where he was at the beginning, while Haïl had come through the ordeal practically unscathed. Husain alone had prospered and triumphed, but there was every prospect of his being kept so busy by his neighbours that he would have to leave his Allies to divide up the spoils of war between them in Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia.

The shock of the sudden cessation of the World War caused a temporary lull in the activities of Arabia, and it was not till February or March, 1919, that King Husain remembered he had still to deal with Khurma. He had established a friendly understanding with Ibn Rashid and now thought himself strong enough to tackle Ibn Sa'ud, while the prospect of an immediate outbreak of hostilities forced the British Government to take notice of the problems still outstanding for settlement in Arabia. Its policy was to maintain Husain as the pivot of Arabia with a view to using his name and dynasty in the furtherance of the arrangements it contemplated in its newly won sphere of political influence. The mandatory system had not yet been invented and the French had not yet been admitted to Syria, where Faisal, if properly humoured, promised to be a convenient and effective instrument in British hands. To humour him it was obviously essential to support his father in any reasonable pretension which he could maintain without active support from ourselves. That, then, was the attitude—on the whole quite a reasonable attitude in view of all that had already happened—of our Government when matters became critical in Arabia and Lord Curzon, then in charge at the Foreign Office, summoned an inter-departmental conference to consider what should be done. That was on March 10, 1919, and I had the good fortune to be asked to attend it. Mr. Montagu represented the India Office, while the War Office, the Admiralty and the Treasury sent worthy champions of their respective points of view. In all there were some fourteen or fifteen persons present, and when after a long discussion a vote was taken I found myself in a minority of one voting against a policy unanimously endorsed by the rest. "Our policy is a Husain policy," said Lord Curzon, in summing up the decisions arrived at. The question of right was a difficult one to decide, but the benefit of the doubt had to be given to our special protégé, and the conference decided in Husain's favour with

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the greater confidence in view of the considered verdict of the War Office on the probable results of a clash of arms between the rivals. In view of his armament and financial resources the War Office had no doubt whatever that Husain would beat Ibn Sa'ud if it came to war, and it was therefore decided—

1. That Husain and Ibn Sa'ud should be informed that His Majesty's Government had been pleased to adjudicate Khurma to Husain, who was to be authorized to occupy it.

2. That Ibn Sa'ud should be warned to relinquish the oasis on pain of incurring the displeasure of the British Government and losing his subsidy of £5,000 monthly.

As I have said, I voted against that decision, and I may add that I left that conference convinced that my Arabian career was over. I had been given every opportunity of proving my case and had failed to do so. But Lord Curzon very generously gave me the further opportunity of expressing my opinion on the probable results of the action decided on, and I stated my conviction that Ibn Sa'ud would not only ignore the order to relinquish Khurma, but would defend it to the last if Husain attempted to occupy it. And I added, with all deference to the opinion of the War Office, that I had no doubt as to the results of an encounter—Ibn Sa'ud would win. With that, I left the conference to prepare for my return to India at the end of my leave. So far as I was concerned the Arabian grapes were sour, and I was content to leave His Majesty's Government to have its fill of them, always assuming that, having so definitely decided on its policy, it would see it through. In May Ibn Sa'ud was reported to have taken the field in person, and King Husain threatened to resign his kingdom if the British Government did not give him active support. The threat was effective, and I was present at another conference at the end of the month, at which it was decided—quite logically—to bring pressure on Ibn Sa'ud by reducing his subsidy by one-half. I then left London for the seaside without considering it necessary to inform the Foreign Office of my change of address, and on Friday, June 13, the following telegram was handed in at my London home: "Urgent Eastern Committee meeting seven this evening. Lord Curzon wishes you to attend." A stupid servant put that telegram into an envelope and posted it on to me, with the result that I only received it on the following Monday. My apology for failure to attend the meeting elicited a reply that it had been postponed till I could attend, and on the following day I arrived at the Foreign Office to hear the news. 'Abdullah had entrenched himself with a large army and some thirty guns and machine-guns at Turaba, a day's march distant from Khurma. In the night the Wahhabis had fallen upon the sleeping host and practically annihilated it. I have often since heard vivid accounts of that scene of carnage and pandemonium from 'Abdullah himself and others of the small band who

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escaped from it with him by headlong flight. The Wahhabi victory was complete and decisive, and the Hijaz lay at the mercy of Ibn Sa'ud. Lord Curzon had summoned the conference to consider what should be done, and now in his own inimitable way he painted in the most lurid colours the picture of the situation resulting from the earlier and deliberate decisions of that same conference. The British consul at Jidda had reported that Ibn Sa'ud was marching on Mecca and that some 10,000 or 11,000 terrified refugees—mostly British-Indian subjects —were hastening to the coast to embark on such ships as could be sent to the rescue. The Admiralty had been asked to provide the ships, but in those days of shipping stringency had resolutely declined to divert a single vessel to Jidda. The War Office, having wrongly estimated the relative strength of Ibn Sa'ud and Husain, declined to embark on a military expedition to extricate the latter from his difficulties. There was indeed nothing to be done, and I was asked if I had any suggestions to make. I replied that I saw no reason for panic as I thought it exceedingly unlikely that Ibn Sa'ud would march on Mecca. I was asked almost testily whether I realized that the British agent had reported that Ibn Sa'ud was actually on the way, and I could only reply that still I did not believe it, and I added that, if he were, he could be stopped if the British Government agreed to reconsider the whole matter on its merits. "But," said Lord Curzon, "there is no time to stop him. How can any messenger arrive there in time?" I suggested that an aeroplane could probably get there in a day, and Lord Curzon, snatching at the straw, asked me if I would go. I accepted without hesitation, and three days later I left England by air for Cairo, where we arrived in just over five days—a record for the trip which, to the best of my knowledge, has only been lowered within the last fortnight, when Colonel Minchin appears to have done it in less than three days. I had not reached Cairo quite as quickly as I had expected, but I was greeted on arrival by the news that Ibn Sa'ud, apparently content with his victory, had withdrawn into the desert, leaving King Husain to ruminate on the error of his ways and His Majesty's Government to reconsider its policy. It was still considered advisable for me to continue my journey with a view to getting into touch with Ibn Sa'ud, but, when I arrived by ship at Jidda, I was forbidden by King Husain to land. He had recovered from his fright, and, though he had lost Turaba instead of recapturing Khurma, he maintained a truculent attitude and insisted that the British Government should help him to establish a claim the justice of which it had already recognized. But for the moment the British Government had no intention of burning its fingers any more for the *beaux yeux* of Husain. The arbitrament of force had decided the Khurma question, and one might have thought that it would never again be revived. It did, however, reappear at a later and critical stage of the drama.

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For the time being Ibn Sa'ud, having tasted blood, as it were, and added a strip of Hijaz territory to his realm, turned his attention to other matters than the idle menaces of King Husain. From May, 1919, to August, 1922, he was busily engaged in extending his boundaries in every direction. It would be tedious to recite the details of all the operations involved in this process, and I will content myself with stating that without any great difficulty he reduced the mountain districts of the 'Asir province to submission in 1920, fulfilled one of the great ambitions of his life by capturing Haïl in 1921, and in the following year annexed the northernmost principality of desert Arabia—the district of Jauf—besides capturing a number of border oases of the Hijaz, such as Khaibar and Taima. By the end of 1922 he was master of desert Arabia up to the nebulous boundaries of the mandated territories of 'Iraq and Transjordan and of the Hijaz itself; and at this period he found himself surrounded on the east, north and west by a chain of Sharifian dynasties all more or less under British protection. From time to time his tribesmen made incursions, not specifically authorized by himself, across those undelimited frontiers, only to find themselves confronted by the British Air Force acting as guardians of the marches. And all this time Ibn Sa'ud himself not only maintained a perfectly correct attitude towards the British Government, but was drawing a substantial subsidy from the British Treasury, for the orders issued for the reduction of the subsidy in May, 1919, had somehow miscarried. His hostility was directed only against the Sharifian princes, who fully reciprocated it, but that did not make the situation less intolerable from the point of view of the British Government.

During the autumn of 1923 the Middle East Department recognized the necessity of trying to arrange a *modus vivendi* between Ibn Sa'ud and his neighbours as a step towards terminating the subsidy paid to the former as a sort of blackmail insurance premium. In pursuance of this aim it invited the various potentates to a round-table conference at Kuwait in November of that year, and by a lump-sum payment to Ibn Sa'ud liquidated its obligations to him up to the end of March, 1924. A British official, Colonel Knox, was nominated to preside over the conference, to which representatives were sent by Ibn Sa'ud, King Faisal of 'Iraq, and the Amir 'Abdullah of Transjordan. It had been hoped that King Husain would follow suit, but for the time being he declined to do so unless Ibn Sa'ud relinquished Khurma and the other Hijaz oases in his possession and restored the Haïl principality to the Ibn Rashid dynasty. The conference therefore opened without Husain's representatives, and the underlying idea of it was that the various chiefs should be left so far as possible to arrive at any agreement satisfactory to themselves. The principle of a round-table conference was sound, and, if the policy of leaving the chiefs to work out their own salvation had been followed out, I am convinced that a satis-

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factory arrangement would have been arrived at. But the Middle East Department could not leave well alone, and it was at this stage that the old Khurma *motif* reappeared with disastrous effect. Colonel Knox received instructions which doomed the conference to futility from the beginning. Ibn Sa'ud was actually to be pressed to give up Khurma, and he was even to be offered the bribe of compensation elsewhere as an inducement to that end. One might have thought that the British Government was not desirous of a settlement, and I think I can best sum up the history of the conference by quoting passages from two letters I wrote at this time—one at the beginning and the other towards the end of the proceedings, which I naturally followed with the closest interest from my distant watch-tower at 'Amman.

"I fear," I wrote in the first of these letters, "that the indefinite postponement of a settlement of the Arabian problem on lines acceptable to Ibn Sa'ud will result . . . in gradual encroachments by him on the territories of his neighbours, and eventually in the occupation of the Hijaz. Such a consummation . . . will certainly redound greatly to the discredit of British policy in the eyes of the Muslim world, which will direct its criticism . . . to the fact that His Majesty's Government have placed the custody of the vital interests of Islam in the hands of a dynasty unequal to such a charge." And a few months later I wrote again in the following terms: "This may be my last opportunity of attempting to influence the counsels of His Majesty's Government. I do so . . . out of my deep conviction that the failure of the past few years has been directly traceable to grave mistakes of policy based on a misunderstanding of the psychology of Central Arabia, and that a continuance of that policy must result in chaos and disaster." But I was a mere voice crying in the wilderness and none would listen. In 1918 I had urged that by leaving the supremely unimportant oasis of Khurma to Ibn Sa'ud we might save the Hijaz and put a reasonable limit to the expansion of the Wahhabi power. My advice was disregarded, and Ibn Sa'ud had within five years extended his sway to a degree scarcely conceived then as possible. And here we were again in 1924 back at the old game of demanding the relinquishment of a village which had already wrought so much woe. At this stage only one policy was possible—namely, to leave to Ibn Sa'ud what he held and to save the rest. But that policy was not good enough for our expert Arabian department, which, not content with the substance, must needs grasp at the shadow. And in the end they lost all, for the end envisaged by British policy and the intransigeance of King Husain resulted in the breakdown of the Kuwait conference in April, 1924.

And only five months later—in September—the curtain was rung up on the final act of the tragedy, and the first scene of that act was the sudden Wahhabi onslaught on Taif and the massacre of its

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inhabitants. And this time Ibn Sa'ud, having no British subsidy to restrain him and no hope of a reasonable settlement to induce him to be patient, meant business. The sudden fall of Taïf, owing to the paralysis of the Hijaz army, had exceeded the wildest hopes with which he had launched the campaign, but the atrocities which attended its capture served rather to delay than to advance his operations. As soon as he received the news he dispatched orders to his lieutenant, the same Khalid ibn Luwai who has already figured in the Khurma affair, to approach Mecca more circumspectly and at all costs to avoid atrocities. But the warning was unnecessary. 'Ali, King Husain's eldest son, made a feeble effort to stem the Wahhabi advance with the remnant of his troops at Hadda in the Taïf mountains, but was defeated and fled to Jidda to avoid both the pursuit of the pursuers and the wrath of his enraged father. Husain's cup was now full, and it was suggested to him over the telephone by the notables of Jidda that the only hope of saving the Hijaz, which his folly and obstinacy had brought to the verge of disaster, lay in his abdication in favour of his son, 'Ali. The old tyrant yielded with a bad enough grace, but yielded and left the Hijaz, while 'Ali replaced him on the throne, and, having evacuated Mecca to avoid bloodshed in the holy city, threw himself unconditionally on the mercy of Great Britain. But Great Britain was merciless, for it was too late to intervene, and 'Ali was left to his own resources. The Wahhabis entered Mecca unopposed, but under explicit instructions from Ibn Sa'ud delayed their further advance, and when Ibn Sa'ud himself arrived at Mecca on December 5, 1924, he found Jidda too strongly entrenched and fortified to be carried by assault without risk of the repetition of the atrocities which had marked the capture of Taïf. A month later he inaugurated the siege of Jidda, and meanwhile set himself to organize the administration of the territories which had fallen into his hands.

I do not propose to weary you with the details of the operations which dragged on for nearly a year. There was never at any time the slightest doubt as to the ultimate result, though, so long as 'Ali's funds lasted, he made a gallant show of resistance in the hope that the European Powers interested in Arabia might intervene to save him. But those Powers, following the lead of Great Britain, had proclaimed their neutrality in the conflict, and that neutrality was maintained to the end with only two exceptions. The British Government had long had its eyes on the Ma'an-'Aqaba district at the northern extremity of the Hijaz, and proposed to King 'Ali at an early stage of the conflict that he should hand it over to its keeping for its greater security from the Wahhabis. But 'Ali replied somewhat grimly that he was so busy losing his territories in the south to his enemies that he had no time to spare for losing his northern territories to his friends. Unfortunately for him, however, his father had taken up his residence at 'Aqaba, and

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the British Government was able to trump up the excuse that the temptation afforded to the Wahhabis by his presence there adversely affected the security of Palestine. And so in due course a British warship was sent to 'Aqaba to deport Husain to Cyprus, and British armoured cars were sent down with the local forces of Transjordan to annex the district to the area of the Palestine mandate. It would be difficult to imagine a more barefaced act of spoliation or a more senseless violation of our traditional reputation for fair play. It will at any rate be interesting to see what the League of Nations will make of the business when some day it is called upon to adjudicate on a claim which Ibn Sa'ud will certainly be justified in making for the restoration of what is indubitably Hijaz territory to the Hijaz.

The second case of breach of neutrality was not so much a breach of neutrality as an injudicious and untimely attempt to intervene between Ibn Sa'ud and his legitimate prey at a moment when an offer of intervention could only meet with a rebuff. It will be fresh in your memories that in October of last year a British mission, under Sir Gilbert Clayton, was sent to visit Ibn Sa'ud in the Hijaz with a view to negotiating an agreement on the vexed question of the boundaries between Ibn Sa'ud's territories and Transjordan, and on various matters arising between Ibn Sa'ud and 'Iraq. I would like to take this opportunity of congratulating Sir Gilbert Clayton on the tact which he displayed in tackling the main objects of his mission and on the results which he achieved—most satisfactory results, both from the point of view of Ibn Sa'ud and from that of British interests. For the first time on record the British Government faced the obvious fact that the *de facto* boundaries of Ibn Sa'ud's influence must be recognized, and it was the practical recognition of that fact which resulted in agreement on a very satisfactory boundary. At the same time it was scarcely necessary to suggest, even if it was only a feeler, as it probably was, that the British Government was prepared to mediate between the combatants if both should express a desire to that effect. That was too obviously an attempt to cheat Ibn Sa'ud of the results of his well-earned victory, and it is only fair to add that his decisive deprecation of such an offer was met in the proper spirit by a reaffirmation of complete neutrality. It was still less necessary, in my opinion, that the Clayton mission should pass from its negotiations with Ibn Sa'ud to negotiations with the Imam Yahya of the Yaman. Such action was bound to create misunderstanding in the mind of Ibn Sa'ud, and the best that can be said for the policy of His Majesty's Government is that the failure of the Yaman mission has left things where they were and done no particular harm. If, on the other hand, the mission had succeeded in negotiating a treaty with the Imam and war had subsequently broken out between him and Ibn Sa'ud—as it may yet do if the Imam continues in his present humour—we should once more find ourselves in

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almost as uncomfortable a position between the two as that in which we have been for the last eight years between Ibn Sa'ud and the Hashimite dynasty.

It only remains for me now to record the final issue of this long-drawn-out struggle. In November of last year I had the pleasure of visiting Ibn Sa'ud and observing from his angle of vision the concluding operations of the campaign. I had arrived at Jidda in October, only to be confronted with the orders of the British Government forbidding me to go inland. I suppose there is in principle no reason why the British Government should not issue such orders as it thinks fit to do, but I suppose there is equally no reason why anybody should obey such orders if he can disobey them with impunity. Be that as it may, I did go inland, though by a more devious route than I had intended, with the result that I nearly perished in one of those horrible storms that periodically visit the Red Sea coast, and only escaped it to be nearly blown to bits by a bomb dropped from a Hashimite aeroplane. I did, however, have the satisfaction of seeing the Wahhabi army on its march to the capture of Madina and, further, of meeting Ibn Sa'ud himself when he was making his dispositions for a renewal of the attack on Jidda. But I was not destined to be present at the final triumph, for, not thinking it to be so near at hand, I took boat to Port Sudan from Rabigh. The very day after my departure the news arrived of the surrender of Madina, and a fortnight or so later, King 'Ali having departed for 'Iraq, Jidda opened its gates to Ibn Sa'ud, who was acclaimed as King of the Hijaz in the Great Mosque of Mecca on January 8 of this year.

The new dispensation had begun in Arabia and the striving of the chieftains had been stilled by the final triumph of one. Arabia suddenly found itself united and at peace for the first time since the ideal of an united Arabia had been mooted in the counsels of Whitehall, Cairo, and Mecca. The outsider had beaten the favourite, and I had at least the satisfaction of knowing that my money had always been on the winner—and not only that, but that I had predicted the fence at which the favourite would come down. That fence was Khurma, and I cannot in the hour of triumph refrain from quoting to you the passage in which I envisaged the ultimate success of Ibn Sa'ud as far back as 1919, when I was writing the record of my Arabian experiences. "The events of the following year," I wrote, "made me regret bitterly that circumstances had not permitted of a longer sojourn at, and closer inspection of, a locality destined, for all its seeming insignificance, to a fateful share in the making of history, perhaps indeed to be the earthly grave of the Utopian ideal of Arab unity, perhaps—who knows?—to be the anvil on which that ideal may yet be hammered into reality."

Arabian unity has been achieved on the anvil of Khurma in a manner very different from that envisaged by the originators of the

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Sharifian policy. Primarily, of course, that policy aimed at the utilization of Arabia for the furtherance of the war-purposes of the Allies, but it went a good deal further than that. Arabia was to serve a British imperial purpose in due course with a descendant of the Prophet to sing our praises in the sanctuary of Mecca—like a linnet in a gilded cage, as Lord Curzon once called King Husain. It was no less a person than Lord Kitchener who had first hailed Husain as the Calif to be, and the famous McMahon correspondence of 1915 definitely engaged the British Government to support the creation of an Arabian Califate with our protégé presumably in the chief rôle. But those dreams, which should never have tempted us from the path of reason, have passed away mainly because we mistook our man. We played for a temporary gain on the lute of his personal ambitions, only to find in the end that he insisted on his pound of flesh. And so step by step we deserted him and left him "naked to his enemies." His own unworthiness completed the disaster. Never at any moment did he look like uniting Arabia under his sway, but it may be said without hesitatation that, had he been less unwise, less tyrannical, less avaricious, and less reactionary, he could at least have perpetuated a balance of power in Arabia which would have made unity impossible. His vices have served to unite Arabia in despair, and now that it is united—for the moment I leave the province of Yaman out of consideration, though I do not see how it can long remain in detachment from the new union —I return to the problem with which I started. Will it, can it be permanent? To that I answer "Yes" without hesitation. I have already explained to you the modification of the character of Arabian society to which Ibn Sa'ud has devoted his efforts, not without success. That modification will make Arabia easier to rule than it ever has been before. But there is another reason why I believe in its permanence. There is no longer an enemy at her gates—the Ottoman Empire has ceased to be a World Power, and there is no state among the Muslims capable, or ever likely to be capable, of playing the part she once played successfully—capable, that is, of invading Arabia. Indeed, Arabia herself is now in the forefront of the Muslim Powers, and I do not see what can prevent her from becoming the protagonist of Islam against the reviving assault of the West. Ibn Sa'ud is already *de facto* the leading independent representative of orthodox Islam, and it is to my mind only a question of time when he becomes its recognized leader with the actual title of Calif.

And there is yet a third reason for my belief in the permanence of the new régime. Arabia has ceased quite definitely to be the patriarchal institution it has been hitherto. The avarice and reactionary tendencies of Husain delayed the inrush of modern material developments presaged by the Great War. Wireless communication was established, it is true, but only for the use of the tyranny—for the

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rest only destructive engines of war were admitted. Even motor-cars were restricted solely to royal and military uses. But now all that is changed. Ibn Sa'ud's first step was to open his gates to the motor-car for the benefit of public and pilgrims. In six months a hundred cars have entered the country, and in a year or two there will be a thousand. And the Muslim Congress at Mecca has only recently passed a resolution in favour of the building of a railway to Mecca. And soon Ibn Sa'ud will have his wireless station at Riyadh, as he already has at Abha, the capital of 'Asir. Those who have seen the modern Sudan may readily picture to themselves what Arabia will become in a generation of modern development, and that change will in itself be a factor of stability. The omens are now as much in his favour as they were against him eight or ten years ago, when the fanatical, reactionary Wahhabi was cursed as a clog on the wheels of progress. But reaction has brought the motor-car to Arabia, and fanaticism has brought in its train orderly government and peace and security for the weary pilgrim. The Wahhabi has triumphed, and British policy, which has ever run counter to the grain of facts in Arabia, has failed to stay the evolution of a natural process. It is never too late to repent of past follies, and I would like to close this address with an appeal. Ibn Sa'ud has from the beginning of his great career never made any secret of his desire for a friendly understanding and cordial relations with Great Britain. It is high time for us to reciprocate that sentiment, and we have nothing to lose by so doing. All we have to do is to refrain from interfering with the internal affairs of Arabia, and we have in all conscience had lessons enough in the last few years to teach us that we can interfere neither successfully nor with advantage to ourselves. So far as Arabia is concerned the capitulations are dead and we need shed no tears over their funeral pyre, while, if our concern for the stoppage of slavery and the efficiency of quarantine arrangements is genuine and not dictated by purely political motives, let us realize once and for all that the good-will of Ibn Sa'ud is worth more than the activities of a thousand consuls.

Dr. HOGARTH: Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think the hour is rather too late for me to attempt any detailed criticism. Indeed, I did not come here to criticize or speak, but in the hope of hearing from Mr. Philby, who knows internal Arabia better than anybody living, something of its actual state; and I cannot help regretting that he devoted so much of his time to going back over past history, which he has gone over before, and with which, as he will admit, it is quite impossible to deal in the time. Moreover, I have really nothing to criticize in his history. He gave a very fair account of things as they happened, and some of it which is not publicly known, like the history of Inter-departmental Conferences at the Foreign Office,

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was particularly interesting. The only things with which I venture to disagree—and he will not be surprised, or even put out when I say so —are his views and prophecies about the future. I cannot regard the word "permanent" as having much meaning in Arabian politics. It is almost a contradiction in terms, and particularly so in this case. The two points that interested me most in what Mr. Philby said were the two factors on which, according to him, the permanence of Ibn Sa'ud's empire depends. One of these was the settlement of the Bedouins upon the land. Well, on that I should like more information, and it is just on that point that I had hoped to get more information from Mr. Philby to-day. He has told us about Artawiyah with its 4,000 people. But exactly how much arable land have they, and how much water have they got to put upon their land? How far is the settlement really agricultural? That is the kind of thing one wants to know before one can credit so tremendous a social revolution in central Arabia. So also in those other fifty or sixty settlements scattered up and down Nejd—how much arable land and how much water have they got? How many of their people are really cultivators? How many are really settled upon the land? I should have been glad if Mr. Philby had brought some photographs. It would have been difficult, I know, to get them; a photographer would very probably get shot if he attempted photographing in a place like Artawiyah. The other point is an interesting one. I very largely agree about it. No one can establish permanent empire in Arabia except on a religious basis, and the religious feeling in virtue of which you conquer must be kept at white heat, though it is extraordinarily difficult to keep any people at white heat very long. The only positive suggestion that I caught from Mr. Philby was that Ibn Sa'ud would perpetually find new lands to conquer—the method pursued in the beginning of Islam. Mr. Philby, however, said also that it was extremely improbable that the Arabs ever again would overflow their northern borders. A parallel between what happened under the immediate successors of Mohammed and what happened in 1919 has often been drawn. The extreme weakness of the Byzantine Empire, due to its conflict with Persia, was reproduced in 1919 by the exhaustion of the Allies, and the fact that, whereas they had suffered heavily by the war, the Arabs had gained money, arms, experience, and a knowledge of the West which they had not before. This situation made it seem possible there might be another outbreak from Arabia into Western lands. But, of course, there was really an enormous difference in the relative situations, consisting simply in this, that whereas the Arabs are pretty well where they were in the seventh century—even Ibn Sa'ud with motor-cars and machine-guns is not much ahead of the early Mohammedan conquerors —the West has transformed itself. We have weapons and organizations that are too greatly superior, as was shown by the latest Wahhabi

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raids on Transjordania, which melted like snow under rain before a couple of armoured cars and a couple of aeroplanes. If, then, the Arabs cannot overflow their northern borders, what are they to do? I suppose they must mop up the countries of southern Arabia—Yemen, Hadramaut, and Oman. These they have not got under them at present. But it is extremely difficult to believe that a Literalist creed, such as that professed by the Wahhabis, will ever make any way in a country like the Yemen, among a people with the spirit, courage, and general tradition of the Yemenites. But even supposing Ibn Sa'ud, by virtue of his 30,000 zealots—he has no more, and it is almost impossible to see how he can ever get more—should mop up the Yemen, Hadramaut, and Oman, what is to happen after that? If he could do it at all it would not take very long to do. Two or three years would see the whole of southern Arabia taken if he could take it at all. After, where would there be any more lands to conquer, and how would the white heat be kept up? Therefore I do not foresee permanence for the Wahhabi empire. There are great difficulties ahead of Ibn Sa'ud now—difficulties on which he appears to be only just entering. One of these is the difficulty of the pilgrimage, and the other is the difficulty of money. His predecessor in the Hejaz quarrelled with Egypt in the most foolish and gratuitous manner; for the whole history of Hejaz shows that it cannot depend only on itself. It must look to some richer country, and that richer country has always been outside Arabia. Now the position seems to be that since no such relations subsist with Egypt as will lead to Egypt paying bills for Hejaz, the latter must rely on a country even poorer than itself—viz., Nejd. There does not seem to be a penny in Arabia; yet without actual ready-money the modern implements of war, which will be necessary if any very great extension of Ibn Sa'ud's empire is to take place, cannot be procured. There are, of course, other difficulties too. It is all very well to try and settle the Bedouin on the land, but in so trying you run counter to the tradition of countless generations, and deprive him of what has always been his chief interest in life. To have an empire in Arabia you must prevent intertribal raiding, which is the Bedouin's one amusement. As was once said to me by an old General in Egypt: "When you interfere with a national sport you are up against more than you know." A further difficulty consists in the fact that nowhere in the coastal lands, not even in Hasa, are the settled people Wahhabites. They have nowhere really thrown in their lot with Ibn Sa'ud, but are merely kept down for the time partly by their own inertia, but more by that armed force of 30,000 zealots. The root difficulty, however, is the extreme poverty of resources, both of material and men, which characterizes Nejd. The country is so poor and its population is so small that it is impossible to believe in it standing for any long time what is known as the "waste of empire." For these and other reasons I am afraid I do not

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agree with Mr. Philby that the triumph of the Wahhabi is complete or likely to prove more "permanent" than previous political dominations in Arabia.

Commander CRAUFURD: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have merely come up to say that I really think I had better leave any further discussion alone. Dr. Hogarth has given us a very competent comment, Mr. Philby has given us a long lecture, so we have plenty to carry away with us.

Beyond expressing my own opinion that any hope of Arabian unity is a dream, I have little to add. It is a dream that many of us have held for years—personally, I held that dream for ten years and awoke in the desert with my mouth full of sand. I do not see any more solid substance in it, but I will not go further into the matter than to suggest that for Arabian unity you must have, as Mr. Philby has pointed out, some unity of aim. What unity is there amongst all these various rulers? You have a Southern ruler who does not wish to join up with the Wahhabis, and does not wish to join up with Ibn Sa'ud, the Northern ruler. You have various smaller potentates.

The other aim we might hope for is a religious aim. Islam has not yet come to its own, and until we see Jezirat ul Arab—that is, an inner Arabia with an exterior Arabian Tihama—until we see that Jezirat ul Arab forming there is little hope of Arabian unity. I do not think I should go further, when we have had such a complete discussion for nearly an hour and a half.

The CHAIRMAN: We should like to hear something from the point of view of the Moslems. I see some eminent members of that community present, and would like to hear from them what effects it is likely to produce.

MAULVIE A. R. DARD (Imam of the London Mosque): Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must first of all thank God, as is usual with Moslems, for the opportunity which I have had to-day of listening to so learned and important a lecture. And after that I thank the Chairman for giving me the privilege of expressing my feelings on the subject, and, as well, my deep pleasure and satisfaction at what I have heard this afternoon. I think the account of Mr. Philby, and the criticism that has been passed upon it, appear to us Moslems, being essentially religious people, to be based too much on material considerations. What Moslems would really think on the present situation would be absolutely not from the political or material, or temporal side of the question, but from the spiritual point of view. It may ultimately lend some support to Mr. Philby's assurances, but I should not commit myself to anything like that. I think material considerations, especially as regards the future and the making of prophecies, do not go very far. It is God alone who knows the future. We find Jesus Christ lived in very humble circumstances, and at that time when He

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was being crucified nobody could imagine that His worshippers would hold the reins of the government of the whole world, as Britain practically does; and we also find from the Scriptures that Moses defeated the kings that were against him in spite of all his material shortcomings. In the same way we look upon the founder of Islam as essentially a religious and spiritual being, and I can safely say that it was the same Arabia that Mr. Philby and the other critics have said is hopeless that he once aroused and united. I do not, however, mean—and I think the Chairman knows the views of our community very well—that Arabia will ever achieve under the present circumstances any political importance. These are my personal views, and I am not speaking from the political or material point of view. But I must say that the reasons that have been put forward this afternoon against the future of Arabia cannot carry weight with the Moslems. Personally, I believe that the future of Islam, whatever it may be, does not rest in politics. Moslems have left their religion, it may be Christians have done so also, but I think if Moslems achieve anything it will not be in the political world. We are essentially a religious people, and we believe that through a special messenger of His own, God has revealed this fact to us and He alone is the Being that can tell us anything about the future. I further think that the interests of Islam and those of the British people are intertwined. They will go together. I believe the British people will one day become Moslems and the expectations of Mr. Philby and those of his critics will both fall to the ground. These are purely religious and spiritual considerations. It may be they are not matter for any serious consideration now, but they are our views. Apart from that I must say, if I am not boring you—it may be extraordinary listening to an Oriental, but excuse me a few moments—as to Ibn Sa'ud, I have a deeper and a greater respect for him now after listening to the learned discourse of Mr. Philby. But it does not alter the fact that fanaticism cannot last long. If the Wahhabis do not leave their fanaticism and follow experience they cannot stay for long. Honest orthodox Moslems, like all other people, I am certain cannot stand compulsion in religious matters. Be it any Government, French, German, Afghan, Egyptian —any ruler that forces human beings to believe in a certain way will not succeed in this era of enlightenment; and that makes me think that it is only the British people who can help Moslems. If the British keep friendly with Ibn Sa'ud, or, better, if Ibn Sa'ud maintains friendly relations with the British Government, he will succeed, but only within his own sphere—not to become a world power. There is no fear at all from the political or temporal point of view from Arabia in this respect. That is what I believe. I must also thank the whole of the audience, as well as the Lecturer and the Chairman, because it is a great pleasure and satisfaction to me to see so many British people thinking upon and listening to a question which does not

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directly concern their own country. The conviction and sincere enthusiasm with which Mr. Philby has delivered his lecture show that he wants to take us above material things and lower motives in our dealings with the Arabs and the world. That is a matter which has delighted me very much. I think it well behoves the British people to think about and study Islam from all points of view, because, after all, the British Empire is, numerically speaking, a Moslem Empire, and I think Mr. Philby's example will inspire other British people to study Islam from his point of view, and other points of view as well; and I pray that just as the physical sun never sets on the British Empire, so the spiritual sun may shine for ever and ever upon us all. (Applause.)

Mr. G. M. Lees: Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Dr. Hogarth said that there are no more lands for the Wahhabis to conquer, but I think Ibn Sa'ud could absorb most of the south of Arabia without much fighting. But the crucial case is that of the Persian Gulf. There the people are Wahhabi in sentiment, but they do not want Ibn Sa'ud. About two million pounds' worth of pearls are raised from that coast every year, and I think there is no question that when Ibn Sa'ud has straightened out affairs in central Arabia he will turn his eyes in that direction. I do not know to what extent the British Government is involved by treaties with various independent chiefs along that coast. But that is a possible source of revenue for Ibn Sa'ud, and I do not think he will disregard it. As I said, the people are Wahhabi, but do not want Ibn Sa'ud, because they will have to share some of their wealth with him. The rest of Oman is partly Wahhabi and partly belongs to the Ibadhi sect of Islam. They might oppose him, but I doubt if they would be strong enough or sufficiently well armed to resist effectually if he advanced in force. With the exception of Dhofar, Hadhramaut, and Makalla, which receive monsoon rains, the remainder of South Arabia is absolute desert. Although Ibn Sa'ud could easily conquer it, it would be of no advantage to him for revenue purposes. Mr. Philby mentioned the use of motor-cars in the Hejaz. It might interest him to know that last year four motor-cars were hauled across the desert from Qatif, a port on the Persian Gulf, up to Riyadh, the capital of central Arabia and the great Wahhabi stronghold. It was the enterprise of a merchant from Bahrein. The journey from the port to Riyadh was about 400 miles, large parts of it are sandy desert, where the cars had to be hauled by camels; but they got to Riyadh, and I believe are running there to-day. Incidentally, the first car to arrive was a Morris-Oxford. For the rest I congratulate Mr. Philby on a very interesting lecture indeed. (Applause.)

Another Mohammedan gentleman also gave an account of his recent experiences in Mecca and the conclusions he had drawn therefrom.

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The CHAIRMAN: I intend to say little, ladies and gentlemen, except to thank the lecturer very heartily and the other speakers for the admirable discourses we have had the great pleasure of listening to. Almost everybody who took part in the discussion to-day was one with special and particular knowledge of the subject. It was particularly gratifying to have the different Islamic points of view by the two Indian gentlemen who were good enough to speak. I think we have all learned a great deal about Ibn Sa'ud. We have heard a good many pleasant, and some unpleasant, things about him. There is one thing to be said in his favour, that all who have met him agree that he has impressed them as a man of great sincerity and singleness of purpose, and as an absolutely staunch friend. The personality of the man must make a magnetic appeal not only to his own followers, but to those who come in contact with him. I will not venture into prophecy, we have been told how dangerous it is. Whether his rule is to be permanent, as Mr. Philby hopes, or whether it is to be transitory—as Dr. Hogarth has told us, only the future can tell; but we all hope with Mr. Philby that the British Government should realize that it has not a very satisfactory record as regards its past dealings with Ibn Sa'ud, and should set itself to arrange matters for the benefit of the world at large, and especially for its Islamic subjects who have to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. It should endeavour to arrive at a good understanding with him in the interests of the Islamic world and our hundred millions of Islamic fellow-subjects. I think that is a prayer in which we can all join, and it is a very good note on which Mr. Philby finished up his admirable lecture, for which again I am sure you would all wish to pass a unanimous vote of thanks. (Applause.)

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ANNUAL DINNER

LORD PEEL ON TWENTY-FIVE YEARS' WORK

THE annual dinner of the Central Asian Society was held at the Edward VII. Rooms, Hotel Victoria, on June 29, with the President, Viscount Peel, in the chair. The company numbered more than 200, and included specially invited representatives of the Royal Geographical Society and the Royal Asiatic Society.

Captain EDEN, M.C., M.P., proposed the toast of the Society, coupled with the name of Viscount Peel. He said that when he first received their invitation he was somewhat puzzled as to the motive that could have led to so distinguished a privilege being conferred upon so insignificant an individual as himself. He could only surmise that having had the temerity on one or two occasions to speak in the House of Commons as an amateur on matters connected with Central Asia, they took pity upon him and invited him there, so that he might in the course of the evening garner some grains of the harvest which other speakers would provide in rich abundance. That at least would be his endeavour, and he would do his utmost to make use, as a pupil, of the opportunities which were his on that occasion.

In these days when the number and complexity of issues before the public, national and imperial, was so great, it was a matter of the greatest difficulty for the public to form a just judgment in every instance. Even those who were most anxious to arrive at a fair and equitable conclusion, and who devoted time and study to investigation and research, did not find the task an easy one. Those who were not experts must draw inspiration from wells of mature information and of ripened judgment. Thus could a Society such as this render service of the first value to the Government and to the nation. They were acknowledged authorities, and to them ultimately must the nation resort for guidance and advice in this sphere. The list of their members revealed names which were known to them all for the service which their bearers had rendered—many of them life-long service—in every field of activity in Central Asia. The deliberations and the educative work of their Society had therefore an unparalleled value ; it was the fountain-head of knowledge of Central Asia.

One recent event of the first importance in the Middle East was of such a nature as to give real satisfaction and relief to each one present. He referred to the agreement which had been reached between His

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Majesty's Government, on the part of the Government of Iraq, and the Turkish Republic on the final delimitation of Iraq's northern boundary. They must all welcome the happy issue of this controversy, and the Government was to be congratulated upon the firmness and fortitude with which it had upheld the rights of its youthful ward Iraq. (Cheers.) There might be—there could well be—a difference of opinion as to whether we should ever have gone into Iraq and accepted a mandatory responsibility for its future. That was arguable; but having accepted such responsibility, there could be no question but that we were in honour bound fully and to the last comma to discharge it. The British Empire was not built up on a policy of scuttle. Its future would be jeopardized if such a policy were ever accepted as a full discharge of imperial responsibilities. To abrogate those responsibilities would be to abdicate our imperial heritage. There could be no British Empire unless we were prepared to shoulder the responsibilities of our own actions. Let it be added that the Government's firmness was the more commendable in that it was maintained in the face of a violent and tireless propaganda by a section of the Press more notable for its achievements in circulation than for the clarity of its judgment or the calm of its reasoning in matters of national importance. In passing he could not refrain from throwing a cap into the air in jubilation that the flagrant extent of the error in statesmanship of the monarchs of circulation had been made abundantly clear to their fellow-citizens.

He did not think that any citizen of this country, however unimaginative, could travel for however brief a span in the lands of the Middle East without feeling a sense of pride in the achievements of his fellow-countrymen in that area. It was a tonic to any who felt that his or her faith in the future of the British race was in need of strengthening. In these days we were apt occasionally, and perhaps inevitably, to suffer our periods of depression, to wonder whether the powers of our race were as great, as elastic, as vigorous as once they were. To visit any part of Central Asia was to dispel those doubts. It was, he thought, Hafiz who said that "there is no pain that has not its physician." Certainly no physician could as effectively cure the disease of despondency and pessimism as a view of the work done by the British race overseas—in the Dominions, in India, in the Crown Colonies, and in the Mandated Territories. The more people took this tonic, the better would it be for the future of the Empire of which they all formed a part. The Society was the epitome of our race in Central Asia. It might well feel pride both in these achievements as a Society and in the achievements of its individual members in their respective spheres. Garlands of public favour and of popular applause might not be round all their necks; but those flowers withered. The Central Asian Society and its members were more secure in the knowledge that

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they had served and were serving this country and their fellow-countrymen in a manner most worthily to uphold the traditions of our race. This was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society. The original members could look back upon a proud record of work and achievements. He hoped and believed that the fiftieth year would see the Society as strong, as fresh, as vigorous, and with yet further achievements inscribed upon its record of service to mankind. (Cheers.)

There was not a member of the Society who did not feel it a source of pleasure and pride that Lord Peel was the Chairman of its Council. In many respects he typified the Society. He had spent many years in the service of the State; he had held some of the highest offices and discharged some of the weightiest responsibilities which it was in the power of the Sovereign to bestow. His vigorous tenure of office as Secretary of State for India was fresh in the minds of each present. They could offer him no higher praise than to say that in that office as in others which he had held, or still held, he had added yet further lustre to a great name in the history of a great people. (Loud cheers.) So aptly, and with pride, they coupled his name with that of the Central Asian Society.

Viscount PEEL, who was received with applause, said that for a young Member of Parliament Captain Eden had shown himself both eloquent and modest. He trusted that his modesty was genuine. (Laughter.) When his father was in the House of Commons he told him that perhaps thirty years might elapse before a new Member made his maiden speech. When he (Lord Peel) entered the House twenty-five years ago, new Members allowed two or three months to elapse before they enlightened the House; but in the last few years a new Member thought himself aggrieved if he did not deliver his maiden speech in the first week or two after taking his seat. (Laughter.) Captain Eden sat for a constituency which was in the very heart of this country, and that might be regarded as one high qualification at least to propose the toast of the Society dealing with Central Asia. That term applied to their work, had given some mental disturbance even to intelligent persons. His distinguished friend Dr. Hogarth had said to him that night: "I am supposed to speak about Arabia, and Sir Ernest Wilton about China: where does Central Asia come in?" (Laughter.) There was therefore scepticism as to the limitations implied by the name even in the highest circles—a scepticism which he believed in the case of Dr. Hogarth to be more than nominal.

On this occasion the Society might be said to celebrate its silver wedding. They had not been overwhelmed with presents (laughter), though he ventured to suggest to those who were their guests that they might very gracefully follow the ancient and reputable habit of this form of commemoration. (Renewed laughter.) He believed that when

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the Society began its work early in the present century the Royal Asiatic Society held the field for exclusive attention to Asia. They had with them to-night the learned Secretary of that Society, Dr. Thomas, and wished to convey to him their thanks that all through these years the Royal Asiatic Society had been more than kind to the Central Asian Society. But he believed one reason why the latter was started was that some earnest spirits found the Royal Asiatic Society rather too learned. It entirely cut itself off not only from politics, but from modern religious developments, and many of those who were deeply interested in Asia felt that their field of enquiry should not be so restricted. That was how they came into being. There was also the Royal Geographical Society, upon whose arena they were to some extent trespassers. But right through the history of the Central Asian Society they had received nothing but the kindliest consideration, untouched by any tiresome dissatisfaction, on the part both of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Royal Geographical Society.

It was rather difficult to say what the arena was that they covered, because, after all, their papers were read upon almost every subject that affected the whole of Asia. A friend with whom he discussed the matter that afternoon had suggested that their field was almost conterminous with the Moslem world, and he thought that that was not an unfair description. They did not limit themselves absolutely to Asia, for they regarded the Red Sea as a very unnecessary geographical limit to their studies. Papers had been read to them, for instance, on the Egyptian Constitution. He was told, however, that when a paper was proffered on the subject of Tanganyika, it was suggested that they were straying rather too far from their ancestral home. (Laughter).

He must, on this occasion, give one or two domestic details. Just recently they had made a new departure by the election of three honorary Vice-Presidents, Lord Carnock, Lord Ronaldshay, and Colonel Yate, whose devotion to the Society and whose contributions to it were too well known to need recapitulation. They had on their list of Chairmen of Council such celebrated names as those of Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir Mortimer Durand, Sir Thomas Holditch, Sir Valentine Chirol, Lord Ronaldshay, Lord Carnock, and Sir Maurice de Bunsen, and the present Chairman was Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The first President of the Society was Lord Curzon, whose deep interest in the East was so widely known. The great variety of subjects they discussed was indicated by a mere list of the papers read during the past session. The Society had considered extraterritoriality in China; recent Persian history; India's defence as an imperial problem; Captain Kingdon Ward's account of his discovery of the hitherto unknown gorge of the Tsangpo River; the Anglo-Persian oilfields; the problem of Afghanistan; and Mr. Philby had still to give his lecture on the triumph of the Wahhabi, which was postponed owing to

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the General Strike. The Dinner Club had had some excellent discussions under the chairmanship of Sir Neill Malcolm, unhampered by the presence of that Press on which Captain Eden had animadverted so severely.

The Society had almost all knowledge for its province. They were deeply interested in religion, for they were dealing with countries where the first question a man was asked was not "Where do you live?" or "What is your race?" but "What do you believe?" Nor did the Society neglect the antiquities in those corners of the world where ancient buildings had been preserved by desert sands for so many thousands of years, in contrast to the disintegration which our moist climate wrought upon great buildings, as, for instance, the Palace of Westminster, the stones of which, after an existence of only sixty or seventy years, were beginning to crumble. The Society was also interested in the history of the past as revealed by ancient monuments and inscriptions. They also had their lighter side, and he had noticed that although severe thoughtfulness dominated the majority of their members, when they had lantern slides at their travel lectures the attendance was far greater than when they were dealing with more fascinating, but perhaps more arid, subjects. (Laughter.) Their methods were those of Herodotus. They were ready to listen to the stories of the traveller, the soldier, the peasant, the priest, or the fakir, indeed, anyone who could give them first-hand information; but they tempered it with the severer and more scientific method of Aristotle to such an extent indeed that occasionally they earned even the plaudits of the Royal Asiatic Society. (Laughter.) They went further and studied manners and movements, political and social; they discussed trade and commerce; and went rather profoundly into the subject of the reaction of the Western world upon the East, and the equal effect which Eastern thought was having and would have upon the West. They were not only travellers and observers, but they professed also to be profound philosophers. This was a happy combination, even for such a Society as theirs. They had long ago discovered the complete fallaciousness of the old doctrine of the Unchanging East. If another Rip Van Winkle went to sleep in these times, he would not need to slumber for several hundred years. A year or two would, in many cases, suffice to transform the vision he had seen before taking his repose. Many members of the Society had passed the best years of their lives in the East as soldiers, administrators, and travellers, and therefore the papers read by those who were following in their footsteps were presented to well-stored minds. Men who had spent thirty or forty years in the East were well able to test the travellers' tales which they were told.

Captain Eden had talked about the fortitude of Government in respect to the treaty concluded on behalf of Iraq. These observations

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came like balm in Gilead to his soul (laughter), for so rarely did a member of the Government hear such pleasant panegyrics. He had told them that they had in their Society the fountain-head of wisdom on Central Asian affairs. He did not know whether Captain Eden used these words in an after-dinner sense (laughter), but he was afraid for the moment that the eulogy might arouse suspicion and even, possibly, jealousy on the part of the representatives of the learned Societies who were with them that night. As to Mosul, he rejoiced that it had been possible to conclude at last a treaty on behalf of the Iraq Government with Turkey. He could not help admiring the way in which after raising agitation in the whole country and vehemently asserting that not one single inch of what was claimed to be Turkish soil could ever be given up, and arguing that Mosul, although inhabited almost entirely by Arabs, was really a Turkish town—that after all this tremendous agitation the Turks had concluded a satisfactory treaty with us. He could not help reflecting how unfortunate it was that there were people in this country who seemed unable to modify other slogans which were bringing upon us so great a handicap in the industrial world. (Cheers.) Captain Eden spoke of the open diplomacy of the Press. Much had been said in the past of the evils of secret diplomacy, but it was evident, from the agitations of the sections of our Press to which Captain Eden had referred, that there were weaknesses in open diplomacy. Certain newspapers had discussed the question of Mosul with a measure of accuracy which reflected great credit upon the imagination of the writers of those articles. (Laughter.) He had always had a friendly feeling for the Turks, and had no doubt that it was shared by Sir Charles Eliot, who had just come back from representing this country in Japan. It was profoundly interesting to watch the Western orientation of Turkey, which seemed to have a great affection for Western ideas, but not the same affection for Western persons. The Turks were far more ready to carry out Western ideas on their own system than to seek the help of those who were probably more competent than themselves to extend their application.

While they were watching the tremendous transformation going on in Asia, they heard at the same time of discouragement which was being given to young men seeking occupations in that continent, whether in India or elsewhere, whether as soldiers or civil servants or travellers, or as business men. He seldom used a Latin quotation, largely because of his unfamiliarity with the modern way of pronouncing Latin —(laughter)—but there was a saying in that tongue which he might freely translate for the benefit of young men, as follows : " Don't care a straw what your uncles or your fathers say about the East." (Laughter.) There was a tendency on the part of some older men to yearn for conditions which had passed away. Whatever our future

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duties and responsibilities in the East might be, he hoped that we would never send any but our best men into those regions. In the rapid changes which were taking place there in the habits, thought, and ideas of the people, our best brains and our strongest characters would be of the utmost value. (Cheers.)

He was much gratified by the warm advocacy of their Society which they had heard from Captain Eden. He believed they did play a very useful part in the study of Asia, because they were always ready to form a centre and focus for a general clearing house of ideas and information on the changing panoramas of the East. They were increasing in numbers, and their roll now had upon it something like a thousand names. It was no small matter that in London, with a multitude of claims upon their time and attention, there should be one great centre like the Central Asian Society to keep alive an interest in the East and its affairs, subjects to which it behoved us to pay attention as lovers of the Empire. Whatever might be our future relations with Asia, it was of immense importance that we should be prepared to deal with each situation as it arose in the light of full knowledge and understanding. In particular young men should be prepared by such studies for dealing justly, fairly, nobly, and honourably with the great tasks that would lie before them when they went out to the East. In that hope he looked forward to the time when the Society would celebrate its golden and its diamond wedding with as good a record as that which had marked its first twenty-five years of existence, and he cherished the confident belief that those older Societies which had watched the growth and development of the Central Asian Society would feel that it had made a substantial contribution to our knowledge of and intimacy with the East. (Cheers.)

Sir Michael O'Dwyer proposed the toast of the "Guests" in a witty and much appreciated speech, describing various manifestations of the proverbial hospitality of the East. He said all of them had experienced in one form or another, and sometimes in rather embarrassing forms, the overflowing character of Oriental hospitality, and proceeded to describe the "delicacies" offered to visitors in various parts of Asia.

Dr. Hogarth, who first replied, said he could fully endorse the remarks which had been made as to the happy relations between the Central Asian Society and the Royal Geographical Society. He could see no conceivable reason for any apology being needed for the existence of a number of societies interested in Asia. It was the most interesting continent in the world. In his youth Lord Curzon, writing from the deck of a vessel in the Red Sea, said that there loomed before him the vast, inscrutable, immemorial land of Asia; and it still remained inscrutable. The Secretary had warned him that he was expected to speak about the Near East, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer had suggested

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that he would "sing them songs of Araby." His heart was by no means so much in Arabia as Sir Michael seemed to think. He remembered one distinguished desert traveller, Miss Gertrude Bell, saying to him on one occasion: "We all say we love the desert; I hate it." (Laughter.) When he was a very young man the newspapers devoted a good deal of space to what was called the "Eastern Question." Though it had had many manifestations, it was always in the minds of our fathers one question; there was a unity about it in its relation to our Empire. It was now no longer one question, but four or five or six or even more questions. This was what made it so interesting and so perplexing at the present time. Rudyard Kipling was responsible for the slogan—a word which our enlightened Press had taught us—that "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." If he meant by that a certain incompatibility between East and West, he was right; but if he meant the phrase in any other sense, it was not at all the fact. East and West now met constantly, and we had the difficulty of adjusting our relations in the twentieth century to regions which were living in effect in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, and yet were accepting nominally at least the ideas of the twentieth century. This was an extraordinary position of extraordinary danger. Some ideas in particular were dangerous, and two of the most dangerous ideas in the circumstances were those of nationality and of parliamentary institutions. Nationality was capable of very great things in good hands, but it was a question whether it could be effective in a country where it meant free licence to the privileged classes, or at any rate the division of the loaves and fishes among them. As to parliamentary institutions, he did not think they were the panacea for all evils of the State in countries other than those where they had originated. He doubted whether they had been completely successful anywhere on the other side of the English Channel. In the East they meant very little more than Ali Pasha meant when he sent to Vienna to buy a Constitution. The difficulty in the Near East in relation to nationalism and parliamentary institutions was that the really vital thing now as always was religion. It was this which divided the people on non-political lines. Therefore, though various Parties might exist, they really had no political basis at all. They were very much as Parties were in our country when Tories and Whigs were only nominally divided on political issues and really divided on the upholding of an old creed as against a new. In the Near East it might be said that there were four principal questions at issue, with many minor ones, and that in each case present conditions were transitory. He did not much expect that he would live to see these questions pass out of their present stages, but a great many who were present would live to see everyone in a different stage from that in which it was to-day. He found it impossible to believe, for instance, that the religious peasantry of Anatolia would continue to accept the

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existing state of affairs, or that Angora, one of the least desirable places he knew upon the face of the earth, could permanently take the place of Constantinople as a capital. There was no real democracy in Turkey, and such attempts as had been made to set it up had been tempered by successful efforts at political assassination. In Syria they saw a centre of nationalist ferment and apparent solidarity, but there was diversity below. Once the existing foreign power there was withdrawn, that diversity would again be manifested. If there was one part of the world more than another that was permeated by religion, it was Syria, and he could not believe that religious differences would fail to control the actual state of society in the future. In Egypt nationalism was more deeply rooted and more widely spread because civilization was more widely spread. But the question was only not acute because nationalism had something to bite upon in the existence of the foreign element in political control. It was to be remembered that Egypt was probably the strongest natural fortress in the world, and anyone could prove to demonstration that it could never be invaded. Yet it had been invaded by almost everybody, and that fact cast an unfavourable reflection upon the social character of the inhabitants themselves. He could not think the present situation was likely to be more permanent there than in any other region of the Near East. In Arabia the situation was one not so much of nationality as of religion and individualism. It was a country in which the strong man armed had always taken and kept the authority. He believed that even in Arabia the existing state of things was transitory. There had been currents of change through the centuries in Arabia, but they had seldom held the popular mind for long. It was difficult to indulge in any confident prophecy as to the future of these countries. They could only hope that all that made for progress in the long run would be maintained. Progress had been likened to a very impetuous river which at times seemed to be working back upon itself, but which was really making progress all the time. He could see the eddies; he could see the broken waters also in various parts of the Near East; but he believed that the river of progress was flowing on. (Cheers.)

Sir Ernest Wilton also replied and said that he would respond to the suggestion which had been made that he should discuss the situation in China. In 1923 he was seconded by the Foreign Office for a three years' term of service with the Chinese Government as Chief Foreign Inspector of the Salt Gabelle. The work had been strenuous, and, moreover, he had to face powerful attacks upon the Salt Revenue and interference with the administration on the part of the provincial Tuchuns (or war lords) in defiance of the Central Government at Pekin, which was quite lacking in authority to restrain them. The position of the Foreign Chief Inspector might be described as that of a trustee for the joint interests of the foreign bondholders of the loans

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secured upon the Salt Revenue and also of the Chinese Government, to whom the surplus revenue is handed over for general purposes. During the three years of his term, the Salt Gabelle collected a net revenue of $225,000,000, out of which more than $100,000,000 was handed over to the Chinese Minister of Finance for the general purposes of the Chinese Government. In addition, the obligations on foreign loans were fully met.

The decadent Manchu Dynasty expired in 1912 and was succeeded by a Republic, with Yuan Shih-Kai as President. For the next five or six years the Central Government at Peking carried authority in the provinces, but already a year before Yuan's death in 1919 signs were not wanting of very strong movements towards provincial autonomy. It was difficult to say how many Cabinets had functioned since that date, but certainly over a score. The country, speaking in a general way, might be described as divided into five more or less autonomous provincial zones, each controlled—at any rate nominally—by a military governor or war lord. The latter was not necessarily autocratic, but was often obliged to defer to the wishes of his subordinate generals, who were not infrequently his rivals. The amount of deference varied with the prestige of the war lord, coupled also with the size of his war-chest. Scant respect had been paid by the chiefs of the zones to the Government at Peking.

The two best-known men in China to-day were Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu. The former was, to all intents and purposes, the independent Governor of the Fengtien zone, which comprised the three Manchurian provinces together with those of Shantung and Chi-li: the total population was rather less than 100,000,000. Wu Pei-fu was in nominal control of several provinces along the Middle and Upper Yangtse together with the province of Honan, through which ran the trunk-line from Peking to Hankow. He was, perhaps, more of a dreamer than Chang, but, nevertheless, his name had a great hold upon his countrymen north and even in many regions south of the Yangtse, and he was generally regarded by his soldiers as a second Napoleon. A loyal and lasting alliance between these two was not an easy matter, and there were almost insuperable difficulties in the way, but this co-operation would go far indeed to bring about a temporary subsidence of the prevailing Chinese unrest. A meeting between these two powerful men had taken place within the last few days at Peking, and at any rate on the surface all appeared to be going well. However, the difficulties ahead of both of them were very great and very complicated.

Sir Ernest proceeded to discuss the present-day relations of China with Central Asia. Last year the provinces to the north-west of China, lying along the frontiers of Mongolia, were portioned to Feng Yu-hsiang, sometimes styled the "Christian General." The latter abandoned his

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zone about April last, and had sought the hospitality of the Soviets at Moscow, where he was much interested in the workings of the Arsenal. For more than a year before his departure he initiated schemes for the extension of the present railway, Peking-Kalgau-Siuyuan-Paotou, towards the western frontier of China, and he planned to revive Chinese influence again in Mongolia, Tibet, and Turkistan. It was an open secret that he received Soviet assistance in the shape of arms and munitions, and some of his (Sir Ernest's) Chinese friends believed in the existence of a secret treaty of alliance between him and Moscow. One of the clauses was said to be an undertaking for joint action against British influence in Central Asia. Personally, he rather doubted the existence of such a document, although there might be a fairly complete understanding in this direction.

The "Christian General" had been notoriously anti-British in his public utterances, and in this respect stood almost alone among the prominent political and military leaders of China. However, General Feng had now left China, and any aggressive action against our interests in Central Asia was not likely. Neither Wu Pei-fu nor Chang Tso-lin could be described as, in any way, anti-British, nor were they prone to frontier adventures in that direction. For the moment, therefore, there need be no apprehension that the peace of Central Asia was likely to be disturbed by China, the more so as the past history of two centuries had shown that China has not undertaken any wars of aggression.

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THE OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

BY H. C. LUKE, C.M.G.

I.—The Forerunners.

When the Arabs, in the first flush of their determination to convert the world to Islam, welled out of the Arabian peninsula, spreading fan-wise in conquest from the "'Aqsa al-Maghreb," the "uttermost west" of the Mediterranean, to the confines of Central Asia, it was soon evident that the Mohammedanization of these vast territories, thus forcibly effected, was to all intents and purposes complete and final. More especially did this appear to be the case in the Empire of Persia, whose provinces were now an integral part of the Eastern Khalifate and whose national faith, the ancient Iranian fire-worship as reformed by Zoroaster, had given way, almost without a struggle, before the new dispensation. It is one of the curiosities of history that the worship of Ahura Mazda, once so tenacious that it was able to hold together the Persian people during the five centuries of alien domination that elapsed between the overthrow of the Achaemenid Empire by Alexander and its revival under the dynasty of the Sassanids, so powerful that it kept at bay the heroic onslaughts of Nestorian Christianity, should have capitulated so rapidly to the untried revelation of the Prophet of Mecca. True, the form of Mohammedanism that ultimately prevailed in Persia was not that of the Sunni Arabs: the marriage of the daughter of the last Sassanid to 'Ali's younger son Husein led the Persians to identify themselves, in the civil war that ensued between the fourth Khalif and his opponents, with the 'Alid faction and thus to become in due course the mainspring of the Shiah branch of Islam. But the collapse of the Magian religion was almost instantaneous and almost universal: very soon after the overthrow of the Sassanid State those who remained faithful to the old beliefs had become a despised handful of outcasts, principally confined to the remote oasis of Yezd.

Yet here and there in the provinces of Iran there smouldered the embers of resentment at the destruction of the national religion by the foreign conqueror; here and there were to be found those who feared the invasion of the religion of the Arabs more than they feared that of their soldiery. The conquest of their land was, they did not doubt, a purely passing misfortune, whereas the conquest of the mind would disintegrate, as they believed, the very essence of Persian national consciousness. Realizing that physical resistance was out of the

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question, they therefore sought about for some other means of combating the danger to their continued existence as a separate people, and found one that was typical of the subtle Persian mind. Now Islam, although it had been forcibly imposed upon the Persians, was held by them for the first few centuries in but a superficial form, and this circumstance appeared to render feasible the scheme which these men devised. The scheme was as simple as it was ingenious: it aimed at the destruction of the Arab power, not by a resort to force, which at the time was clearly impracticable, but by the undermining of Islam, its motive spring and its *raison d'être*.

The initiator of this movement was one 'Abdallah ibn-Maimun, the descendant of a Magian family of Ahwaz in the Persian province of Arabistan, over against Basra. 'Abdallah lived in the ninth century A.D. and, with the wealth placed at his disposal by a rich adherent, Mohammed ibn-Husein Zeidan, set about to found a secret society for the accomplishment of his purpose. Very cleverly, 'Abdallah and his friends based their machinery on the esoteric sect of the Isma'ilieh, the most unorthodox and eccentric of the divisions of Islam in that it found room among its doctrines for odd survivals and fragments of all sorts of older and contemporary non-Moslem beliefs and superstitions, reflected sidelights of Greek philosophy, Judaism and Christianity as well as of Gnosticism and the teachings of Zoroaster. The more surely to attract the unsuspecting Isma'ilian, to win the confidence of the entire sect, 'Abdallah proceeded to claim descent from 'Ali, thus mixing in his spiritual prescription all the most active ingredients, all the ingredients likely to make the widest appeal. These he proceeded to dispense with infinite caution, using the curiosity inherent in human nature as the magnet wherewith to draw his disciples, by slow but regular steps, away from the ostensible tenets of his society towards its true aims. The steps were the degrees of the society, at first seven in number after the fashion of the Pythagorean and Indian philosophies and with a special allusion to Isma'il, the seventh Imam of the Isma'ilieh sect, but subsequently increased to nine. In the first degree, the longest and the most difficult of all (for it was necessary at the very outset to instil into the neophyte implicit confidence in his instructors, so that he might be inclined to take the necessary oath of secrecy and of complete submission to the rule of the society), the pupil's attention was drawn to various obscurities and inconsistencies in the Qoran. He was taught, by insidious questions and by various doubts suggested to his mind, the need for an authoritative teacher to expound its interpretation, without which the actual text of the book had neither meaning nor value. On taking the oath he was now admitted to the second degree, which inculcated belief in divinely appointed Imams, who were the source of all knowledge. The third degree taught their number, which could not exceed the mystic seven,

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for, as God had created seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven planets, seven colours, seven musical sounds and seven metals, so had He appointed seven of the most excellent of His creatures as revealed Imams, of whom Isma'il was the seventh and last. In the fourth degree the disciple learned that since the beginning of the world there had been seven inspired Prophets or law-givers, each of whom had altered the doctrine of his predecessor. He was thus subtly given to understand that Islam was not necessarily the final, the immutable revelation of the divine truth; while in the fifth degree the innuendo became explicit and the temporary nature of Mohammed's doctrine and precepts and the uselessness of tradition were definitely made clear. In the sixth degree, which subordinated positive religious legislation to the general and the philosophical, those disciples, who by their intelligence and steadfastness had advanced to this stage, were absolved from the observance of the practices of Islam, such as prayer, fasting and the pilgrimage; in the seventh, having ceased by now to be Moslems except to the outer world, they passed from philosophy to a mysticism which believed anything or nothing. In the eighth and ninth degrees, which were elaborated at a later date at the Court of the Fatimite Khalifs in Egypt, the positive precepts of religion generally were demolished in the light of the knowledge gained in the previous stages; and the initiate, now emancipated from the trammels of doctrine and observance, was at last enlightened as to the superfluity of prophets and apostles, was free to believe nothing and encouraged to dare all.

This, then, was the instrument which 'Abdallah ibn-Maimun, the Persian patriot, forged for the overthrow of his country's oppressors. Compelled after a while to leave Persia, he established himself in Syria, in the neighbourhood of Hama, whence he sent forth his *da'is*, his missionaries and emissaries, to propagate his designs throughout the Moslem world. By degrees he, his sons and his grandsons contrived to found a vast and widely ramified association which, while nominally Isma'ilian and Shi'ah, had no other object but the overthrow of the 'Abbasid Khalifate and the extermination of Islam. Its manifestations and activities were diverse. As Bathinians 'Abdallah's sectaries in Persia concentrated on the speculative side of their programme. As Qarmathians (so called from one Hamdan Qarmat, a follower of 'Abdallah's son Ahmed), another branch of his political and spiritual offspring at a later date took up arms against the 'Abbasids, established an independent State in the Arabian province of Bahrein, detached for awhile the whole of Arabia from its allegiance to the Khalifate of Baghdad and actually carried off from Mecca, which they plundered, the black stone of the K'aba.* And another spiritual (and, according to some, also lineal) descendant of 'Abdallah, the Mahdi 'Obeidallah,

* It was returned twenty-three years later, in A.D. 950, at the instance of the Fatimite Khalif Mansur.

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brought the society to the height of its temporal power by establishing the Fatimite Khalifate, which ultimately extended its sway from Tunis to Cairo and maintained itself in Egypt for the space of two hundred years.

II.—The Three Friends.

Some two and a half centuries have elapsed since the apostolate of ibn-Maimun, and the face of the Mohammedan world has undergone certain important changes. In Egypt 'Abdallah's great conspiracy is enthroned under the Fatimite Khalifs and, having now the responsibilities of territorial sovereignty, has diverted a part of its energies, originally confined to the emancipation of Persia from Arab rule, into other channels. In Baghdad the 'Abbasid Khalifate still maintains a nominal and precarious existence, but the *de facto* authority over its extensive provinces is exercised, theoretically in the name of the powerless Khalif, by virtually independent Sultans and Emirs, leaders of invading tribes from Central Asia, who have carved for themselves principalities and kingdoms, and even empires, out of the crumbling dominions of the Commander of the Faithful. Foremost among these invading dynasties is that of the Seljuqs, who, at the moment of which I am about to speak, have made themselves the rulers of a vast territory which includes, but is not confined to, the whole of Persia.

At this point I will quote from one of the best-known passages in the records of mediæval Asia, from a passage that gives to this terrible story of the Assassins one of its few human touches. The words are those of Nizam al-Mulk, the Vizier of two successive Seljuq princes, Alp Arslan and his son Malik Shah, a man who must be ranked among the great statesmen of all time.

"One of the most eminent," writes Nizam al-Mulk—the quotation is from his *wassiyet*, his political testament—"of the wise men of Khorassan was the Imam Mowaffaq of Naishapur, a man highly honoured and reverenced, may God rejoice his soul; his illustrious years exceeded eighty-five, and it was the universal belief that every boy who read the Qoran, or studied the Traditions in his presence, would assuredly attain to honour and happiness. For this cause did my father send me from Tus to Naishapur with 'Abd-u-samad, the doctor of law, that I might employ myself in study and learning under the guidance of that illustrious teacher. Towards me he ever turned an eye of favour and kindness, and, as his pupil, I felt for him extreme affection and devotion, so that I passed four years in his service. When I first came there, I found two other pupils of mine own age newly arrived, Hakim 'Omar Khayyam and the fateful Ben Sabah. Both were endowed with sharpness of wit and the highest natural powers, and we three formed a close friendship together. When the Imam rose from his lectures, they used to join me, and we repeated to each

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other the lessons we had heard. Now 'Omar was a native of Naishapur, while Hasan Ben Sabah's father was one 'Ali, a man of austere life and practice, but heretical in his creed and doctrine. One day Hasan said to me and Khayyam, 'It is a universal belief that the pupils of the Imam Mowaffaq will attain to fortune. Now, if we all do not attain thereto, without doubt one of us will; what then shall be our mutual pledge and bond?' We answered: 'Be it what you please.' 'Well,' he said, 'let us make a vow, that to whomsoever this fortune falls, he shall share it equally with the rest, and reserve no pre-eminence for himself.' 'Be it so,' we both replied; and on these terms we mutually pledged our words."

With this characteristic act, already showing promise of that ruthless ambition and fixity of purpose which was the motive power of his astonishing career, does the sinister figure of Hasan Sabah first present itself to our notice.

"Years rolled on," continues the Vizier, "and I went from Khorassan to Transoxiana, and wandered to Ghazni and Cabul; and, when I returned, I was invested with office, and rose to be administrator of affairs during the Sultanate of Sultan Alp Arslan. There now came to me Hakim 'Omar Khayyam, and I acquitted myself towards him of all the obligations of the pact, of all the pledges of our undertaking. I received him with honour and distinction, and I said to him: 'It is only right that one of your talents should be in the Sultan's service; and since, by reason of the engagement we made while we were pupils of the Imam Mowaffaq, I undertook to share with you such fortune as I might achieve, I will tell the Sultan of your attainments and of the knowledge you have amassed, and will see to it that you are given a post of honour about his person.' But Khayyam answered me as follows: 'The greatest boon you can confer on me is to let me live in a corner under the shadow of your fortune, to spread wide the advantages of science, and pray for your long life and prosperity.' And he remained firm in his resolution. When I perceived that he spoke with sincerity, that his answer was not the empty form of politeness, I caused him to be granted a yearly pension of 1,200 *mithqals* of gold, drawn on the Treasury of Naishapur."

At Naishapur thus lived and died 'Omar Khayyam, "busied," adds the Vizier, "in winning knowledge of every kind, especially in astronomy, where he attained to a very high pre-eminence."

And what of the third party to the bond? Little is heard of Hasan Sabah during the reign of Alp Arslan, but, on the accession of Malik Shah in 1072, he, too, presents himself before his schoolfellow and, with harsh words from the Qoran directed against the breakers of promises, reminds the Vizier of the obligation of his early days. Nizam al-Mulk is faithful to his word and procures for him a post at Court; and it is not long before Hasan has established over the Sultan

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an ascendancy which menaces the authority of the Vizier. Hasan labours with zeal to accomplish the downfall of his benefactor, and is within an ace of achieving his purpose when the tables are turned and he is driven from Court in disgrace. He then retires to his native town of Ray, the precursor of the modern Tehran (then only one of Ray's villages), and here, for the ensuing five years, he steeps himself in the doctrines which are to bear such terrible fruits under the impulse of his strong and evil will.

Why, it will be asked, did Hasan, brought up in the orthodox Sunni school of the Imam Mowaffaq, generously befriended by the Vizier, well placed at the Court of the most powerful ruler in Sunni Islam, deliberately precipitate a conflict between himself and the established order? Why was he not content to enjoy the good fortune which his own youthful prescience and the loyalty of his friend had placed in his way? The answer is that Hasan was not only by race a Persian and, despite his Sunni schooling, by birth and sympathies a Shi'ah, but was by instinct and temperament a revolutionary, a destroyer, a Nihilist. "If I had had at my bidding," he once declared, speaking of his sojourn at the Court of Malik Shah, "but two devoted friends, I would soon have overturned the power of the Turk and the Peasant," "the Turk" and "the Peasant" being his contemptuous designations of the Sultan and the Vizier. Now Hasan had originally belonged to the Imamieh sect of the Shi'ah branch of Islam, to the sect which recognizes the succession of the twelve Imams from 'Ali to Mohammed Abu 'l Qasim; but it was not long after his disappearance from Court and his return to Ray that he attached himself to the Isma'ilieh, and to that inner côterie of the Isma'ilieh' which held the secret principles of ibn-Maimun. It will be remembered that this element was now all-powerful in Egypt, from which vantage-ground it distributed its agents throughout the Moslem world; so that even in Ray there were to be found the *da'is* of the Fatimite Khalif, despatched by the central Lodge of the Order, which the Fatimites had set up in Cairo. These saw to it that the initiation of so suitable a candidate, of so valuable a recruit to the cause, was not unduly prolonged. That after which he had been groping, unconsciously perhaps, during his sojourn at the Court of the Seljuq, that, they told him, had been the very aim of two noble compatriots of his two hundred and fifty years previously. They now expounded to him the mission and life-work of 'Abdallah ibn-Maimun and Mohammed Zeidan, and urged him to assume their mantle, to be one of the leaders of the conspiracy—now more vigorous than ever—which these men had set in motion so long ago. Hasan, nothing loth, accepted the office of *da'i*, and was then advised to leave Persia, the birthplace of the Isma'ilian theories, for Egypt, where those theories were being translated into practice. "You must go," said his mentors, "to the land of Egypt, to enjoy the happiness of serving the Imam Mostansir."

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The Imam Mostansir was the reigning Fatimite Khalif, the grandson of that Khalif Hakim who had founded and become the deity of the religion of the Druses; and to Mostansir's Court in Cairo Hasan now betook himself. Yet even here his intractable spirit led him into violent opposition to the State. Almost at once he embarked upon an intrigue to support the claims of Nizar, one of Mostansir's sons, to the ultimate succession in opposition to those of Mosta'li, the heir-designate, and was banished, albeit reluctantly, by the Khalif. Within eighteen months of his arrival in Egypt he had left the country for ever, taking with him the little son of Nizar.

Now begins the stage in the career of this extraordinary man, in which he is to see the fruition of his nefarious labours. First in Aleppo, then in Baghdad, finally in Persia once again, he preaches his secret doctrines with indefatigable perseverance; and at last he proceeds to reap in tangible form what he and eight generations of his precursors have been sowing. By an ingenious ruse he possesses himself of the stronghold of Alamut, "the Vulture's Nest," a castle perched in the mountains of Rudbar eighteen miles north-west of Kazvin and not far from the shores of the Caspian, in what is now the Persian province of Gilan; and this, his first territorial acquisition, becomes the base for the consolidation of his domain. By degrees neighbouring castles fall into his hands, and his growing power arouses the apprehensions of Malik Shah and the Vizier Nizam al-Mulk. An expedition is sent against Alamut but fails to take it; and Sultan and Vizier, by this time genuinely alarmed, determined to spare no effort to extirpate the Vulture's Nest and its poisonous brood. And now we see the material resources of the strongest kingdom in Asia arrested by a force new in history, namely, by the spiritual impulses of man directed scientifically and with consummate method into criminal channels. Hasan, having no armies to range against the troops of the Sultan, devises another weapon of defence and offence, a weapon which becomes in his hands one of tragic and dramatic efficacy. Its first victim is none other than Hasan's old school-friend and benefactor, Nizam-al-Mulk, who falls by the dagger in 1092. Forty days later Sultan Malik Shah succumbs to a sudden and mysterious illness. Quickly there follows the Vizier's elder son Ahmed, who is stabbed in Baghdad; then the second son, Fakhr al-Mulk, who is accosted at Naishapur by a beggar with the words: "The true Moslems are no more; there are none left to take the hand of the afflicted." Touched by the man's miserable aspect, Fakhr al-Mulk approaches him kindly, and receives a knife in his heart. And when the murderer is tried and is asked for the names of his accomplices, at one stroke he multiplies the number of his victims and deals the Government a redoubled blow by denouncing falsely, and sending to the scaffold, several loyal servants of the Seljuq State.

With these crimes do the Assassins, whom we may now call by that

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name, inaugurate under the direction of their ruler Hasan the series of murders with which their Order will ever be associated in history.

III.—The School of Crime.

We must now go back a little in order to consider how Hasan came to forge this singular instrument of his power. His main preoccupation, after he had established himself on his own territory, was to organize the political system of that Brotherhood within the fold of the Isma'ilieh, of which he was at once the founder, militant chief and Grand Master. There was to be established a body politic, for which he had not only to legislate; it was a body politic in which the absence of troops and treasure, essential to the existence of the ordinary State, had to be replaced by some equivalent. Hasan's own experience had taught him, by the slender results that had attended until now the efforts of the Isma'ilian missions in Asia, how hopeless would be the attempt to impose his rule and his principles unless the leader had not only heads, but also hands, at his command.

Hitherto the Order of which, subject to its allegiance to the Fatimite Khalif, Hasan had constituted himself the ruler, had possessed the former but not the latter. It had consisted only of the *da'is*, of those missionaries to whom, as initiates into all the degrees of the secret doctrine, nothing was true and all was allowed, and of *refiqs*, who were undergoing the process of initiation. It was now manifest to Hasan's practical and enterprising mind that for the furthering of his designs a third class was requisite, not a class whose mission it would be to convert and to command, but a class whose sole function would be unquestioning obedience. This class would not be initiated into the mysteries and true aims of the Order; it would provide the blind and willing tools for the execution of the leaders' behests. So, while the *da'is* worked with their heads, with the full knowledge of what they were about, the *feda'is*, the "devoted ones," were to work with their hands, in complete ignorance of the significance of their labours.

There are few more striking phenomena in the history of the Middle Ages than the *feda'is* of the Assassins. Drawn from divers countries and composed of adventurers, of men in search of excitement, of men with a love of fighting for its own sake, of desperate men with nothing to lose, they were in some respects the precursors of the Foreign Legion of our own day. Like the members of the Foreign Legion, they were required to possess great physical vigour, resolution and endurance; like them, they were subjected to the most rigid discipline. But not discipline alone, not alone the love of danger and adventure, were sufficient to make of the *feda'is* the fanatical instruments of their sovereign's will, which under the skilful direction of Hasan and his successors they became. To this training and to these qualities was added something else, that something being a blend of supreme religious

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exaltation with the most callous fatalism, which was only possible in the soul of an Oriental. How can we explain otherwise the unflinching devotion of these people, which recoiled before no task, however appalling, which enabled them to carry out, not only without hesitation but with positive enthusiasm, murders of the most fantastic audacity that meant swift and inevitable retribution? I will cite three episodes in the annals of the Assassins to illustrate the spirit of the *feda'is*, not because these episodes are exceptional, but because, on the contrary, they are typical of this amazing organization. The Seljuq Sultan having sent an envoy to Ḥasan to demand his submission, the son of Sabah called into his presence certain of his *feda'is*. Beckoning to one of them, he said: "Kill thyself," and instantly the man stabbed himself. To another he said: "Throw thyself down from the rampart," and the next moment the *feda'i* lay a mutilated corpse in the moat. Thereupon Hasan Sabah turned to the envoy, who was unnerved by terror, and said: "In this way I am obeyed by seventy thousand faithful subjects. Be that my answer to your master."

About a century later, during the Third Crusade, Henry II., Count of Champagne, who was to become *jure uxoris* Latin King of Jerusalem, found himself in the neighbourhood of the Syrian territory of the Assassins. The Grand Prior, successor of the celebrated Rashid al-Dîn Sinan, of whom more anon, sent messengers to welcome him and to invite him to visit his fortresses. Henry accepted the invitation, and came; the Grand Prior hastened to meet him, and received him with great honour. He took him to several castles and brought him at last to one having very lofty turrets. On each look-out stood two *feda'is*, and the Grand Prior, pointing to them, told the Count that these men obeyed him better than the Christians obeyed their princes. He then gave a signal, and two of them hurled themselves from the top of the tower and were dashed to pieces at its foot. "If you desire it," said the Grand Prior to the astonished Count, "all my *feda'is* shall throw themselves from the battlements in the same way." Henry declined, and confessed that he could not reckon on such obedience from his servants.

To offer up his life in an act of devotion to his duty was, as I have indicated, a joy and an honour for the *feda'i*, and this joy was shared by his relatives. A mother learned that her son, one of the "devoted ones," had been killed, together with several of his companions, in the execution of his orders, and manifested her gladness by putting on festal array. Shortly afterwards the son returned unharmed, having in some remarkable way escaped hurt. The mother blackened her face, cut off her hair, and abandoned herself to the profoundest grief.

Now by what means was there created that blend, as I have called

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it, of fatalism and religious exaltation which could make these things possible, and not only possible but habitual? In the answer to this question lies the essential characteristic of this strange body of men, the characteristic whence the Order derives that glamour, terrible but not without an element of romance, which has surrounded it ever since the Crusaders made the West aware of its existence. I will allow an Occidental, who first entered Persia only fifteen years after the fall of the last Grand Master, who was thus almost an eye-witness of what he relates, to give the story in his own words :

"In a beautiful valley between two lofty mountains," says Marco Polo, speaking of the Grand Master of the Assassins, "he had formed a luxurious garden, stored with every delicious fruit and every fragrant shrub that could be procured. Palaces of various sizes and forms were erected in different parts of the grounds, ornamented with works in gold, with paintings, and with furniture of rich silks. By means of small conduits contrived in these buildings, streams of wine, milk, honey, and some pure water were seen to flow in every direction. The inhabitants of these palaces were elegant and beautiful damsels, accomplished in the arts of singing, playing upon all sorts of musical instruments, dancing, and especially those of dalliance and amorous allurement. Clothed in rich dresses, they were seen continually sporting and amusing themselves in the garden and pavilions, their female guardians being confined within doors and never suffered to appear. The object which the chief had in view in forming a garden of this fascinating kind was this: that Mahomet having promised to those who should obey his will the enjoyments of Paradise, where every species of sensual gratification should be found, in the society of beautiful nymphs, he was desirious of its being understood by his followers that he also was a prophet and the compeer of Mahomet, and had the power of admitting to Paradise such as he should choose to favour. In order that none without his licence might find their way into this delicious valley, he caused a strong and inexpugnable castle to be erected at the opening of it, through which the entry was by a secret passage. At his court, likewise, this chief entertained a number of youths, from the age of twelve to twenty years, selected from the inhabitants of the surrounding mountains, who showed a disposition for martial exercises, and appeared to possess the quality of daring courage. To them he was in the daily practice of discoursing on the subject of the Paradise announced by the Prophet, and of his own power of granting admission; and at certain times he caused opium to be administered to ten or a dozen of the youths; and when half dead with sleep he had them conveyed to the several apartments of the palaces in the garden. Upon awakening from this state of lethargy, their senses

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were struck with all the delightful objects that have been described, and each perceived himself surrounded by lovely damsels, singing, playing, and attracting his regards by the most fascinating caresses, serving him also with delicate viands and exquisite wines; until intoxicated with excess of enjoyment amidst actual rivulets of milk and wine, he believed himself assuredly in Paradise, and felt an unwillingness to relinquish its delights. When four or five days had thus been passed, they were thrown once more into a state of somnolency, and carried out of the garden. Upon being introduced to his presence, and questioned by him as to where they had been, their answer was: 'In Paradise, through the favour of your highness;' and then before the whole court, who listened to them with eager curiosity and astonishment, they gave a circumstantial account of the scenes to which they had been witnesses. The chief thereupon addressing them said: 'We have the assurances of our Prophet that he who defends his lord shall inherit Paradise, and if you show yourselves devoted to the obedience of my orders, that happy lot awaits you.' Animated to enthusiasm by words of this nature, all deemed themselves happy to receive the commands of their master, and were forward to die in his service. The consequence of this system was, that when any of the neighbouring princes, or others, gave umbrage to his chief, they were put to death by these his disciplined assassins; none of whom felt terror at the risk of losing their own lives, which they held in little estimation, provided they could execute their master's will."

Thus far from Marco Polo, whose narrative requires only one small correction. His "opium" was really a decoction of *hashish*, the Arabic name for Indian hemp (*Cannabis indica*), whence the *feda'i* came to be known among Arabic-speaking peoples as *hashishi*, "the hemp-taker." From the plural of this word, *hashishîn*, is derived not only the appellation of the entire Order in history, but the term which has perpetuated in half the languages of Europe the sinister associations of its name.

IV.—The Old Man of the Mountains.

From the fact that Alamut and the neighbouring fortresses acquired by Hasan* were situated in a highly mountainous region, a region that adjoins the great range of Elburz† with its culminating peak of Demavend, the Grand Master of the Assassins was known in Arabic-speaking countries as *Sheikh al-Jebal*—that is to say, as the chief or

* The Persian geographer Mustawfi gives a list of fifty of these castles.

† Not to be confused with the peak of the same name, but generally spelled and pronounced Elbruz, in the Caucasus range.

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ruler of the mountains or mountainous district. And as the primary meaning of the word *Sheikh* is "old man," it was this version, albeit the inappropriate one, which was adopted in the West and gave to Hasan and his successors in Occidental literature the misleading if picturesque title of "Old Man of the Mountains." As *Vetus de Monte* and *Senex de Montanis* the Grand Master of the Assassins and his Grand Prior in Syria figure prominently in the chronicles of the Crusades, and obtained a celebrity in Europe that fell not far short, although it was of a less edifying nature, of that enjoyed by Prester John.

Now Hasan, despite the material delights that he prepared for his *feda'is*, himself led a life of grim austerity. Night and day he shut himself up in his library at Alamut, engaged in the composition of treatises concerning the domination of the human mind and the scientific corruption of consciences, which he compiled for the benefit of those who had the wit to make use of his subtle prescriptions. From his library he ruled his Order and his territorial dominions; and he, who had travelled so incessantly in the years of his preparation, now, during the whole of his long reign at Alamut, only issued twice, so says the historian Hamd-Allah, from his own apartments, only ascended to his terrace on a single occasion.

Hasan died in his bed at Alamut on the 12th June, 1124, aged more than ninety years. Ruthless no less to his own kin than to his foes, he had, shortly before his death, slain his two sons because he considered them incapable of profiting by his teaching and unfit to govern the Order. Declaring that capacity alone should qualify for rule, he chose as his successor a *da'i* of obscure origin named Kia Buzurg-'Umid: in the words of an Oriental chronicler "Hasan, when his end was near, brought out a young man who was concealed in his establishment, and handed over to him all his fortresses."

Buzurg-'Umid reigned for fourteen years; his son, Mohammed I. (for Buzurg-'Umid turned from the elective to the hereditary principle), for twenty-five. During this period many of the most powerful princes of the East fell under the daggers of the *feda'is*: two Khalifs, a Sultan of Khorassan, an Atabeg of Mosul and sundry Seljuq Emirs head the long tale of their Eastern victims. And the Order now became, if we are to believe the mediæval historians, not only a religious sect that assassinated its own enemies but an organization of hired murderers ready to undertake, for a consideration, commissions to despatch those against whom they had no cause for enmity. The most conspicuous Western chief to suffer from this aspect of the Order's activities was to be the Marquis Conrad of Montferrat, who was stabbed by two "devoted ones" in 1192—the centenary of the deaths of Nizam al-Mulk and Malik Shah—just after he had been recognized as King of Jerusalem. But with the death of Mohammed I. another and more

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fundamental change takes place in the principles of the Assassins, and there comes into prominence one of the most outstanding figures in their history, that of the Sheikh Rashid al-Dîn Sinan.

One day in the year 1150 a youth, slightly built and lame, limped up to Alamut, seeking admittance. The lad was a stranger from Syria, of Nosairieh parentage, and he had come, he said, from 'Iraq with the intention of entering the Order of the Assassins. Young Rashid al-Dîn Sinan soon attracted, by his mental gifts, the favour of the Grand Master Mohammed, who caused him to share the studies of his son Hasan; and an intimate friendship grew up between the two youths, who proceeded to apply themselves with zeal to the writings of Hasan Sabah. Young Hasan, afterwards the Grand Master Hasan II., who was possessed of great intelligence and was well versed in history and philosophy, rejoiced at the companionship of one who shared so fully his interest in the mysteries and secret doctrines of the Order he was to rule. What stimulated Hasan's imagination above all else was the presence at Alamut of the mysterious Egyptian, the son of Nizar and the grandson of the Fatimite Khalif Mostansir, whom Hasan Sabah had, it will be remembered, carried away with him on his expulsion from the Cairene Court. In due course this interest assumed a concrete shape, and young Hasan began—perhaps with the encouragement of Rashid Sinan—to put about the belief that he was the son, not of the Grand Master Mohammed, but of this son of Nizar, and that thus there ran in his veins the sacred blood of the Khalifs. It was not long before the affections of the wilder spirits among the Assassins began to turn under this stimulus from Mohammed to his infinitely more brilliant but less stable son, with the result that the Grand Master, becoming aware of his loss of popularity and of Hasan's growing ascendancy, put 250 of the latter's adherents to death. Hasan was compelled, therefore, for the remainder of Mohammed's life to abjure his friends and his heresies; but when, in 1164, Mohammed died and he succeeded to the Grandmastership, he lost no time in putting his peculiar views into execution. Summoning, on the seventeenth day of the first Ramadan of his reign, the entire population of the neighbourhood of Alamut, he caused an open-air pulpit to be erected at the foot of the castle, and from it he proclaimed *urbi et orbi* the doctrine that had hitherto been confined to the initiates of the Order only and had been jealously concealed from the masses, the doctrine that all men were freed from the obligations of the law, were released from obedience to the commands and prohibitions of religion and were at liberty to do as they liked. He then descended from the pulpit, caused tables to be covered, and commanded the people—at the height of the Ramadan fast—to give themselves up to eating, drinking and merrymaking. His next step was to revive, but this time with greater

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precision, the fiction of his descent from Nizar, and formally to proclaim himself the Khalif. This assumption of the highest office in Islam by the man who had just released his people from obedience to the injunctions of Islam, the consummation of this paradox, was made easy by conditions in Egypt, where the Fatimite Khalifate was tottering to its fall, having only a few years to live before it received its *coup de grâce* from Saladin, the arch-enemy of the Assassins, in 1171. Hasan having now assumed the dignity of the Khalif, took the additional name of 'Ala-zikrihi-al-selam ("Peace to his glorious memory"), and the historian Mirkhond records that the following inscription was set up in Alamut to commemorate the events of the 17th of Ramadan:

> "With the help of God
> Were loosened the fetters of the law
> By the Ruler of the World
> Peace to his glorious memory."

After four years of blood-stained rule, Hasan II. died at the hand of one of his brothers-in-law, and was succeeded by his son Mohammed II. This prince, throughout a long reign of forty-six years, followed in his father's footsteps and multiplied the crimes whereon his Order throve. Dying, it is believed, by poison administered by his son, he was followed in the Grandmastership by this son, who reigned as Hasan III. Jelal al-Dîn, the last of the princes of Alamut whose career presents any feature of interest, any variation from the monotonous shedding of blood that marked the reigns of his predecessors and of his two successors. Hasan III. instigated his father's death only to save himself from a similar fate, which was threatening him at the hands of his parent; but this was the first and the last murder of his twelve years of rule. Not only in this respect did he reverse the policy of preceding reigns; he came forward, says Hammer in his "History of the Assassins," as the restorer of the true religion according to the strictest principles of Islam. He prohibited everything that his father and grandfather had declared to be allowed; commanded the erection of mosques, the re-establishment of the call to prayers, and the solemn assembly on Fridays. He called round him Imams, readers of the Qoran, preachers, scribes, and professors, whom he loaded with presents and favours, and appointed to the newly built mosques, convents and schools." What is more, he sent his wife and his mother with great pomp on the pilgrimage to Mecca; and, so complete was his repudiation of the impious policy of his grandfather, Hasan II., that he was universally acclaimed by his contemporaries as "The New Mussulman." How far this ostentatious return to the observance of the forms of religion was genuine, how far it was a stroke of policy, it is difficult to judge, for the "New Mussulman" perished from the effects of poison at the early age of thirty-seven. His son

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Mohammed III. 'Ala al-Dîn, who succeeded as a boy of nine, reverted at once, despite his tender age, to the criminal traditions of the Order. After a sanguinary reign of thirty years he, too, died in the manner usual among the rulers of the Assassins, at the hand of a murderer instigated by his son Rukn al-Dîn, who became in 1255 the last Grand Master of Alamut. The life of the Order in Persia had now run its evil course, for in the following year the Mongols under Hulagu, who had destroyed and were to destroy so much that was good, wiped out the nefarious principality of Alamut and thus exterminated at least one thing that was bad. Yet one of their acts on this occasion must, in the interests of science, be ever deplored, namely, that in sacking the castle of Alamut they burned the famous library of Hasan Sabah, including the only copies which existed of the writings of that singular man.

Let us go back for a moment to follow the fortunes of Rashid al-Dîn Sinan. While Hasan II. was yet at the height of his activity as the emancipator of mankind from the bonds of religion, Rashid sought the leave of his schoolfellow, now his sovereign, to withdraw into Syria in order to organize the energies of the Assassins in their Western sphere of influence. Himself a Syrian, he was peculiarly fitted for this task. Around the walled towns of Masyad and Qadmus in his native Nosairieh mountains he, too, built up a principality, which he ruled, theoretically as the Grand Prior of the Grand Master in Persia, in practice as an independent prince. Here Rashid became to the Crusaders, who knew little of his distant overlord, the Old Man of the Mountains *par excellence*, and from his Syrian fastnesses revived, in the camps of Christians and Saracens alike, the awe-inspiring traditions of Hasan Sabah.

V.—In the Mountains of the Assassins.

The western offshoot of the Assassins survived its eastern parent by fourteen years. In 1270 Bibars, the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, who brought practically all Syria and Palestine under his sway, included in his Syrian conquests the principality established by Rashid al-Dîn Sinan; and the temporal power of the Assassins came finally to an end. The Fatimite Khalifate having disappeared a century earlier, there now existed no State where the Isma'ilieh exercised political power; and, although the sect survived, its adherents were dispersed among the various territories of Western Asia, in India, the Arabian peninsula, North and East Africa and even in Zanzibar. In these several lands they pursued their existence as religious sectaries, having no political organization or centre and little spiritual cohesion. The latter was to be restored to them in the nineteenth century in an entirely unforeseen manner.

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The fall of the Fatimite Khalifate, whose sovereigns were regarded as the senior representatives of the descendants of the Imam Isma'il, did not involve the extinction of the family of him whom the Isma'ilieh revere as their seventh Imam. Shorn of their temporal power, the family withdrew to Persia, where they maintained their existence in an obscurity mitigated only by the fact that the scattered Isma'ilieh (including, after the suppression of the eastern and western States of the Order, those who remained of the Assassins) continued to look upon them as the heads and quasi-deities of the sect. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the head of the family was a certain Hasan 'Ali Shah, better known as the Aga Khan, who, born in 1800, became Governor-General of the Province of Kerman under Fath 'Ali Shah, the Persian sovereign immortalized by Morier in "Hajji Baba." In 1838, after Fath 'Ali Shah's death, the Aga Khan became involved in a rising against his grandson and successor Mohammed Shah, and was compelled to leave Persia. He took refuge in India, where his influence over his spiritual subjects on the Frontier enabled him to render material aid to the British forces during the first Afghan War and subsequently in the Sind campaign. For these services he was rewarded by the Indian Government with the hereditary title of Highness, and he remained to the end of his days a firm friend of the British. He settled in Bombay, where he died at a ripe old age in 1881, being succeeded in his dignities, spiritual and temporal, by his son, the second Aga Khan, who was followed in his turn by the present Aga Khan, Sultan Mohammed Shah. The present Aga Khan, well known not only by his influence in Moslem politics in and beyond India, but also by his successes on the turf, has done much through his personal prestige to raise the condition of his scattered flock of Isma'ilieh. He has travelled widely to visit and to receive the homage of his followers; and even the poor remnant of the Assassins, still lurking impoverished and almost forgotten around the crumbling fortresses of Masyad and Qadmus, is at pains to send annually one-fifth of its scanty revenues to its pontiff in Bombay. When I visited Masyad early in 1908, in the last months of the personal rule of 'Abdul Hamid II., the unhappy Assassins were in difficulties with the Government on this very account. On the day of our arrival at Masyad the Qaimaqam of the district, a Syrian Moslem, visited us in our camp and lost no time in acquainting us with his opinion of his charges.

"When first I came to Masyad," he related, "I summoned their Sheikhs. I said to them: 'The Moslems have mosques, and a muezzin to call them to prayers, the Christians have churches and bells. But what have ye for a place of worship?' And they could not answer me. So I said: 'It is a bad thing for men to hide their religion, and ye cannot be good people.' And as they still answered nothing, I had

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them arrested; and the Mutesarrif has granted my request that they should be sent away."

It did not require the Qaimaqam's deprecating smile, when he said "as they still answered nothing," to make it quite clear that the answer he had expected was the oiling of his palm. The regular tribute of a fifth of the Assassins' income (they are miserably poor, but there are about twenty thousand of them in the eighteen Isma'ilieh villages about Masyad and Qadmus) paid to a wealthy and distant potentate, and above all to one living in British territory as the subject of a foreign and infidel monarch, was evidently most galling to this underpaid Ottoman official, who could have found such infinitely better use nearer home for these Moslem Peter's Pence. In the event, however, the Assassins were not deported but have survived, by the turn of fortune's wheel, to live under the rule of the French, political descendants of those performers of *gesta dei per francos*, whom their ancestors fought and assassinated eight centuries ago.

Masyad is interesting architecturally, being entirely enclosed by thin crenellated walls and surmounted by a castle which is a strange jumble of Græco-Roman, Byzantine and Saracenic fragments. Four or five families of Assassins (they allude to themselves, of course, not by this name but as Isma'ilieh) still inhabit its sombre, vaulted recesses: and over castle, town and district there yet broods the spirit and memory of Rashid al-Dîn Sinan. A little outside the walls is a pool of water, which the heavy rains at the time of our visit had enlarged to the dimensions of a small lake; and it is related by the people of Masyad that the supernatural powers of Rashid Sinan were first recognized at this pool. Shortly after his arrival from Alamut, Rashid was walking beside it with a man of Masyad, when the latter suddenly noticed that his image alone was reflected by the waters. Terrified, the man prostrated himself at the Sheikh's feet, and was commanded to keep secret what he had seen. Maurice Barrès, who was here in 1914, tells another story of Rashid Sinan, related to him by Isma'ilians at Qadmus.* One day Rashid encountered a vagabond with a performing monkey. He gave the monkey a coin, whereupon the animal spun round rapidly, then lay down and died. "The monkey," explained Rashid, "was once a king, and that coin bore his superscription. At the sight of it, the Almighty caused him to remember his past glory and his present degradation. The violence of his grief at the recollection killed him."

The modern Assassins live on bad terms with their Nosairieh neighbours. These, by a stratagem, seized Masyad in 1809, but were compelled by the Turks to restore it to its owners; and ever since they have pursued the Assassins with their ill-will although they have

* "Une Enquête aux Pays du Levant," Paris, 1924.

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borrowed certain of their beliefs. Hence the accusation, spread by the Nosairieh, that the Syrian Isma'ilieh indulge in the course of their rites in obscene and bacchanalian orgies, centring around the person of a girl known as the *rodha*. Some trace of the old Phœnician nature-worship does indeed seem to have found its way hither from that ardent Valley of the Adonis, that hot-bed of Asiatic gods which runs down to the Mediterranean between Beirut and Jebeil, and to have lingered, the shadow of its former self, in these remote and unvisited fastnesses. As to the facts, so difficult to establish, I will quote Dr. Bliss,* who is satisfied that a girl figures in the worship of the Assassins of to-day but rejects the interpretation placed upon the circumstance by ill-disposed neighbours. "This girl," he says, "is called the *rodhah*, which may be translated a greensward or pleasaunce. As long as she remains a virgin she is regarded as sacred, and the Isma'ilians wear bits of her clothing or hair from her person in their turbans. But should she marry—and she may do so honourably—search is made for a successor, who must be a girl born on a certain day in the year, and who should conform to certain characteristics regarding her height and the colour of her hair and eyes. At least two persons have surprised the Isma'ilîyeh at a service of adoration of the *rodhah*. One, a Government official, who broke in forcibly, found the girl seated on a high chair dressed in a white robe, with a wreath of fresh flowers on her head. The worshippers were kneeling before her chanting sacred songs. According to the testimony of the other witness, a simple Syrian Christian, whom I questioned some ten years after his adventure, his observations were confined to the brief period between his accidental stumbling into a secret assembly and his rough ejection by one of the worshippers, who told him that anyone else would have been promptly butchered! He happened to be on friendly terms with the prominent sheikhs. He remembers seeing a circle of some twenty or thirty initiates, seated on the floor, in an attitude of adoration of a girl of about sixteen years of age, dressed in a black robe that entirely covered her person, with her hair hanging down on either side of her face, which was left exposed. Someone held a book, but he was not sure whether it was the girl or her father, a prominent religious sheikh. In fact, the witness was evidently conscious in discriminating between what he remembered clearly and what he was hazy about. This girl has since been married and her place taken by another."

I have never ceased to regret that my only visit to the Persian province of Gilan, a hasty journey made on war service from Baku across the Caspian to Enzeli in the disturbed spring of 1920, allowed me neither the time nor the facilities to penetrate to the ruins of the "Vulture's Nest." It was tantalizing to be so near to Alamut and to

* "The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine."

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be unable to reach it, for not many travellers of modern times can have entered both the western and the eastern principalities of the Assassins. But what I have seen of their survivors within the crumbling walls of Masyad is sufficient to prove that these cowed and rather pathetic people, who abstain wholly from drink and almost wholly from tobacco, who deny themselves that they may have the more to send to their amiable divinity in distant Bombay, are indeed far removed from those drugged and ruthless *feda'is*, who carried the fear of the Old Man of the Mountains into the heart of the mediæval East.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE MOSUL PROBLEM

THE general significance of the Mosul problem is adequately shown in the cogent sentences respectively of Sir Thomas Holdich and the late Lord Curzon. "Of all sources of international irritation, boundaries seem to be most prolific; and of all countries in the world, England has probably suffered the most from them," says the former; the latter: "Frontiers are indeed the razor's edge on which hang suspended the modern issues of war or peace, of life or death to nations." The truth of those statements emerges clearly when we consider how often since the Armistice the Mosul question has brought us to the brink of war with Turkey, and in what expenditure, financial and military, it has involved us. The settlement of the problem was an imperial necessity, and after a long struggle against the bluff, bluster, and traditional contumacy of the Turks, a settlement has been finally effected. It would, however, be political folly to look on the recent agreement with Turkey as the final or best solution of the Mosul problem. Equally foolish would it be to assert that the Treaty of Angora had either dispelled the misgivings of the British public on the score of expenditure, or satisfied its humanitarian desire of safeguarding the destinies of certain Christian minorities in Anatolia. Hereunder it is proposed to set down some reflections on the frontier as delineated in the recent negotiations at Angora, in so far as it concerns British policy, the legitimate aspirations of certain oriental peoples, and the generally accepted conditions of a sound frontier.

BRITISH POLICY.

The issues of the Mosul problem have been almost universally misunderstood in England through a failure to grasp the real, constant, and ultimate object of British policy. That object has scarcely ever emerged from a welter of discussion on the parochial politics of 'Iraq, of sentimental outbursts on the woes of Christian minorities, and of nebulous dissertations on oil and oil-fields. It is well to be clear on this, that the founding of an Arab state, the support of an Arab renaissance, the search for oil, and the protection of Christian and Kurd are subsidiary to the main object of British policy—how best to maintain and guarantee the security of the British Empire. Although the implications of our policy in the Middle East have developed with events, that policy has never become, except for a short time, merely

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opportunist, nor changed in essentials. Neither Britain nor any other power is, or can afford to be, in the world as it exists, altruistic in its policy or sentiment. We have been concerned, and must be concerned, primarily with our own existence and the preservation of what we consider requisite to that existence. With this principle in mind, it is proposed to consider briefly the operation of British policy in the events which constitute the Mosul problem.

Before the Great War the axiom of our Eastern policy was to nurture buffer states on the way to India, in order to prevent the inroads of Germany and Russia against our communications to the East. By the "partition" of Persia into spheres of influence in 1908, we postponed for a time the inevitable clash with Russia, the Power which to-day, despite the change in her administrative machinery, is more frankly imperialistic than she ever was in the days of the Tzar. As a result of the Great War we eliminated the German threat to our Eastern Empire and found ourselves firmly established on the Persian Gulf and in 'Iraq. With the Armistice arose the problems of deciding on the exact relationship of 'Iraq to the security of the British Empire, and of disposing of 'Iraq in such a way as to maintain our fundamental policy in the Middle East.

The British Government decided that the retention of 'Iraq within the orbit of the British Empire was essential to our security, and that the best mode of assuring its retention was by establishing in it an independent Arab state. But if the decision were correct, it is not easy to find that its implications were either visualized aright or that any steps were taken to give it immediate and permanent effect. As far back as May, 1915, we had given a definite pledge to the Arabs to establish and uphold an independent state in 'Iraq, and, unless we were to practice the same gross political immorality as the Germans in their repudiation of Belgian neutrality, there was every reason why we should honour and redeem our pledge. It has been stated that in making such a promise, and thereby adopting a pro-Arab rather than a pro-Turk policy, we acted against our own interests by ranging on the side of our traditional enemy, Russia, the might of the Turkish Empire. This is a fallacy, born of a sentimental and outworn evaluation of Anglo-Turkish friendship. During the war the Turk was our bitter foe. The Arab was our friend. It is time that we disabused ourselves of illusions regarding Turkish friendship and the danger of Turkish enmity. We are, and should be, strong enough to help our friends, and, if need be, to defeat our enemies. The fact must not be lost sight of that Turkey, spent and helpless, her finances in chaos, and her armies beaten and destroyed, surrendered unconditionally. Our great blunder and the cause of our later troubles with that decivilizing power was that we allowed our preoccupation with European affairs to cloud our Eastern policy, and to postpone for nearly two years negotiations for a final

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settlement with Turkey. We pandered to the innate habit of the Turks for procrastination, forgetting that a decision, to be effective among orientals, must be clear cut and put into immediate and forceful execution.

Meanwhile, while negotiations with Turkey lapsed, the General Staff of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, in furtherance of the policy to establish a kingdom of 'Iraq, chose what they, in conjunction with the political authorities in 'Iraq, considered to be the best strategic, political and economic frontier for the new state. This frontier did not include within 'Iraq the terrain inhabited by the Nestorian Christians in Assyria. Nor can it be found that the authorities, when the line was selected, ever contemplated the inclusion of these Christians within the state of 'Iraq. Promises may have been given that Assyrian destinies would be safeguarded, but such promises cannot be interpreted either as meaning the establishment of an autonomous Christian state or the inclusion of the Assyrian home in 'Iraq. At the same time it must be recognized that policy is never a product of pure reason and that, selfish as we must be where our interests are concerned, a Great Power can never afford to neglect the humanitarian aspect of a political question, and that to some extent we undertook the responsibility for the welfare of the Assyrian Christians.

Following the Armistice, Turkey was wracked with the travail of a genuine movement for reform that took the shape of a fervent nationalism. In 1919 Mustapha Kemal and Kiazim Kara Bekr (in later days a bitter opponent of the Ghazi) recognized at the Erzeroum Conference that Syria, 'Iraq, and Arabia were finally lost to the Turkish Empire. Again in 1920 the Turkish National Pact was framed in such elastic terms that, had we seized the opportunity it presented of a final settlement with Turkey, it is conceivable that the Turks would have accepted the establishment of a frontier that would have provided for the security of 'Iraq, and the inclusion of the Nestorian home in 'Iraq. Had we acted then, before our military forces had dwindled from five to two divisions, Turkey would have bowed inevitably to our will. It cannot be too sufficiently emphasized that policy ultimately depends on force, that either our military forces must be kept commensurate with our policy or our political commitments must be reduced to our military capacity.

In 1920 was signed the Treaty of Sèvres, wherein was laid down the boundaries of the 'Iraq state, and definite assurances were exacted from the Turkish Government for the humane treatment of the Nestorian Christians. The Treaty, however, succeeded only in inflaming the patriotic zeal of the new Turkish Nationalist Party, and in hastening the overthrow of the Sultanate in Constantinople. As a settlement it accomplished nothing. During the succeeding years Turkey achieved a remarkable military and political renaissance,

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uprooting her traditional form of Government and advancing her victorious banners once more to the gates of Europe. She asserted herself, at the expense of Italy and France, recovering her lost provinces of Adalia and Cilicia; she expelled the rabble soldiery of Greece beyond the Hellespont; in time she that had lain like a whipped cur at the feet of the Allies so waxed in prestige that she found friends in Paris, New York, and Moscow. She was thus free to consider again the fate of her other lost provinces, and, in her new-found arrogance, to demand their return. As she had made such a successful use of propaganda against Italy and France, she turned this weapon against the British in 'Iraq. Trade embargo, political intrigue, the encouragement of unrest and sedition, concentrations of troops on the frontier—she tried them all, and forced us once more to assure 'Iraq that we would not desert her. In 1922 the Anglo-'Iraq Treaty was signed wherein we promised (*a*) to establish a stable government in 'Iraq, and (*b*) to delimit its frontiers. About this time the neighbourhood of the frontier was in a continual state of troublous effervescence from Sulaimaniyah to the Jabal Sinjar. Eventually the territory formerly inhabited by the Nestorian Christians—*i.e.*, territory beyond the boundary fixed by the Treaty of Sèvres—was left by the Turks to wallow in utter lawlessness, and in order to prevent this lawlessness from infecting the territory under our mandate, we were compelled to extend our administration to include Southern Hakkiari in 'Iraq. No one will doubt the wisdom of such a step, or demand further justification for the step than that of imposing law and order.

The events of this period cast an interesting light on Turkish methods of provocation and bluff. In 1923, she saturated the frontier tribes with anti-British propaganda; she aided and abetted the notorious Shaikh Mahmud, a half-civilized barbarian, who, after being condemned to death for an insurrection against British authority in 1919, is, thanks to an unwarranted piece of political leniency, still the ringleader of a revolt in South Kurdistan; she sent a Turkish adventurer Euz Demir to stir up the tribes, and finally she concentrated part of her forces in the Nisibin-Mardin area ostensibly for the invasion of 'Iraq. The Air Officer commanding 'Iraq, Sir John Salmond, realizing the Turkish concentration was nothing else but bluff, called it by the despatch of air and military forces to Mosul, and the annexationist designs of the so-called Jazireh army simply faded away. The inference is obvious. The Turk will bow inevitably to the strong hand.

After some obstinacy on the part of Turkey, an effort was made to solve the Mosul problem at Lausanne. The proceedings of the Conference were almost wrecked by what can only be described as the pigheadedness of the Turkish delegate. A statesman has well described the Turkish attitude: "Negotiating with the Turks is like sitting down to play bridge with a man who insists on the right to revoke, and who, if

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refused, will kick over the table." Britain based her claims on its duty to protect the populations of the disputed area, on the necessity of that area to the economic, strategic, and political existence of 'Iraq, and on the desirability of safeguarding the interests of the Assyrian Christians. Turkey opposed these claims ostensibly on the grounds that ethnologically, geographically, and legally the Mosul vilayet formed part of Anatolia. There seems little doubt, however, that her opposition was chiefly excited by her natural nervousness of a Kurdish separatist movement, by the secret support of certain interested parties in Paris and New York, and by the active advice of Moscow. Eventually it was agreed that the delimitation of the Turkish frontier be left to the mutual arrangement of Turkey and Great Britain, and, if these Powers failed to come to any agreement, the decision should be left to the Council of the League of Nations. Turkey and Britain failed to agree. Now in any negotiations with a nation of such perverse mentality as the Turks, there is only one sure mode of successful action —to offer it a piece of sugar from one hand, to have a stick in the other, and if the sugar is refused, to use the stick. We offered the sugar, but forgot the stick. Moral suasion, mild reproof, and concessions are poor weapons with which to tilt against the obstinacy, intrigue, and habitual procrastination of the Turk.

Negotiations having broken down, the decision was referred to the Council of the League, which instituted a commission to examine the question on the spot and to set out its opinion on the respective claims. Seldom has an international commission performed its mission with more zeal and less effectiveness. What the situation demanded was a report which would enable the League of Nations to give an immediate clear-cut and binding decision. The report, unfortunately, avoided imperatives and dealt in conditionals. The issues were clear. Either the Turkish claim was valid on ethnological grounds, or because the Mosul vilayet wished to be incorporated in Turkey, or, on the other hand, the claim of 'Iraq was economically, geographically, and strategically sound. Briefly the report came to the conclusion that legally the vilayet belonged to Turkey, economically and geographically to 'Iraq. It then went on to suggest that if Mosul became an integral part of 'Iraq, there should be no question of Great Britain abandoning the mandate at the end of four years. If, however, Great Britain were to surrender her place in 'Iraq after four years, it would be better for 'Iraq to revert to Turkey. The frontier should follow the Lesser Zab, Mosul and Arbil being handed over to Turkey. The Assyrians should return to their former homes under a complete amnesty and local autonomy. The report appears to be a pathetic effort to hunt with the hounds and run with the hare, and certainly in its Assyrian aspect betrays a childlike faith in the ability of the Turkish leopard to change its spots.

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In October, 1924, the League of Nations had fixed a provisional boundary known as the Brussels Line, the line of the *status quo* to be observed by both parties pending the final decision of the League. While the League were trying to find in the monumental, if futile, report of its Commission some basis of permanent settlement, the Turks attempted to solve the Assyrian problem by a wholesale deportation of Christians settled in the region between the Brussels Line and the frontier claimed by Great Britain. When questioned on this point, the Turks at first denied that any deportation had taken place, but later, doubtless at the instigation of Soviet Russia, declared that, if Christians had been removed from the area concerned, it was their business and theirs alone. Is other testimony required of the Turk's peculiar power of provocation and his dog-in-the-manger mentality?

In December, 1925, the Council of the League of Nations recorded its decision that the frontier between 'Iraq and Turkey should be the Brussels Line as laid down in 1924. On June 5, 1926, this Line was agreed to by Britain, 'Iraq, and Turkey, in a treaty signed at Angora.

To-day the problem of 'Iraq has to be contemplated not only *vis-à-vis* Turkey, but, perhaps, even more in relation to Soviet Russia. The critical problem now is not the possibility of a conflict with Turkey, but the probability of a clash between our civilization and the anathema—that is, Bolshevism. Turkey has few ambitions beyond her pre-war empire. The energies of Russia are turned to world domination to which Britain is the chief obstacle. The Soviet has emasculated Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan; it has lately tried to creep into Afghanistan; it exercises no little power in the councils of Turkey, and in Persia, despite a loss of ground with the advent of Riza Khan, it is still an influence for evil. By remaining in 'Iraq we will do much to prevent the southern encroachment of Soviet propaganda and the ultimate and apparently inevitable march of Soviet armed forces towards India.

The Functions and Conditions of a Frontier.

So far an attempt has been made to indicate the 'Iraq boundary demanded by British policy. It is proposed now to set down what the functions and conditions of a good frontier are, and thereafter to examine how far the Brussels Line satisfies these conditions.

A frontier is, and must always be, so long as nationalism persists, an area of separation between contiguous states, a barrier whose effectiveness is largely relative to its physical character. A frontier is not, as some have stated, an area of assimilation or a means for facilitating intercourse. It is an obstacle whose chief function is to provide for the states concerned the strongest possible measure of protection against attack. Its main effect is to maintain peace by placing upon adjacent peoples a definite limit to the national horizon, a restraint upon man's

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predilection for unauthorized trespass. A frontier, however strong a barrier it provides, will never save from conquest and ruin a corrupt and decadent people. It depends in the last resort on the might of a nation. Its strength is to be measured only by the swords of that nation's citizens.

What conditions should a sound frontier satisfy? Briefly a frontier should satisfy, but never does nor ever will satisfy, the often conflicting and mutually exclusive claims of strategy, economics, ethnology, religion, language, and policy. A frontier should provide an adequate physical boundary which is strategically defensible, and should embrace an economic, ethnological, religious, linguistic, and political unit. How far does the Brussels Line meet these conditions?

Strategical Aspects of Brussels Line.

The strategic problem of Great Britain was to select a frontier which would at once ensure the security and development of 'Iraq, be easily defensible by local 'Iraq forces, and thus least likely to necessitate the withdrawal of British troops from more vital strategic points elsewhere.

Between Kurdistan and the sea two general types of frontier were available—a mountain barrier or an open plain that forms no obstacle whatever. The selection of the latter would have entailed the lengthy location in 'Iraq of large British military forces, or, failing these, have led ultimately to the total evacuation of 'Iraq with a resultant increase of our Indian establishment to counter the increased menace to India. A mountain barrier alone satisfied strategic necessities. Though such a barrier has never stemmed the tide of a determined invasion, it at least limits the avenues of approach, perplexes an enemy, and especially where communications are difficult, embarrasses his power of supply and movement. The extent to which it is an obstacle varies inversely with the ease with which it can be crossed.

Once it was recognized that a mountain barrier formed the likeliest and best frontier, the question arose of its actual location. Now in the area with which we are dealing, the obvious strategic centre is Mosul, from which irradiate all communications to Kurdistan and to which the produce of the neighbouring country is brought. The lines of approach to the Mosul plain are west of the Tigris from Nisibin via Tal 'Afer and Sinjar, east of the Tigris from Van via Neri and Rowanduz, from Van-Bitlis area via Aqra, from Jazirat-Ibn-Omar via Zakho and the Tigris. The obvious centres in front of which the frontier should run were Rowanduz-Neri-Aqra-Zakho-Tal-'Afer-Sinjar, and the British line was accordingly selected to include those localities. Such a line gave command of the main Turkish lines of advance. In addition the barrier was of such depth as to cause considerable delay to a hostile advance, enough to give ample time for the concentration in Mosul of forces from

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Baghdad and Southern 'Iraq. Incidentally it included the homes of Assyrian Christians, whose country would have formed an excellent bastion of defence against invasion. The Brussels Line not only deprived 'Iraq of some 1,400 square miles of territory, mostly inhabited by Christians, but cut in two, in the eastern section about Neri, tribes that are only likely to become amenable to law and order, if under the 'Iraq Government.

There has been ample, if somewhat ill-argued, criticism of the strategic feasibility of the mountain frontier. Such criticism mostly rests on misconceptions born of an inadequate knowledge of the region, of the difficulty of communication, of the anti-Turk character of the people, and of the Turkish capacity to supply and maintain any army capable of taking and holding Mosul. Critics of the strategic position in 'Iraq have generally spoiled their case by indulging in picturesque but unconvincing hyperbole after the following style. 'Iraq is an alluvial basin surrounded by high plateaus and desert. It has been invaded more often than any other country in Europe or Asia. It is a perpetual magnet for invaders from Persia, Arabia, Syria, and Anatolia. The Akkadians, Sumerians, Kassites, Persians, Parthians, Arabs, Seljuks, Greeks, Romans, Mongols, and Turks have all held it at one time or other and lost it. It has persisted for any period as a political entity, only when it was bounded by the Oxus, Caucasus, and Mediterranean. Such was the view of that eminent soldier, Sir Henry Wilson. Lord Kitchener believed otherwise.

The question of defence, however, must be considered not in reference to non-existent British troops, but in reference to the forces which the 'Iraq Government can and is prepared to employ, the efficacy of the Royal Air Force, and the probable forces which the Turks can send and maintain over the frontier. It has been stated on the authority of a high official in the 'Iraq Government that it is ready to fight the Turkish menace tooth and nail, and it is because this menace is the real problem of 'Iraq foreign policy, that conscription will be introduced into 'Iraq at a very early date. It was suggested by the same official that it might be advisable, in order to guarantee 'Iraq's existence as a nation, to negotiate an offensive and defensive alliance with Turkey's chief enemy in Europe—Greece. The point is: 'Iraq is prepared to fight Turkey, and 'Iraq at the present time is worth one division to the British Empire, and in twenty years' time will be worth six.

Little need be said on the air aspect of the case, as that is adequately and clearly set out in Sir John Salmond's report on the 'Iraq Command. One quotation will suffice: "The ground north of Mosul is favourable for defence, especially for delaying and harassing action by air forces . . . possible lines of approach lie through country particularly suitable for the employment of aircraft in direct attack upon ground targets."

The chief bogey of military critics has been the size of the Turkish

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forces that can intervene in 'Iraq. A concentration 60,000 to 80,000 strong was, it is reported, causing alarm and despondency in certain military hearts. Now the Ottoman forces that can be brought into action immediately against 'Iraq must be drawn from roughly three divisions that are scattered in the area Mardin-Nisibin-Diarbekr-Bitlis-Van-Jazirat-Ibn-Omar. The units of these divisions lie at six to fifteen days' march from Mosul, and except for the Nisibin-Mosul route, west of the Tigris, can utilize no road fit for wheeled transport. Even this road passes through a waterless stretch of some forty miles, and along it there is not a vestige of cover from the air. The Turkish Air Force is negligible. That being so, it is not difficult to imagine how any force using this route would suffer in its six days' march from Nisibin to Mosul. East of the Tigris the maintenance of more than two brigades on a pack scale of transport is beyond the wit or contrivance of the most ingenious "Q" staff. It took Turkey three months to concentrate and prepare a punitive expedition against Shaikh Said in the recent Kurdish rebellion. Is it likely to take less to prepare an expedition, not against a thousand ill-armed brigands, but against an 'Iraq division supported by several squadrons of aeroplanes and a host of Kurdish, Arab, and Yezidi irregulars? It has been calculated that the Turks could make available for the invasion of 'Iraq in seven days 4,000, in five weeks 10,000, in eight weeks—the maximum that can be released without prejudicing the defence of the Turkish Empire —30,000 rifles. The problem of supplying and maintaining these forces without extending the railway from Nisibin to Mosul and in face of a growing opposition in 'Iraq, and attack elsewhere, is not one that need cause the British Army many restless nights.

Economic Aspect of Frontier.

Much need not be said on the economic aspect of the frontier, as the economic argument for the allocation of the Mosul vilayet to either Turkey or 'Iraq does not carry any conviction. The fact that one portion of the world is economically essential to another, or forms an economic unit with another, has little influence on the political destiny of either. Because the oil of Mexico and the silk of China are necessary to the existence of Great Britain, the latter has no claim to draw them within its political orbit. And because Canada and the United States comprise an economic unit, do they for that reason form a political unit? The Mosul vilayet, however, does have a complete economic affinity with the rest of 'Iraq and little commercial intercourse with Anatolia. Zakho, Amadiyah, Aqra, and Rowanduz, also, are oriented economically to Mosul. The trend of communications by river and road is to the south, along the valley of the Tigris, not northward across the Anatolian mountains or north-westward to the unfinished Baghdad railway. The latter railway is never likely to be of commercial use to

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Mosul or 'Iraq. The actual wealth of Mosul is grain, which finds a market in Baghdad; the potential wealth is oil, which must find its way to the Mediterranean via Hit. Obviously, in the Middle East where oil fuel is consumed by locomotives, the way of the railway must be that of the oil pipe. Finally, Mosul is the granary of the south. "It is," as a prominent Arab said, "the head of 'Iraq. Cut it off and we perish."

Racial, Political, and Religious Aspects.*

Racially the Mosul vilayet comprises elements of the following races —Arabs, Kurds, Nestorians, Chaldæans, Yezidis, Turcomans, Bajwans, Chabaks, Jews, and Sarlis. How does the Brussels Line affect these—their religion, their language, and their political desires?

Consideration of the problem is made difficult by the interlacing of this motley of races, interlacing of such extent that it is practically impossible to lay down ethnical, linguistic or religious boundaries. In one small glen you will find Jew, Kurd, Christian, and Arab, never intermarrying and often unmistakably differentiated in dress and custom. The dissemination and intermixture of population, especially in the vicinity of the Brussels Line, naturally makes the political problem of satisfying the particular desires of the various communities almost impossible of solution. It has been stated that the great principle to be taken into account in the partition of territories is the satisfaction of the desires of the people concerned. The Arab, the Kurd, the Christian, and the Yezidi have each of them a racial individuality as strong as our own, and the expression of this individuality has of late taken on the garb of nationalism. While we admit all this, and that nationalism will spread with every extension of road, rail and telegraph in these parts, we still hold that there must be a sound basis for nationalism. Not only must a race have the wish for autonomy. It must have the physical, moral, and mental power to carry its wish into practice. The Yezidis, Bajwans, Chabaks, Sarlis, Jews and Christians of Mosul town have not the physical power, and few of them the political intelligence to stand alone. Moreover, their political affinity and disposition make them contented members of the new 'Iraq state. The case of the Arab, the Kurd, the Nestorian and Turcoman cannot be so summarily dismissed.

The Arab belongs to an old race, a proud race, a race that has known the glory and responsibility of empire. In late years he has developed a political consciousness that has helped to found Arab states in 'Iraq, Transjordania, Syria, and the Hedjaz. His political horizon extends to a self-supporting Arab empire that will include the Arabian peninsula, Iraq, Syria, Transjordania, and Palestine. The nucleus of this empire is 'Iraq, where political intelligence and administrative capacity yearly increase under the guiding hand of Britain. So far as

* *Vide* Appendix.

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'Iraq is concerned, the Brussels Line east of the Tigris is satisfactory, but would be sounder strategically, if it were carried north to include the Assyrian enclave. With the Assyrians 'Iraq has no quarrel, and is only too willing to incorporate them as potential wardens of the northern marches. West of the Tigris she still sees in the Nisibin-Mardin area, territory that is essentially Arab in race and strategically desirable.

The Kurd was the crux of the Mosul problem, and will continue the chief menace to the stability of the new frontier. He belongs to an old race, conscious of its individuality, but politically inept and split into warring factions. Never in history has Kurdistan formed a political entity, nor, having regard to its incoherence and size, is it likely to become a state in the near future. Scattered in tribal groups, often nomadic, in Persia, 'Iraq and Anatolia, from Hamadan to Cilicia, the Kurds can only achieve autonomy after long years of political education and the production of a personality, Napoleonic in personal power and capacity for government. Latterly as their more enlightened chiefs imbibed the political wisdom of Europe, there has arisen a half-hearted desire for independence without any definite conception of what such independence means or entails. We experimented with Shaikh Mahmud in Sulaimaniyah and found his ideas of government so destructive and insensate that we had to depose him. Simco in the Urumia district, Shaikh Mahmud in Sulaimaniyah, the Amadiyah pashas, Shaikh Said in Kharput, have all acquired hazy ideas on autonomy and each has endeavoured to establish a Kurdish state that was little else than a collection of brigands and an excuse for brigandage. It cannot be too deeply impressed that the Kurd is at the beck and call of his Agha, who is a non-moral creature, an Ishmael with his hand against every man. Only in the Kurdish fringe under 'Iraq jurisdiction has the acclimatization to British administration made the Kurd amenable to law and order. The spread of law and order amongst the Kurds, with its political consequence, a separatist movement from Turkey, is the bogey of Angora, and has probably been the chief cause of Turkish obstinacy over the Mosul settlement. The Kurdish question admits of three solutions, all of which are temporarily impossible:

(*a*) Kurdish autonomy under the ægis of Turkey or Britain.
(*b*) Turkification of Kurdistan north of the Brussels Line.
(*c*) Kurdish immigration into 'Iraq.

If we are to support nationalism through thick and thin, we are theoretically bound to support the claims of the Kurds to self-government. This will involve us in Persia, Anatolia, and 'Iraq, an extension of our political commitments that is beyond our military capacity and might even involve the loss of our own security. Life is a balancing of evils to achieve existence. As regards Kurdistan it is common sense

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to stop fishing in troubled waters. It might be different if there were a more virile temper in England, were imperial adventure still the spice of youth, were our young men still ready to roam the world free and masterful, instead of rotting in domesticity about tennis courts and night clubs. We may sum up the Kurdish aspect as follows: The Kurd racially and linguistically has no relation with Turkey or 'Iraq; religiously he is at one with either; politically he favours neither, and is yet incapable of working out his own political destiny. The Brussels Line only affects him in affording to his lawless Aghas the prospect of a safe refuge from Turkish and British law as occasion may require.

The Turcoman element in the population was the basis of Turkey's ethnological claim to Mosul, and as such was a sorry quicksand. From Kifri through Kirkuk and Arbil to Tal 'Afer there lie scattered Turcoman colonies, holding a quiet agricultural population which has no other political desire than a government capable of guaranteeing the security of its crops and homes. The Turcoman has become largely Arabicized, and displays no aversion from 'Iraq nor desire for Turkish rule. His racial affinity with the Turk is analogous to that between the Highland Celt and the modern Frenchman. It cannot by any stretch of the historic sense support the annexationist claims of modern Turkey. To the Turcoman the Brussels Line is a protection against the inherent rapacity of the Turkish administration.

The Christian tribes of Tiari, Tkhuma, Baz, Jilu, and Diz, some 100,000 souls, inhabited before the war the southern highlands of Hakkiari from Amadiyah to Nurduz, Urumia, and Salmas. These Assyrian mountaineers have been Anglophil since the Canterbury mission was first established among them in 1886. Always maltreated and occasionally massacred by the Turks, they gallantly threw in their lot with the Allies in 1916. For two years they resisted the punitive expeditions of their Turkish taskmasters, but were finally uprooted from their immemorial mountains and driven forth—the remnant that remained—to find a haven of refuge in 'Iraq, Persia, and Caucasia. With the final overthrow of Turkey they prepared to reoccupy their old homes, but every attempt at repatriation was frustrated by Kurdish brigands, instigated by Turkish money and agents. Their habitat originally lay beyond the boundary fixed by the Treaty of Sèvres, but the civil administration of 'Iraq was extended to include it, when it became a centre of Kurdish dissension and brigandage. Part of the refugees from 'Iraq drifted back to the mountains, relying on the permanence of British administration and unofficial promises that Britain would safeguard its interests. The men joined our levies, playing a notable part in defending the Mosul frontier against Kurdish and Turkish incursions. Their sole wish is to return to their ancestral lands, and there live under the protection of Britain. They are not averse to incorporation with 'Iraq—even desire it, if we are to believe Arab reports. The

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Brussels Line has placed their homes in the tender keeping of a malignant and cruel foe.

Four solutions of the Nestorian problem present themselves:

(*a*) Repatriation of Assyrians to their homes under a guarantee of security from the Turks.

(*b*) The incorporation of the Nestorian habitat in 'Iraq.

(*c*) The setting up of a Nestorian home in 'Iraq—*i.e.*, south of the Brussels Line.

(*d*) The settlement of the Assyrian people in Australia or Canada or South America.

On the grounds of humanity and the moral obligation of protecting from the Turk the Christian tribes who served us so loyally during and after the war, we should have held out for the extension of the Brussels Line to include Southern Hakkiari. As it is, we have deliberately abandoned the Assyrian countryside to the Turk, relying on his promises to mete out justice and some measure of freedom to the few Christians that now reside there. Has not the Turk made such promises before and broken them with that persistent guile which is the hallmark of his mentality? Is he likely to be any more tender towards the Nestorians than he was to the Cilician Christians? Cannot we learn from experience that the Turk, despite the adoption of Panama hats and European clothes, remains the bond-slave of cruelty, corruption, and oppression? Repatriation would merely be an invitation or prelude to massacre. Nor is the incorporation of Southern Hakkiari in 'Iraq within the realm of practical politics. It may, however, prove to be a basis for future bargain with a Turkey that is almost now bankrupt, and whose political background is that of the bazaar.

Of the solutions set out above only (*c*) and (*d*) seem at the moment feasible. It is impossible to say how far Britain is prepared to support the latter, but it would seem when so much is written about the empty spaces of tropical Australia and the difficulty of getting settlers of a right type, that here is an unique opportunity to people these areas with an industrious, self-reliant, law-abiding, and agricultural population. But so long as any hope remains that Hakkiari may become once more the home of this down-trodden people, (*c*) offers the best means of satisfying Assyrian aspirations. 'Iraq is willing to give them a home and to look after them. She is quite prepared to treat national questions on their merits, as witness her treatment of the Kurdish population within her borders. It is well to remember also that whatever atrocities the Arab has been guilty of in the past, he has never massacred or emasculated the Christian minorities in his midst.

Summary.

It now becomes possible to summarize our conclusions on the Brussels Line:

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(*a*) It does not fulfil the object of British policy completely in that it surrenders to Turkey the control of Assyrian destinies. It does, however, provide for the establishment and security of an 'Iraq state sufficient to assure our own security.

(*b*) The frontier does not, and cannot, satisfy the linguistic, racial, and religious requirements of a good frontier owing to the chaotic intermixture of these elements in its vicinity.

(*c*) It is not strategically the best frontier for 'Iraq, but it is sufficiently defensible to guarantee the security of the 'Iraq state. It is economically sound.

(*d*) It satisfies the political desires of the minorities concerned, except those of the Kurd and Assyrian.

Conclusion.

A note of warning. There has been a tendency to dissociate consideration of the Mosul problem from the larger issues of civilization, and the existence of the British Empire. The Middle East has become politically conscious, is casting from it a nightmare of tyranny and acquiring for its peoples and individuals a measure of freedom largely by the force, equity, and efficiency of British administration. For tribal and internecine feud we have substituted the law of orderly government; we have given justice in place of corruption; we have driven out universal ignorance and superstition and replaced them with education and knowledge. It is because we are the prop and the mainstay of struggling humanity, that, if we withdraw from the Middle East, if we should bow before the will of an intransigeant Turkey, then 'Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Transjordania—the new Arab world—will collapse and drag with it India and maybe the Empire:

> While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand,
> When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall,
> And when Rome falls, the world.

Finally, in any commerce with Turkey weight should be given to the pregnant words of Clemenceau: "History tells us of many Turkish successes and many Turkish defeats, of nations conquered and nations freed. . . . Yet in all these changes there is no case to be found either in Europe, or Asia, or Africa, in which the establishment of Turkish rule in any country has not been followed by a diminution of its material prosperity and a fall in the level of culture. Nor is there any case to be found in which the withdrawal of Turkish rule has not been followed by a growth in national prosperity, and a rise in the level of culture. Neither amongst the Christians of Europe nor among the Moslems of Syria, Arabia, and Africa has the Turk done other than destroy wherever he has conquered. Never has he shown himself able to develop in peace what he has won in war. . . ." Seasi.

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APPENDIX

TABLE SHOWING RACES, THEIR DISTRIBUTION, RELIGION, ETC., IN MOSUL VILAYET

Race.	Numbers.	Habitat	Language.	Religion.	Political Wishes.
ARABS ...	150,000	Mosul and Jazireh up to Nisibin and Mardin.	Arabic.	Moslem (Sunni).	Independent 'Iraq and founding of Arab empire.
KURDS ...	260,000	Kirkuk and Arbil districts, Rowanduz, Aqra, Amadiyah, Zakho, West of Tigris from Hogena to Jazirat, Ibn-Omar.	Kurdish; a few tribes speak Arabic.	Moslem (Sunni).	Vague aspirations for autonomy; no coherent political thought or desires.
CHRISTIANS ...	60,000	Chaldeans in Kirkuk, Mosul, and Mosul district; Nestorians in Hakkiari, but now mostly in 'Iraq.	Chaldeans, Arabic; Nestorians, Assyrian.	Christian.	Protection of Great Britain; incorporation in 'Iraq, failing autonomy in Hakkiari.
YEZIDIS ...	30,000	North-east of Mosul and in Sinjar district.	Kurdish, some Arabic.	"Devil - worshippers," type of Manichæism.	Protection of Great Britain; not averse to incorporation in 'Iraq.
JEWS ...	14,000	Mosul and other towns.	Arabic.	Judaism.	Incorporation in 'Iraq.
TURCOMANS ...	50,000	Kirkuk, Arbil, Altun-Kupri, Tal 'Afer towns.	Turkish dialect; nearly all speak Arabic.	Moslem (Sunni).	Incorporation in 'Iraq.
CHABAKS, SARLIS, BAJWANS	5,000	Villages in Mosul district.	Arabic.	Akin to Ali-Allahi sect of Islam.	Incorporation in 'Iraq.
TOTAL ...	569,000	—	—	—	—

NOTE.—The figures are only approximate, as no proper census has been carried out.

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MOSUL BOUNDARIES

MAP OUTLINE BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

To face p. 364.

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THE DEVELOPMENT AND WANING OF THE FORCES IN PALESTINE, 1922-1926.

I.—Introduction.

The recent reorganization of the gendarmerie in Palestine, which took place early in the year, is an eloquent testimony to the efficiency and popularity of the administration of their mandate by the British, and also of the adequacy of the Air Force for supplying such force as may be required. The gendarmerie and the police were threefold: the British and Palestinian Gendarmeries—a semi-military striking force—and the Police proper. So wide-spread is now the *Pax Britannica* that the British Gendarmerie have been broken up, and the Palestinian Gendarmerie have been reorganized as a frontier force for guarding the Eastern marches between Palestine and Moab.

The following outline showing the constitution of the various forces, military and other, between 1921 and 1926, has been contributed to the pages of this *Journal*. In reading it, these are the factors conducing to the results which should be borne in mind. The first is the success of the Arab Legion under Peake Pasha in Transjordania, which has brought law and order into Moab itself, and therefore lightened from the Arab side the burden of the raids from east of Jordan. The combined result of Transjordania's own efforts and those of the Palestinian Gendarmerie will be realized if we reflect that never since the days of the Romans have the Arab raiders and graziers under arms been kept out of the plain of Esdraelon and the deepening of Jezreel. Esdraelon, that fertile watered plain, has been bare of settlement for generations. Under the Sultan no one would buy the land, save distant speculators for a song. Come the British, and the Zionists buy the land and can settle on it in peace, which perhaps none have done since Saul and Jonathan fell on Gilboa. The second factor is the presence of the French on the northern border. All the ill-will of Turkey has fallen on their shoulders. Had Syria been in Turkish hands, very different forces would have been necessary in Palestine. The Arab and the Mosaic Arab,* thanks to the presence of the French in Syria, have only to look eastwards while an improving Transjordania stands between them and the real Bedouin.

II.—The Development and Waning.

At the commencement of the year 1922 the armed forces in Palestine consisted of:

(*a*) One Indian and two British Cavalry Regiments, two British and three Indian Infantry Battalions, a British Horse Battery, and an Indian Pack Battery with Divisional Headquarters at Bir Salem.

* As Disraeli called the Jews.

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(*b*) No. 14 Squadron R.A.F. at Ramleh, with a flight at Amman, and two R.A.F. Armoured Car Companies.

(*c*) A force known as the Palestine Gendarmerie was in process of formation, recruits from the inhabitants of the country, organized into squadrons of fifty men, each under a British officer; the whole under Lieut.-Colonel F. W. Bewsher, D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C.

(*d*) The Palestine Police, then about 700 strong, raised and organized by the late Colonel Bramley, O.B.E.

Mr. Winston Churchill, who at this time was Colonial Secretary, decided to replace the army units by a force to be raised from ex-members of the R.I.C., who were then in course of disbandment.

In March of this year, Colonel A. J. McNeill, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., was given command and ordered to raise 750 men, to be known as the British Gendarmerie of Palestine; they were recruited and equipped in England and arrived in Palestine in May.

This force was organized into six companies, each of four officers and one hundred men and a mounted squadron. The companies were equipped with Ford tenders and touring cars and were very mobile.

On the arrival of the British Gendarmerie most of the army units were withdrawn, and by the end of the year only one Indian Cavalry Regiment and one Indian Infantry Battalion were left at Sarafand (nine miles from Jaffa).

The British Gendarmerie were stationed as follows: two companies at Nazareth, one company at Nablus, one company at Jerusalem, headquarters, two companies and the squadron at Sarafand. In 1924 one company was withdrawn from Nazareth and stationed at Hebron.

The Palestine Gendarmerie squadrons were stationed at Rosh Pina, Semakh, Beisan, Tul Keram, with a camel squadron at Beersheba. In 1924 a squadron was sent to Metullah and another to Jericho.

Early in 1923 all the remaining army units were withdrawn from Palestine. But in the spring of 1924 the 9th Lancers were transferred from Egypt and stationed at Sarafand; this unit returned to Egypt early this year (1926).

In the spring of 1925 Mr. Amery, the present Colonial Secretary, paid a visit to Palestine, and as a result it was decided that the forces in Palestine should be reorganized, and in the spring of this year the following changes have taken place:

1. The British Gendarmerie have been disbanded.
2. The Palestine Gendarmerie have been increased in strength and reorganized, and are now known as the Transjordan Frontier Force.
3. The police have been increased to 2,000 men, with a British section of 200 men in course of formation.

Since the war the River Jordan has always been considered the defensive frontier for the protection of Palestine, the main body being stationed along the central range of the Galilee and Judæan hills, with an outpost zone along the west bank of the river.

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This arrangement has undergone a radical alteration. The whole of Palestine west of the Jordan has now been handed over to the Palestine police. The Transjordan Frontier Force will eventually be stationed on the eastern border of Transjordania. Squadrons of the force are already at Amman and Maan.

In the period under review the state of public security in Palestine has undergone a remarkable change. Four years ago armed raids and hold-ups were of frequent occurrence. Though the incursions of Arab tribes in strength from the east of the Jordan had ceased, raiding bands from that side were a perpetual source of trouble to the gendarmerie and police.

As a result of the war there was a large store of arms and ammunition hidden in the country. When the crops had been gathered and time hung rather heavily on their hands, it was a favourite form of amusement for pillagers to go out with a gun and hold up travellers on the roads.

An intensive campaign of confiscation of arms, besides the gradual weeding out of the criminal classes and their incarceration in gaol, has transformed the country and raids and hold-ups are now of very infrequent occurrence.

That this satisfactory state of affairs is largely due to the presence in the country of a well-armed and mobile force such as the British Gendarmerie there can be no question. Their duties have been many, but mainly as a readily available and mobile reserve to the police; their duties have carried them into every district, and their presence has undoubtedly had a most tranquillizing effect on the unruly elements in the country. For the work they have done and their excellent organization and discipline the entire credit is due to Colonel A. J. McNeill. In fact, the reason for the disbandment of this force is that they have done their work so well that, in the opinion of the powers that be, there is no longer any need for them in the country.

To the constant watch on the border maintained by the Palestine Gendarmerie is largely due the decline of armed raids. Often stationed in unhealthy districts and in tumble-down old camps their training and discipline was excellent. Recruited as they were from every race and sect in Palestine, the welding together into a whole of these often opposing elements is a matter of great credit to the officers concerned.

On the formation of the Transjordan Frontier Force the majority of the Jewish gendarmes were transferred to the police, and only the Arabs, Circassians, and Druses were incorporated into the new force. This discrimination has caused rather an outcry on the part of the Jewish Press and people in Palestine.

The Palestine Police Force is now well organized and is a reliable and efficient body of men.

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THE KHAIBAR PASS AS THE INVADERS' ROAD FOR INDIA.—II.

(*Continued from J.C.A.S.* III., 1926.)

II. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.

Here and there one finds an English writer saying that Sultan Mahmud passed through the Khaibar when making his first expedition into India. If one understands by "India" the country of which the Indus (*since* A.D. 1215) has been the western limit, this is a manifest mistake, because Mahmud's first expedition into Trans-Indus India was made (*for Multan*), down the Kurram Valley and across the Kala-bagh-Dhankot Ferry (A.D. 1005).

Some historians say, however, that in this same (A.D. 1005) campaign he had already defeated a Hindu confederacy (Anand-pal's) near "Waihind" (*i.e., the Hind Ferry*), and they surmise him to have reached Peshawar and "Waihind" by the Khaibar route. This surmise overlooks the ancient Ghazni-Peshawar route, which takes off the Kurram road near Kirman and comes through the Kohat Pass down into the Peshawar Plain. It was used by Chingiz Khan and Babur (*reversed*), amongst others entered in these notes, and is by far the better and better-warranted route than the Khaibar one. If Mahmud dealt first with the Hindu assailant, and then marched south for the Dhankot Ferry and Multan, he would take the same road in reverse order.

One of two pitfalls history has prepared for the rapid writer has been referred to already—*viz.*, that in Mahmud's day (*d.* A.D. 1030), and before and after it, India extended westward beyond the Indus. Alexander, in 327 B.C., fixed the upper Kabul River (*mod.* Panjsher) as his dividing-line between lands conquered already and India.* In Mahmud's day it seems to have included Kabul town, which was in the territory of Raja Jai-pal, whose eastern territorial limits were Trans-Indus Lahor and Sirhind—the whole being in "India."

A second pitfall is made an easy one by the modern notion of the general and long-standing uses of the Khaibar Pass as a military road. Against this I find Ptolemy testifying (*McCrindle, p.* 141), when he writes of Bannu as lying "on the line of communication between Kabul

* Was Babur's "Hindustan the Less" ("B. in E.," p. 46) a fragment of ancient Cis-Indus India?

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and the Indus . . . distant from Lamghan a fifteen days' journey southwards" (*cf. Chingiz Khan and Timur Sections*).

Oriental history abundantly exemplifies the ancient fact that the highway to the Indus took off the Balkh-Kandahar trade road near the "divide" between Ghazni and the Logar Valley, and served, not Ghazni alone, but the wide region through which runs that "road without a pass" (*Babur*). Roads from all sides were commanded by the Fort of the Iri-ab; one of them goes on into the Kurram Valley to Kirman, near which it divides north-east for Kohat and Peshawar, south-east for Bannu and the Kala-bagh-Dhankot Ferry across into Hindustan.

An important factor in the long popularity of this ferry will have been that it is open all the year round, is safe, rapid, and easy, and is constant in its position (*Bannu* Settlement Report, 1879, S. S. Thorburn).

III. Sultan Muhammad Ghuri.

Nothing need be added here to what has been said of Sultan Mahmud's routes for the Indus except that Sultan Muhammad used to halt each year in Kirman on his *ghazi* journeys to and from India.

IV. Timucin, Chingiz Khan.

Chingiz Khan's routes are entered here, though he did not go through the Khaibar, or, in person, cross the Indus, because they are such as, if not clearly stated, might be mistaken to show that he did both.

He wintered in Bactria in A.D. 1221-1222 (A.H. 617-618), and in April of the latter year started reliefs by the Balkh-Kandahar road to various Khurasan garrisons. These reliefs were successively attacked and worsted on their way by troops from Ghazni, where Sultan Jalalu'd-din *Mankburni* of Khwarizm had assembled 130,000 horsemen, good soldiers, and keen to destroy infidel Mughul tribesmen. The defeats becoming known, stirred risings in subjected towns and murder of garrisons. Angered particularly by a reverse at Burwan (near the source of the Logar), in which a thousand of his men were killed, Chingiz Khan set his face for Ghazni, and led his whole army towards Burwan.

Meantime Jalal Sultan's power to oppose such strength had weakened through the desertion of his Ajamis (*Persians*) and his Ighraqis* (*Khilji Turks*), 20,000 of each, who had squabbled over the booty of Burwan, and deserted by night, no warning given. Prudence dictating, the Sultan hurried down for the Dhankot Ferry, hoping to put the Indus

* I hesitate to accept a courteous suggestion that "Iraqi" should here replace "Ighraqi" on the ground that the latter is archaic for the former; (1) because I have no assurance that these Ighraqis belonged to 'Irāq (Mesopotamia), and (2) because of several distinguished Oriental historians who write of the Jalalu'd-din-Chingiz Khan episode, each uses both 'Iraq and Ighraqi. *Cf.* E. and D. II., App. Note 2, p. 562, and Raverty's translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Index, p. 43, *s.n. ighrāq* (*cf.* Bib. Ind. Pers. Text also).

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between him and his pursuers. Boats had to be waited for; the Mughuls overtook and hemmed his force between the river and curved rank behind curved rank of foes, resting on the river. To penetrate these ranks or defeat them was impossible. Oriental historians describe as heroic the Musalman attempt to make a stand; it could have but one end. Friends led the Sultan's horse to his tents; he bade his family farewell, cast off his mail, called for his favourite horse, seized his royal umbrella, rode at and scattered a press of Mughuls, drew rein sharply to the left, came to where Indus rushed past thirty feet below, and leapt his horse down into it.

Chingiz Khan looked on, saw horse and man fight their way across to the desert—known thereafter as Chul-jalali—watched the Sultan off-saddle, spread housing, tunic, and arrows to dry, empty his scabbard of water, fix his umbrella on the head of a spear, and sit down in its shadow. It is recorded that Jalalu'd-din then vowed never again to risk that horse's life in battle—and that he kept the vow.* No pursuit was permitted.

The Khaqan is said to have declared to his own sons that such as was the Sultan should a man's sons be; and that to no other father than his had such a son been vouchsafed, nor ever would be. Moreover, he did the rare thing by restoring to his beaten foe, wife, family, and possessions, safe and unplundered.

He left the battlefield without delay—but after despatching a force to ruin Ghazni—and moved up the Bannu-Kohat road in pursuit of the Ighraqi who had helped to defeat his men at Burwan—vengeance being, perhaps, tinged with contempt for soldiers who, squabbling over booty, had deserted such a leader.

The Ighraqi had gone as far as Shinuzan, where a few turned off for their homes in Ningnahar; the rest went on into the Peshawar Plain, whither the Khaqan, following, annihilated them.

He himself went on up to Bajaur, and there destroyed the various forts successive armed visitors are recorded as having destroyed. Thence he sent an envoy to "Altamsh" in Dehli to announce his intention of going through Himalayan passes in order to shorten his return journey to Chin and Kashghar. Meantime he stayed near Chitral, a sojourn which may be the basis of a tradition about him mentioned in the "Imperial Gazetteer of India" concerning Chitral (*q.v.*). He left in the early spring of 1222, while snow still had to be cleared from his path, and went down to the Indus. No reply came from Dehli; affairs of Chin eased off; repeated divination gave no good omen for crossing the Indus; he decided to return as he came—*i.e.*, by Peshawar, Kohat Pass, Kurram Valley, the now devastated Ghazni, Burwan, Bamian, and (here turning east), took "Kabul passes" into Badakhshan, whence on to Lob, Tibbut (*Tangut*) and Kashghar.

* Elliot and Dowson's "History of India," II., 389, 543.

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V. Timur Beg.

Timur Beg will have known the route he took to the Indus before he resolved to make holy war in India, because he had already possessed himself of the country it traverses—Ghazni and Kabul.* He left Samarkand in March, 1398 (*Rajab*, 800 H.); on reaching Andar-ab was petitioned by Badakhshis to punish neighbouring Kafirs for oppression, left the direct road for Kabul at the Khawak Pass, rebuilt Khawak Fort, and spent eighteen days of adventure and hardship through snow in the roadless mountain-tangle of Kafiristan. He emerged by the Panjsher Pass, worn out by fatigue (*æt.* 62), went down to a camp in the Baran Plain, and whilst resting there had Baran water conveyed to near Kabul by a canal named the Mahi-giri (perhaps to supply a stocked fish-pond).

From the Baran Plain he moved to near Kabul, the seat of the Governor in his Cis-Indus territory—his grandson Pir-i-Muhammad. Here he received complaint from the Ghazni border that an Afghan adherent of his own, Malik Musa, had demolished the Fort of Iri-ab. This news angered him greatly because, as he said, the fort had the importance of safeguarding communications, and as standing at the head of the southern road to the Indus.† He sent an order for its immediate rebuilding, and remained near Kabul until assured of the completion of the work. He gave other administrative orders also—viz., that an officer, Amir Sulaiman, should go forward to the Fort of Naghr (*near the confluence of the Kurram and the Tochi*) to strengthen and repair it as a protection for Musalmans against the Parni Afghans.

On hearing that the Iri-ab Fort had been rebuilt, Timur marched up the Logar, and on August 18, 1398 (Zu'l-hijja 4, 800), inspected the place—not without risk, for he was shot at within its walls. On September 1 (Zu'l-hijja 18) he left it for Shinuzan and the Fort of Naghr; from the first place he sent off his baggage for Bannu (by way of Q : b : ch : ghai), and rode light and fast with some few thousand horsemen for the Fort of Naghr, where he found Amir Sulaiman's work finished. He then made a three days' detour up the Tochi to punish Parni Afghans who had looted a convoy on its way from the south for Kabul; returned, and left a garrison of 5,000 men with Amir Sulaiman in Naghr, left one also in Bannu, and rode on for the Indus. On September 20 (Muharram 8, 801) he was "at the very

* His route is fully described in the "Zafar-nama," thence translated by Pétis de la Croix, largely quoted in Price's "Retrospect," and by Elliot and Dowson's "History of India," vols. iii. and iv.

† The Iri-ab Fort (*var.* Hari-ob, etc.) was in Khost; it commanded roads from all sides. Timur's description of the Kurram Valley road as "the southern" one for the Indus suggests that the counterpart "northern road" was current in his day to distinguish the Balkh-Kunar-Hind Ferry road for Lahor.

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spot where Sultan Jalalu'd-din *Khwarizmi*, fleeing from Chingiz Khan, had swum the Indus. On September 24 he and his whole army crossed the river to Dhankot by a trestle-bridge.

* * * * * *

The *Khutba* was read in Timur's name in Dehli on December 17, 1398 (Rabi' II, 8, 801).

* * * * * *

He returned to Dhankot after five months and seventeen days (*Price*) spent east of the Indus, and on March 8, 1399 (*Rajab*, 801 H.), encamped on the Chul-jalali after a sixty-mile ride. On the following day he and his whole army recrossed the river by the same trestle-bridge which his Bannu and Naghr garrisons had kept in order. At midday he went to Bannu, left it on the 11th, and was in Naghr on the 12th. After delaying there to see a desirable spring of water enclosed within the fort walls he rode up the Kurram Valley, twice halting, passed the defile of Araumek to a place said to be within a nine-hour ride of Kabul, and did the distance.

From Kabul he hurried forward to inspect his Mahi-giri Canal, and thence passed by Shibertu and Ab-dara, Tirmiz and Kesh, to Samarkand.

VI. Babur Padshah.

Western advocates of the Khaibar-Attock theory of Indian invasion routes appear to take Babur Padshah as one of its main props. It is true, as they say, that even his mutilated book records several instances of his use of the Pass, and when uninjured may have contained others. But this is a commonplace result of the fact that for him the Khaibar was just a road—a bad and robber-infested road in his own territory. He used it on one of his five expeditions into Hind (*December* 6, 1525)—viz., on the fifth and last which he made with resolve to meet Sultan Ibrahim *Ludi* in battle.* The remaining and earlier four crossed the Indus by his usual Char-sadda ford, which they will have approached from Kabul by crossing the Kabul River near Mandrawar and taking the Kunar road. On this fifth occasion the river-crossing place was to Nil-ab (*in the duab of Indus and Haro*), and this though the season was one in which the ford was serviceable; some special reason for crossing by boat will have dictated the use of the Khaibar. Such a reason may well have been that the army was to be numbered and the men's names entered in a list; such work would be better effected as man after man was going into a ferry-boat than if they were riding or walking through a ford.

This suggestion brings me to the marked difference between Babur's position and that of the commanders of large armies with whom he is arbitrarily grouped—viz., that the others had tens of thousands of

* *Cf.* "Babur-nama in English," p. 478 *ff.*

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soldiers, while his was a modest—and in 1525 his maximum—force, good and bad, of 12,000 men.

A second marked difference is that Babur's military action, though taken willingly, as in accord with his own desire for rule in Hindustan, was invited, and his strength augmented by Trans-Indus co-operation. His 12,000 men were greatly outnumbered at Panipat; he could hardly have won there but for the stalwart reinforcement by Turks, who recognized him—the sole regnant Timurid—as their rightful suzerain; and, secondly, the help given by Afghans malcontent with Ludi government.

A third difference is that at Panipat he was not opposed by Indian Hindus, but by a family foreign to India, Muhammadan and with little rooting in the soil. This difference appears to me an interesting matter of consideration.

A fourth difference resides in Babur's personality and in his method of approach to his aim of refounding Timurid greatness. He had deep family devotion, and that Timur Beg's name had once been read in Dehli in the public prayer for the ruler of Hindustan fixed a goal towards which he moved, not tumultuously as loosing an overwhelming flood of men on the peoples, but with long, slow steps, one of the first of which took him to Kandahar, while later ones were planted in Bhira and thence spread south and east—all taken with an eye on political chances, with caution and weighing of facts perceived. Over and above what catches the eye in his diary, he had the statesman's quality and the scholar's patience with detail. It is worth while to make one's way to the fibrous roots of his character, a matter made the more difficult by the lamentable mutilation of his book.

VII. Nadir Shah.

In Nadir Shah we find the military monarch and leader of a horde estimated variously at 80,000 and 130,000 men, who, of the seven great invaders, chose the Khaibar-Attock route into India rather than the better ancient roads to the Hind or Dhankot Ferry. One cannot but surmise some odd reason why he did so. He suffered great anxieties in coming through the Pass (*he had started for Hind in March*, 1738), and great terror from thieves in returning through it with his Dehli loot (*he started from Dehli on April* 14, 1739). Akbar had made the Pass-road practicable for wheeled traffic (*query* bullock-carts); Nadir is said to have widened it so that forty horsemen could ride abreast through it, and so well to have cleared it that "nor stone, nor thorn" caused inconvenience. How long his amenities survived him the makers of the Pass railway may be able to reveal to a labouring historian.

None the less for his great army and his precaution, Nadir found

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the eastern gate of Khaibar closed by Kabul troops and kept closed against the advance of his long file of soldiers until he had sent for part of his rearguard, who turned the Pass (by the Mullagori road ?) and attacked the Kabul soldiers, who, taken front and rear, were cut to pieces. These various details of invasion through Khaibar do not recommend Nadir's choice of route.

Nadir is not the invader one cares to think of. He claimed ancient kinship with Timur in speaking to the decadent Muhammad Shah *Mīrānshahi* and he shared the Dehli palace. But there exists a story for which I have no better warrant than the vraisemblance which has given it currency. As is well known, Hindustan had no organized defence against the incursion of Nadir Shah. He came, collected his loot, and left, having replaced Muhammad Shah "on the degraded throne of Dehli." It was little to pay for being classed as a "great" invader. But he gave us this anecdote.

He was, as has been said, on friendly terms with Muhammad Shah. The latter went, on due occasion, to pay respects and convey gifts to his conqueror. The gifts should have numbered nine, by immemorial Turki usage. They were eight, and being so, attracted criticism perhaps from their recipient. The donor explained by, "I am the ninth."

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

CORRIGENDA IN PART I.

Page 251: Transpose misplaced dates of death of the Invaders' List—viz., No. IV. Timucin, Chingiz Khan, died 1227, and No. V. Timur Beg, died 1405.
Page 256, *line* 9 *from foot: Read* Perdiccas *for* Perdiceas.
Page 258, *line* 5 *from foot: Separate* could not.

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THE HADENDOWA TRIBE OF THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

"In a maze of mental obfuscation this Bœotian tribe seems to imagine itself (as far as we can follow such mentality) a race wholly independent of Turk, Egyptian, and British rule alike."—ABEL CHAPMAN.

"The Hadendowa are an extremely bad tribe."—SIR SAMUEL BAKER.

THE above opinions of such trained observers as Mr. Abel Chapman and Sir Samuel Baker are entitled to respect, and it is difficult even with a closer acquaintance of the Hadendowa than either of these travellers possessed not to agree in some measure with their sentiments. It is in fact only too painfully true that the Hadendawi does, on first acquaintance, make a thoroughly bad impression, and the epithet Bœotian churl summarizes most of his qualities then apparent. He does, however, improve to some extent as one gets more in touch with his life and history and, whilst it would be too much to say that in his case "tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner," a closer acquaintance explains much that is unpleasant in his manners and makes one hopeful of latent possibilities. For many years, thanks to Mr. Kipling, his fame as the redoubtable Fuzzy Wuzzy was widespread, but apart from his fighting qualities little is known of him or his tribe in England. It is true that Professor Seligman published an article in the *Anthropological Journal* on the Hamitic problem in the Sudan,* but this is rather for specialized than popular reading. It may therefore be of interest to readers of the CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNAL to know more of the tribe and to learn how they have fared since the reoccupation of the Sudan.

Geographically it is located in an area bounded roughly on the north by the Port Sudan–Atbara Railway (though a few sections are to the north of this), on the east by the Eritrean frontier, on the south by the Atbara River, and on the west by the 35° 30″ degree of longitude. The country is one of hills to the north, grassy rolling plains in the centre, dotted here and there by isolated mountains of a dome-like shape, and towards Kassala town itself is situated the fertile Gash Delta with its rich vegetation, its wells, and good grazing. Nowhere can water be said to be very scarce, unless in exceptionally bad years, and the many khors which traverse the country, running both east and west from the watershed, provide wells with water at no great depth. This accounts for the fact that the Hadendowa as a tribe are not really

* Vol. 43, 1913.

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very nomadic, for in normal years water and grazing are adequate and it is unnecessary to move from place to place in search of either. For this reason also, as we shall see, the tribal organization is exceedingly loose, each little family group staying near its own well; and the different kinds of country, varying from hill to plain, have produced a variety of types within the tribe, some approximating to the almost sedentary Arabs round Kassala, others who live in the mountains being still as wild as hawks.

In climate the Hadendowa country is also varied, the Red Sea hills in the winter affording a climate not unlike that of England, with mists and a cold north wind, the southern half being more tropical. Administratively about one-third of the tribe is found in the Red Sea Province and two-thirds in Kassala. Until the construction of the Kassala Railway this administrative split militated against a uniform administration over the whole tribe, but communications are now rapid from north to south and many of the old difficulties are passing.

If a Hadendowa Sheikh is asked the origin of his tribe he will probably reply that he does not know, but if he is one of the better educated he will say "from the Abbasiyin."* Very little is known indeed, of their origins, but the claim to a noble Arabian ancestry can be considered more a pious hope than an historical fact. Professor Seligman gives as his opinion that the Hadendowa, with the other Hamitic or Beja tribes, are essentially similar to pre-dynastic Egyptians, and that the rise in head breadth is probably due to the influence of some round-headed race, a fact which may also account for their greater stature. He suggests also that these modifications may be due in part to negro (nilotic) influence. We will not, however, waste time discussing a problem on which even the experts are not agreed, but it is important to stress the point that the Hadendowa are Hamitic and not Semitic, a fact which accounts for the difference in temperament and characteristics between them and the other largely Semitic tribes of the Northern Sudan. In appearance they are at once distinguishable from the Semitic Arabs by their "hay-rick head of hair," and from the other Hamitic tribes by a larger physique and more truculent bearing. The origin of the custom of wearing their hair like gollywogs is buried in antiquity. If pressed for a reason they will tell you that this coiffure acts as a head protection against the sun, and also that the mutton fat with which it is dressed percolates into the skull and makes the eyesight keen. The first reason is by no means fantastic, for apart from the big tuft on the head the little plaits hanging over the nape of the neck do literally afford considerable protection. It should be noted, however,

* It is said that the Hadendowa are descended from one Hadat, whose grave on the bank of the Khor Amet is still recognized. Her husband was one Muhammad Barakwin, from the other side of the Red Sea, and a descendant of Abbas, Muhammad's uncle.

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that the tiffa," as this is called, is generally discarded in middle age or when a youngish man attains the position of Sheikh.

So much for appearance. In temperament they are sullen and suspicious. This suspicion is most noticeable when touring amongst them, and is due largely to a keen desire to be left alone and the fear that one's arrival has something to do with the payment of taxes. For this latter reason the Hadendawi is extremely unwilling for one to see his flocks, and the memory of past Governments does not encourage him to appear more wealthy than necessary. This taxpayer relationship which is inevitable with Government officials has militated against a more cordial feeling, but the tribe is gradually realizing that tax payment is only an unpleasant necessity and that the Government can and will provide certain benefits in return.

Another difficulty to a closer contact is the fact that the tribal language is ToBedawi and not Arabic. This language is spoken by about half of the Hamitic tribes, whilst others like the Beni Amer speak another, called Tigre or Khasa. As, however, the tribes are gradually establishing closer relation with traders and Government, a large number can now talk Arabic sufficiently well to maintain a simple conversation. Many more talk and understand Arabic than is at first apparent, as their suspicious temperament encourages them to pretend they do not understand when spoken to, and even now it can be said that unless they want something very badly, they will prefer to talk through an Arabic-ToBedawi speaking interpreter instead of direct.

On the other hand, should they come to market with animals to sell, it is remarkable how much Arabic they can produce if by lengthy bargaining in that tongue they can get a slightly higher price. These same tribesmen, if called as witnesses in a case or any other Government work, will look blankly and answer all questions in ToBedawi "Iktein Kiki," "I don't know." Their everyday life is bound up with the care of their animals, and it is the greatest mistake to think that the native of Africa leads a lazy existence. On the contrary, the herding and provision of water and grazing for large flocks necessitate constant activity and labour, and a visit to a well-centre soon disabuses one of any misconceptions on this point. There will be found early in the morning the men of the tribe diligently drawing water, chanting the while, and it takes many hours' hard work to fill the large basins from which the animals drink. By ten o'clock these well-centres are an animated scene, swarms of women and children arriving on donkeys with water-skins to fill, and by noon the area is covered with herds of camels, cows, and sheep watering. It is truly a grand sight—the thirsty cattle swarming round the troughs in the middle of which stands a herdsman controlling the animals with shouts and blows, whilst another draws water to a chant to keep the troughs filled. These chants are of interest and go somewhat as follows: "Come and drink, my

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dear ones; Oh, yellow cows, are you thirsty?—here is good cool water; O Mohammed, O Prophet of God," and so on, till by two o'clock all the animals have watered and are resting under the shady trees near by. About four o'clock the return to the pasturage takes place, the animals being slowly driven off, whilst women and children mount their donkeys and return heavily laden with water to their encampments, leaving some of their men-folk behind to start filling the troughs for the morrow. At eventide the animals, except possibly the camels, are driven into enclosures adjoining the encampments where they are safe from the depredations of hyenas. On the return to the huts the women and children off-load their water, the children start to play about or adjourn to the local fiki or teacher, where they intone the Koran in a sing-song voice, and the women prepare the evening meal and exchange gossip collected at the well. The Hadendowa housewives, whilst bearing a considerable burden of work, exercise a great influence in tribal affairs, and their shrill voices at night, haranguing their swains, recall to mind Kim's Lama friend with his prophecy that the husbands of the talkative will have a great reward hereafter.

It will be seen, therefore, that this pastoral life is arduous, and all the work has to be done by the herd-owner himself and his family. This fact is of considerable importance administratively, as it means that about ninety per cent. of the tribe are bound closely to their animals, an arrangement which tends to keep them out of mischief. It is the remaining ten per cent., consisting mainly of youths without animal property and professional brigands, who cause all the trouble, and it is one of the Government's aims to find for these occupations, animal theft being the greatest curse of the district. Except for this and occasional intersectional fights in which a few persons get wounded, the tribesmen are not really lawless, and the reputation for fanaticism they have acquired is due largely to the memory of their fighting qualities in the old days. In fact, it can, I think, be fairly said that they are definitely less susceptible to fanaticism than the Baggara Arabs of Kordofan and Darfur. As well as their pastoral interests, the tribesmen cultivate during the rainy season considerable areas of durra (millet sorghum), and in the Gash Delta had evolved a simple but effective scheme of basin irrigation. It is this area which has been taken over as a cotton field, and the Fuzzy is now turning his attention in that direction. The tribe, therefore, has for the future the prospect of a nicely balanced pastoral and agricultural life, and if this balance can be maintained, a very healthy development can be hoped for, as the two interests can be made complementary and not antagonistic. It is this state of affairs which the Government is now trying to bring about, and there are grounds for some optimism as to the result.

Such is the life of the tribe to-day, and before finishing it may be of interest to note briefly its history for the last few centuries down to the present.

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All local pundits agree that the first records start with a certain Wail Ali and forty ruffians who lived in a mountain in the Sinkat direction. They appear to have been doughty fighters, and by raids and inter-marriage gradually established a wide sphere of influence. This leader Wail Ali is the founder of the Wailaliab section from which the Nazir or leading Sheikh is invariably chosen.* They claim never to have been subdued by the Fung Kings (*circa* A.D. 1750), but were eventually brought into some sort of control by the old Egyptian–Turkish Government which dealt with them spasmodically but ruthlessly. On the other hand, they were never more than temporarily cowed, and nothing in the shape of close administration was ever attempted. For purposes of taxes the tribe was divided into five divisions, each under an Omda Khut, and were assessed at 22,000 riyals each—viz., £E11,000 per annum for the whole tribe. When this was not forthcoming a posse of Bashi-Bazuks was quartered on the Ferik or village of the Omda and the tax forcibly extracted. The appointment of Omda, strange as it may seem at first, was one sought after, for the simple reason that it afforded ample opportunities for the holder of the post to extract large sums for himself whilst backed by troops. These and other appointments were very often made from Egypt itself, and the most notorious case was that of Nazir Musa Ibrahim, who, having been forced to flee the country for ambushing a party of soldiers, was able after a lapse of years to get himself reinstated by bribing the authorities in Cairo. It may, therefore, be imagined that very much more than the actual tribute paid into the Government chest was extracted from the reluctant tribesmen, and some Sheikhs still alive say that about three times the proper amount was taken in one way and another. There was little justice, and the Egyptian Government did practically nothing to provide public security outside the towns, intertribal fights being left unpunished, and the profession of robber was the only one open to an enterprising man. Such being the state of the administration, it was not surprising that the Hadendowa were some of the first to revolt in sympathy with the Mahdi under the leadership of the redoubtable Osman Digna. The immediate cause of the revolt appears to have been a supposed breach of agreement by the Government over a camel contract, and in General Gordon's despatch No. 117 from Assuan, dated February 1, 1884, the following paragraph appears :†

"As for the Hadendowa revolt, it would appear to have been caused by the robbery of Reshid Pasha and Ibrahim Bey. These officials engaged to pay this tribe seven dollars per camel to transport the Egyptian troops to Berber. Instead of paying them the sum promised, they, however, only paid them at the rate of one dollar per camel. The loss to the tribe was considerable, for at least 10,000 troops marched over the road."

* The present Nazir is fifth in direct descent from Wail Ali.

† This story is confirmed by the present Nazir, Sheikh Ibrahim Musa.

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These troops, it is interesting to note, were the reinforcements for ill-fated Hicks Pasha's Expedition.

This revolt was of great importance, as it completely closed the Berber–Suakin road and was a vital factor in the subsequent disasters to the Egyptian Government. By the end of 1885 only the coast round Suakin remained in the Government's possession, and for the next few years the Hadendowa, under Osman Digna, kept the Government forces closely invested there. During these early operations the Hadendowa displayed the most remarkable tenacity and an absolute fearlessness, and the names of El Teb and Macneil's Zariba are still remembered to their credit. However, years of famine and the extortions of the Baggara Dervishes sent from Khartoum to garrison Kassala and to strengthen Osman Digna's hand gradually lessened their ardour, and many tribesmen escaped from the Dervish army and took to the hills. Tokar was recaptured by Government troops in 1891, and Kassala was occupied by the Italians in 1894. Osman Digna withdrew to Adarama, taking a certain number of the reluctant Hadendowa Sheikhs with him, but by this time the tribe as a whole had had enough and as an active danger had ceased to exist. Thousands had been killed and many more died of famine; their flocks and herds had been almost completely destroyed and the tribal units scattered. Kassala was taken over by the Anglo-Egyptian Government in 1898, and since that date to the present day the task of the Sudan Government has been to pull the tribe together again and repair the havoc of the years of rebellion. This has been no easy task, as in the first place the damage was so great as to be almost irreparable, whilst the characteristics of the tribesmen made close contact difficult and administrative exigencies necessitated the division of the tribe between two provinces. All these factors have made for very slow progress, but the great benefit which the Sudan Government has been able to give them has been "the King's peace over all," and natural increase under peaceable conditions has replaced in some measure the loss of their wealth. Their numbers have increased, although slowly, and they are now fairly wealthy in animals. For taxes they are assessed at a tribute of some £E5,000, and except for certain sections this can be and is paid without great trouble.

The greatest difficulty, however, has been the reorganization of the tribe and its sub-sections under the rightful Sheikhs, and the tribesmen in their proper family groups. As has been seen, during the Mahdia the tribal organization was completely shattered, and even down to the present there are still sections who have not yet found their proper niche in the tribal pattern. Until this has been attained and the whole framework has settled down, the machinery for carrying out the normal administration of the tribe works but creakingly, as it is only through a properly working organization that the tribute can be properly appor-

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tioned and promptly paid, that offenders against public security can be brought to book, and a sense of leadership instilled into the Sheikhs. Progress is, however, being made on these lines, and since the war the Sudan Government has had more staff and time to devote to this problem. In fact, the danger now is that the progress may be too fast, as the construction of Kassala Railway and the intensive development of the Gash Delta as a cotton field has created certain problems which the tribe was not quite ready to face. These are, however, in course of solution, and whilst the railway has provided rapid communication and markets for their animals, the attraction of agricultural profits is tending to draw the tribesmen down from the hills with considerable educative effect. In addition to this development, the railway has afforded an opportunity for the economic exploitation of the dom-palm nut,* which is to be found in large quantities in their country, the collection and marketing of which provide a profitable occupation in keeping with the natural course of their lives. The Fuzzy is learning rapidly that by coming into line and bringing what he can to market, he can provide himself and his family with little luxuries, such as sugar, rice, and tea, never dreamed of before, and he is showing considerable initiative in taking of the advantage of the opportunity now opened to him.

Politically, therefore, the barometer may be regarded as set fair for the Hadendowa, and the peace and security which the Sudan Government has been able to give them for the past twenty-five years is now beginning to bear fruit.

To many of their District Commissioners they have been the cause of much depression mingled at times with despair, so little has been their response in the past to efforts made on their behalf. That these efforts have not been in vain the stirring now apparent is the answer.

* "Vegetable ivory," from which buttons are made.

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REVIEWS

THE CHRONICLES OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TRADE WITH CHINA. Four volumes. By H. B. Morse. Oxford University Press. £3 10s.

The origin of the Honourable East India Company is described by Mr. Morse in a few terse sentences in the introductory chapter of his book :

"In 1596 a company, with Sir Robert Dudley at its head, sent out three ships [to China], taking a letter from the Queen [Elizabeth] to the Emperor; the ships were never again heard from; and as there is no record of tribute having been received from England during the reign of Wanli (1573-1620), they must have been wrecked on the outward journey. On the last day of the century, December 31, 1600, letters patent were issued by Elizabeth incorporating a company under the title of 'The Governor and Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies,' and granting to it a monopoly for fifteen years of trading between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan. The monopoly was made perpetual by a charter of James I. issued in 1609, was strengthened by another of the Lord Protector Cromwell in 1657, and again by another of Charles II. in 1661. In 1698, under the sanction of an Act of Parliament, the Government of William III. chartered a rival company—'The English Company Trading to the East Indies.' In 1702 it was agreed to amalgamate the old and the new Companies, and the amalgamation was carried into effect in 1709."

After the amalgamation the official title of the new Company was the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, but this was shortened in practice to "The Honourable East India Company," or simply "The Company."

Though the trading monopoly thus granted by successive charters only finally came to an end in 1834, the Company during the whole of its existence never succeeded in opening up a trade at any other port in China except Canton. Mr. Morse has searched the old Canton records, now stored at the India Office, and has methodically transcribed everything that could interest a student of Chinese affairs. Every fact of economic or historic value has been carefully extracted and set forth dispassionately, though necessarily somewhat disconnectedly, in these four volumes.

This method of writing history makes excellent browsing, but not very easy reading. Its value, however, is immense, for the student will find ready to hand in convenient form a mass of material unspoiled by any attempt to throw it into shape or make it fit into any preconceived thesis of the author. The conclusions that take shape in the reader's mind are the natural result of the facts themselves and not of any conscious artistry of the author; and the student is likely to find that the mere bare record of a series of disconnected facts can be more overwhelming than the most skilful of arguments.

The burning questions of the present day all have their roots in the past, and every problem which we are studying to-day—from the obscure origins of extraterritoriality to the sordid history of the unsecured debt—is illuminated by the flood of light which Mr. Morse's patient labours have thrown on the events of 200 years ago. Prior to 1700 the Chronicles merely consist of scanty records of isolated attempts to force a way past the jealous and obstructive Portuguese, who held the gateway at Macao, into some share in the trade with China. "The English had now, at the opening of the eighteenth century, thrust their

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feet over the threshold of the China trade, but had not yet obtained a seat at the table." These early adventures were mostly made at Amoy or Chusan, but from about 1710 onwards the Company gained a regular footing at Canton, to which port for the next 130 years the Chinese succeeded in rigorously confining the whole foreign trade. On the English side this trade was conducted by that once important, but now extinct, person, the supercargo.

Two hundred years ago a trading ship went exploring to new countries. Each voyage was an odyssey, full of romance and high adventure. The supercargo must not only have the commercial skill to dispose of the "stock" and make a good return "investment," he must also have diplomatic abilities of no mean order, for he might have to deal with kings and princes, with admirals and generals, with emperor's merchants or great mandarin's merchants (monopolists, that is to say, with influential backing) as well as with common traders. In the early years the Company had no permanent establishment at Canton; each voyage was a separate venture, the supercargo went out and returned with the ship, and we even find "supercargoes of five English ships (all Company's ships) scrambling for a cargo, competing with each other and sending prices up, concealing their transactions, and all working to get the earliest despatch for their own ships." Something of the sort occasionally occurred even after 1716, when the Company ordered that the supercargoes on arrival in Canton should form a council, consult together, and act in all matters jointly for the general interests of the Company. It was not till 1731 that one of the supercargoes for the first time stopped over between seasons in Canton. In 1779 the affairs of the Company were placed under the control of the Select Committee, consisting of a President and a varying number of senior supercargoes. This plan was made permanent in 1786, and the Select Committee was only finally dissolved when the monopoly of the East India Company came to an end in 1834.

These early supercargoes and presidents of committee were men of character, but they were handicapped by having to fill the dual rôle of merchant and diplomatist, and they were still further handicapped by being under the necessity of taking their orders from a Court of Directors in England, whose sole objective was the profit to be derived from the trade with China.

In the early years the supercargoes successfully asserted the personal superiority of the Englishman over the Asiatic; they were received on terms of equality by the highest officials in Canton, to whom they presented annually before commencing the trade of the year lists of demands which bear a strange embryonic resemblance to the stipulations of the unequal treaties of to-day. It is by no means pleasant, however, to note how, as time went on and the trade became more valuable, the English in Canton gradually sank from their high estate and submitted to every species of humiliation rather than risk losing the profits of this lucrative trade. It is easy to see now that the conduct of the relations between England and China and the protection of British interests in China should not have been entrusted to the merchants themselves.

Apart from the fact that much technical knowledge and special experience is required for the successful conduct of relations with the Chinese, it was not fair to the supercargoes of those days to expect them to fill the dual rôle of merchant and official as well. It requires no great insight to see that as soon as a regular intercourse had been established special officers should have been appointed with full powers over King's ships, Company's ships, country ships, and all British nationals in China. For a hundred odd years the supercargoes blundered along, complaining to the Court at home and to the Chinese officials in Canton that they were only Company's servants and had no authority over

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King's ships or country ships; but nothing was done, and every mistake that should have been avoided was committed. The supercargoes occasionally blustered and threatened when they were in the wrong, but more often—in fact, generally—they tamely submitted to every species of wrong and humiliation in the mistaken belief that this was the best way to preserve the trade that had grown so valuable. Naturally their treatment grew worse and worse until war provided the only means of escape from an intolerable position. This lesson, when to use force and when to be patient and conciliatory, is one which we are still painfully learning to-day, and we must not therefore be too hard upon the Court of Directors and their much harassed agents in Canton. It is possible, however, to lay down the simple rule that in dealing with Chinese, however tortuous their conduct may be, the Englishman must be absolutely straight and above-board; he must never make any demand that is not just and honourable, and he must be prepared to back any such demand by force, but only in the last resort; and, however great the apparent odds may be, he must always be ready to resist by force the wrongs and humiliations which the Chinese in their ignorance and arrogance are ever ready to inflict upon him. The failure of the supercargoes to act upon these principles may be illustrated by two notable instances which have their bearing upon the problems of to-day.

The first is the famous case of the *Lady Hughes* in 1784. The facts are well known to all students of Chinese history, though Mr. Morse's chronicle brings out some poignant details not hitherto available to the historian. The *Lady Hughes*, a country ship from Bombay, fired a salute, as was customary, on arrival at Whampoa, and, unfortunately, a Chinese chop-boat (licensed lighter), lying alongside apparently without the knowledge of the gunner, was damaged by the discharge and two Chinese on board her were killed. Only four years previously a Frenchman who had killed a Portuguese, under circumstances which amounted at the most to manslaughter, had been decoyed out of the factory under the pretence that an examination was necessary, and had been immediately publicly strangled without any form of trial whatever. It was not therefore surprising that the unfortunate gunner, though entirely blameless, should have absconded and concealed himself. At first all went well: the accident happened on November 24. By eleven p.m. on the 26th the Chinese had given an assurance that the examination of the gunner would be conducted in the factory by the District Magistrate "accompanied only by his ordinary retinue, without soldiers, and that no force whatever should be used." Next morning, however, the committee learned, to their dismay, that Mr. Smith, the supercargo of the *Lady Hughes*, had been "decoyed from his factory by a pretended message from Puankhequa, seized and conveyed into the city under a guard of soldiers with drawn swords." Encouraged by their success in thus securing a hostage, the Chinese immediately stiffened their attitude. Communication between Canton and Whampoa was cut off, the factories were beset with soldiers, and the avenues leading to the quay were barricaded. "The French, Dutch, Danish, and Americans rallied to the support of the English" (this was in the eighteenth century, not the twentieth), and the pinnaces of all the ships at Whampoa were sent up to Canton manned and armed. The boats were fired at on their way up, but pushed through without returning the fire. Late that evening (the 27th) the supercargoes "met a petty mandarin strolling along the quay, and he gave them a copy of a mandate of the Viceroy addressed to themselves." This mandate was filled with dire threats of what the Viceroy would do with his "troops with musquets and artillery" if the supercargoes "dared in our country to disobey and infringe the laws." The courage both of Mr. Smith (still in custody) and of the English Council now rapidly oozed away, and, in response to

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their commands, the captain of the *Lady Hughes* sent the unfortunate gunner to Canton with the following letter:

"I now send this chit by the poor gunner; I hope you will leave a maintenance if he is detained; pray, dear Smith, take care of the old man, you had better leave something with Munqua for the old man's maintenance, I hope the Chinese will not do harm to the poor old man as it was only a misfortune."

Nothing more is heard of the proposal that the trial should take place in the factory. The Council feared that "the safety of all the English may be endangered by a refusal," and the gunner was accordingly handed over to the tender mercies of the Chinese with no greater protection than a plea for clemency. The accident occurred on November 24, the gunner was surrendered on November 30, the embargo on trade was removed on December 6, and the gunner was strangled on January 8 without, so far as is known, any form of trial whatever. Had the protection of British interests in Canton been entrusted to duly appointed officials backed by the armed forces of the Crown instead of being placed in the hands of merchants with inadequate powers and a dual rôle to fill, this humiliating tragedy could never have taken place. The case of the *Lady Hughes* is worth studying also as one of a long sequence of homicide cases which show that extraterritoriality was never imposed upon the Chinese as one of the articles of an unequal treaty, but grew naturally out of their own doctrine of responsibility behind the shelter of which they consistently shirked the duty of governing, and administering justice to, the strangers within their gates.

The second case we shall quote of a tame submission to gross and humiliating injustice is that of Mr. Flint. James Flint, who, from the fleeting glimpses that we get of him in these Chronicles, appears to have been a man of the authentic breed of Warren Hastings and Raffles, in 1736 was a young lad who had been left in China to learn the language. We hear of him later as being appointed linguist and acting as interpreter. In 1759 he was sent to Ningpo to put into execution a plan which he himself had pressed upon the Company—namely, to endeavour to open up a trade at that port and thus break through the irritating restriction which strictly confined all foreign trade to Canton. He found, however, that the Viceroy of the place, who had previously been at Canton, had received large bribes from the Hong merchants to exert every influence which he possessed in excluding Europeans from the other ports of the Empire. Finding himself completely baffled at Ningpo, "Mr. Flint, with that decision which formed a striking part of his character, immediately proceeded to Tientsin" and succeeded in getting conveyed to the Court of Peking a memorial setting forth the intolerable grievances and humiliations which the British at Canton suffered at the hands of the Hoppo. The results were certainly surprising. The Peking Government sent Mr. Flint back to Canton in the suite of an Imperial High Commissioner, with whom he established the friendliest relations, actually residing as his guest for a fortnight in Canton city, a privilege quite unprecedented both then and long afterwards. The Hoppo was suspended, and later found guilty by a commission of high officials specially constituted to enquire into his crimes. Various exactions on trade were abolished, and the barometer seemed set fair. The Canton officials, however, came to the conclusion that it would be far too dangerous to allow foreigners to make direct representations to the Throne; and they secretly determined to make an example of Mr. Flint. The Viceroy desired to see Mr. Flint, and he attended the Yamen accompanied by the members of the Select Committee.

After they had been thrown to the ground in an attempt by the attendants to force them to perform the kowtow, the Viceroy "gave orders to Mr. Flint to advance to him. He pointed to an order which he said was the Emperor's edict

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for his banishment to Macao for three years, and then to return to England, never more to come to China." Mr. Flint was imprisoned at a village near Macao "locked up in rooms with bars like a cage," and all communication with his fellow-countrymen was forbidden. After three years of solitary imprisonment he was at length released and allowed to return to England, where no doubt he died of a broken heart like so many gallant comrades of the Lost Legion who spent themselves—but not in vain—in the service of the British Empire. After the visit to the Viceroy's Yamen "the French, Swedes, Danes, and Dutch met at our factory when we agreed one and all to tell the Hong merchants, who were then present, that we protested against the proceedings of the Viceroy." But this, as the Select Committee of 1831, seventy years latter, bitterly remark, "was mere declamation employed to the Hong merchants, who seem to have been aware that any degradation would be submitted to for the preservation of trade."

In circumstances such as these there is only one argument that will prevail with the Chinese—the argument of force, and there is little doubt that even the small amount of force at the disposal of the Select Committee would have sufficed for the purpose. The failure of the supercargoes adequately to defend their own and the national honour, and their willingness to submit to any degradation for the preservation of trade, accounts for the unsatisfactory and humiliating conditions under which that trade was so long with difficulty carried on. The story of Flint should not be forgotten, partly because his memory should be honoured by all Englishmen in China, and partly because the sordid sequel to his high adventure marks the parting of the ways. The course we embarked on then was only finally closed with the war of 1840, eighty years later.

Another topic of absorbing interest which there is only space to touch on very briefly is that of opium. An enemy would find ample justification in these chronicles for the charge of hypocrisy so frequently levelled against the English. The Company grew the opium in India, sent vast quantities to China, and relied on the proceeds of the sale of opium to finance their trade, but not an ounce of opium was ever carried on a Company's ship, and the Company's agents in China never had dealt in the drug. On one occasion, however, in 1782, Mr. Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of India, "initiated a commercial transaction which created some degree of embarrassment for the China Council." He shipped some 3,000 chests of opium to China on the sloop *Betsy* and on "Lieut.-Colonel Henry Watson's private ship of war, *Nonsuch*," and the good supercargoes were put to considerable straits to maintain their virtuous aloofness from all dealings in the drugs. We must not, however, judge those days by the moral standards of the present, and, in any case, should any American missionary read these lines it will be as well to state that the Chronicles show that the most eager competitors with the British were the Americans, who turned many an honest penny by importing Turkish opium from Smyrna. The present reviewer is firmly convinced that opium in China is an unmitigated curse, and that the trade has wrought as much harm to those who shipped it to China as to the besotted people who clamoured for it. It is therefore a curious reflection that opium was probably the chief instrument by which China was opened to foreign trade. For 200 years ignorant and corrupt officials succeeded in rigorously confining the whole foreign trade to Canton, and they were able to do this and to dictate their own terms as to the way in which the trade was to be carried on, because Europe supplied nothing which the Chinese wanted. The Company's ships trading to Canton brought out a "stock," of which 98 per cent. was silver and 2 per cent. woollens, and the woollens were only brought and sold at a loss

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to reluctant Hong merchants because the law compelled English ships to carry a proportion of English manufactures. So impossible was it for ships to find a cargo that they regularly carried to Canton as ballast hundreds of tons of flints which were sold at Tls. 1.50 to Tls. 2.00 per picael! (Is this why Celtic flint implements are so rarely found by English antiquarians?) But when towards the end of the eighteenth century opium began to find its way in large quantities to China the opium ships congregated at Lintin, and thence, with the connivance of the Chinese officials, conducted a roaring contraband trade, not only in Canton but all up and down the China coast. The foreign ships which were formerly vigorously excluded now found an eager welcome, and the modern trade with China began.

The connection between the Cohong and the Tariff Conference now sitting in Peking at first sight seems somewhat remote, but the connecting link is to be found in the question of debts. It may well turn out that the most valuable service Mr. Morse's book has performed is the light which it has thrown on the way this question of debts was handled in the eighteenth century, for it seems that in the usual course of human nature the mistakes and follies of 150 years ago are about to be repeated in Peking to-day.

Monopolies are dear to the Chinese mind, and the supercargoes had great difficulty in staving off the establishment of a Cohong, or merchant guild, to engross the foreign trade. The danger hung over them like a nightmare during the whole of the eighteenth century, and it was their well-founded fear of what actually did happen that made them reluctant to champion the cause of the speculative moneylender. This gentleman makes his first appearance in the Chronicles in 1716, when "many of the Europeans and others left their money behind at interest rather than risk it at sea." Sixty years later, in 1777, "the Presidency of Madras wrote asking the good offices of the Council in collecting certain sums of money due from sundry China merchants to Mr. George Stratton." The Council shied off, but in 1779 the Court of Directors in London, having received a memorial from several persons with regard to debts due from Chinese amounting to nearly one million sterling, directed the Select Committee —now in charge of the Company's affairs in Canton—"to lend their aid and exert their utmost influence to obtain satisfaction for all the just demands of British subjects in China." None of these debts were due to the Company, who monopolized the whole trade between England and China, but who conducted their business on sound lines. The debts were owing to private merchants, and mostly to people who "made a trade of taking up money at low interest from the different Settlements in India and placing it in the hands of the Chinese at a high interest." Two of the debts of which Mr. Morse gives details are calculated to excite the envy even of Mr. Nishihara himself:

	Interest. $	Principal. $
To Mr. George Smith		103,681
Interest at 20 per cent. for nine years ...	180,694	
Paid	131,925	
		48,769
Amount of claim in 1779		152,450
To Messrs. Hutton and Gordon		24,569
Interest at 20 per cent. for nine years ...	41,594	
Paid	38,323	
		3,271
Amount of claim in 1779		27,840

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The debts due to Mr. George Smith amounted to $789,379 and to Messrs. Hutton and Gordon $1,776,638, while the total of all debts was $4,347,300. While the Select Committee were struggling to unravel the whole sordid tangle the Royal Navy—of all people!—decided to take a hand in the game. "Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Vernon had received a memorial from the creditors at Madras, and conceived it to be his duty to take steps to enforce their claims and secure them justice. He thereupon dispatched the frigate *Sea Horse*, Captain John Alexander Panton, to Canton with 'addresses' which the captain was positively instructed to deliver in person to the Viceroy and Hoppo." The Select Committee protested in vain. The debts, they pointed out, arose from "accumulating interest, bribing the Mandareens, and probably their own extravagance." The merchants had not the assets to answer the demands, and the only result of official Chinese intervention would be the establishment of the Cohong, against which the supercargoes had struggled for so many years: "The most likely way of raising the money will be to form a company of merchants at Canton, who alone will be suffered to trade with Europeans; and who by exacting what prices they please may be enabled to fund annually so much as will in time liquidate the sums ordered to be paid. Should this be the case the East India Company, by means of Captain Panton's representation, will be obliged to pay the debts of private people, many of whom have remained here against the repeated remonstrances of the Honourable Court of Directors, and this we conceive will probably be done by changing the present mode of trade to a pernicious monopoly." Captain Panton, gallant sailor that he was, "was not to be dissuaded from his purpose." He duly delivered his letters, and the result answered exactly the Committee's gloomiest anticipations. "The Cohong was firmly established with all its privileges, and was made the instrument for extracting a great revenue from the foreign trade, for the benefit primarily of the Hoppo, and, indirectly through him, of the Canton officials and the Court of Peking." The moneylenders were paid at the expense of fresh burdens laid on legitimate trade, and the shackles of the "pernicious monopoly" then established were only finally shaken off by the war of 1840. The parallel with the events preoccupying the attention of the Tariff Conference of 1925-26 is very close, but the present reviewer will refrain from dotting the *i*'s and crossing the *t*'s except to ask why it is that the speculative moneylender, instead of being treated as the bane and the incubus that he really is, should be able to swing so much influence that every legitimate interest—150 years ago as much as to-day—is sacrificed in order to secure for him his pound of flesh.

There are many other topics of absorbing interest which this review, if it is to remain within reasonable limits, can hardly mention: the glimpses of a China seething with rebellion and piracy even in the palmiest days of the Manchu Dynasty; the troubles of Mr. Catchpoole, the first Consul-General in China, the authenticity of whose commission as Consul-General was doubted by a certain Captain Roberts, who declared that "he could not be a Consul, since he would not protect anybody from the natives" (Foreign Office please note); the first germs of extraterritorial jurisdiction; the French missionaries and their friendly relations with the Company; the work of Dr. Morrison, the first of a long line of distinguished British missionaries; the baneful influence of clocks and toys on Sino-British relations—for all these and many other matters of absorbing interest the reader must browse for himself in Mr. Morse's fascinating pages.

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THE INDIA OFFICE. By Sir Malcolm C. C. Seton, K.C.B. Messrs. G. P. Putnam, London. 7s. 6d.

The desire to "see wheels go round" is a childish instinct that deserves every encouragement as a preparation for the time when the grown man may himself have wheels to control. It is all to the good, therefore, that a number of distinguished servants of the State have combined to enlighten the members of a democracy, that is yearly growing more democratic, as to the character of the machinery by which it governs itself and its dependencies; and the appearance of a series of monographs dealing with the inner working of the great offices of government is to be welcomed. The writers are masters of their subjects; they write as highly competent operators themselves, and they know by intuition exactly how far it is right and proper to admit the public to the *arcana imperii*.

There is a difficulty in making any account of the processes of government as vivid as the public would like, because the description must necessarily be static rather than dynamic. The machinery and the material with which it deals lend themselves to minute and detailed exposition; but to show the machine at work, to explain how the material is pounded and combed and teased in the course of the operations so as to produce the finished product, that is a more difficult art, and one for which an official training is not necessarily the best qualification. We must not expect in these serious manuals the vividness of description that comparatively irresponsible observers were able to achieve in their revelations of the *modus operandi* of certain great offices in war time.

In dealing with the India Office Sir Malcolm Seton has had to face this difficulty in an exaggerated form. It was necessary for him, as he says, "to trace briefly the earlier history of the connection between Britain and India, and to give some account of the framework of Indian administration." Now to make either of those two subjects interesting and intelligible in a small book of less than 300 pages would in itself be no mean feat. To attempt them both is to run the risk of packing the work so closely with facts as to make the wood invisible for the trees, and we can only congratulate the author on the deftness with which he has handled his mass of material so as to avoid this danger as far possible. He has not only included all essential facts, but has contrived to intersperse them with scraps of quaint information of historical or personal interest, and with occasional anecdotes that lighten the gravity of the official record and give a human touch to the account.

A distinguished Viceroy, equally distinguished as an orator, once complained of the impossibility of making interesting speeches in India, because of the effort involved in being minutely accurate. To jest was dangerous. A mixture of a lie may add pleasure, as Bacon says, but this resort is barred to the official dealing with India, whose first care must be scrupulous accuracy; and it was doubtless for this reason that the East India Company impressed on its servants the virtue of a "humdrum" style. Sir Malcolm, as we have indicated, has striven with considerable success to avoid this Indian dulness, but the influence of officialdom is sometimes too strong for him, as for example when he loses the flavour of the old story of the stationmaster and the tiger by substituting a characterless official message for the lively "Tiger making havoc on platform; please arrange."

Space does not permit of any attempt to follow the closely condensed account of the evolution of the India Office from the establishment of the Board of Control in 1784, when there was, as the author points out, a "dyarchy" in the administration of Indian affairs in this country, to the final transfer of power to a Secretary of State in Council in 1858. How the composition of this Council

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was originally determined, how it was changed from time to time, what powers the Council had, and to what limitations it was subject—all this is described at some length, while the bearing on its procedure of the signification attached to various technical terms such as "secret," "urgent," "direct correspondence," and "private telegrams" is explained. Theoretically the Council might so exercise its powers as to produce a deadlock: but the impression is left that in practice it had less influence than was originally intended.

Those whose interests have lain in the East will, we imagine, turn to this monograph chiefly from a curiosity to see what light it throws on the influence of the home authorities on the actual administration of India; but the writer, while suggesting trains of thought that whet that curiosity, is necessarily too discreet to gratify it. A distinction must be drawn between the India Office and the Home Government or the Secretary of State as its mouthpiece; otherwise some of the remarks might convey an exaggerated idea of antagonism. To the great majority of those concerned in the actual administration of affairs in India, the India Office is too remote to excite much interest of any kind. It settles the terms of their service; it pays their pensions (or used to do so); it has an appellate authority to which they can resort when suffering real or supposed injustice in India. They may on occasion talk of it irreverently, as the regimental officer does of the "Staff"; but on the whole it is a protective institution towards which they have a kindly if patronizing feeling, such as children might have to a grandparent. It is only in the higher strata of administration that a certain want of conformability, to use a geological term, occasionally produces a sense of discomfort and even of irritation. We are quite prepared to accept the author's conclusion regarding the India Office that

"The Government of India can hardly know how often either the rejection of doubtful advice by the Secretary of State himself, or his willingness to listen to expert opinion on his own ideas, may have prevented the issue of instructions which Simla could not have accepted without a struggle."

The interference of the Secretary of State on his own account or as mouthpiece of the Home Government stands on quite a different plane. At times it has taken the form of encouraging the Government of India in a more enlightened and liberal course than that Government might otherwise have pursued. At other times it has forced on that Government a policy contrary to the interests of India as locally understood. Sir Malcolm refers to the case of the cotton duties in 1875; he might also have instanced the subsequent imposition of an excise duty on cotton goods manufactured in India. In the former case the Viceroy was obliged to overrule his Executive Council; in both cases the Government of India was forced to adopt a policy condemned by public opinion in India. Indians felt, not without some show of reason, that their interests weighed less with the governing authority than those of the voters of Lancashire. A sense of injustice and of helplessness was created that long rankled, and that we believe had a large share in stimulating the political discontents of recent years.

For action of this description, whether its results are good or bad, the responsibility rests on the Home Government as a whole, but much depends on the manner in which the policy of that Government is communicated and enforced by the Secretary of State. That high officer may, in exerting his indefinite power of control, adopt an attitude that belittles the Government of India—a course which is open, though in a much higher degree, to the same objection as the public depreciation of the manager of a business concern by its directors. Such was the attitude, or such at least it appeared in Indian eyes to be, of the late Lord Morley, who in his love of power contrived to pose before

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the public as the real ruler of India, with such success that a frontier dispute in which the Government of India insisted on military action was popularly known as "Morley's week-end war." Whether the initiation of the reforms of those days came from Simla or from Whitehall, it was Lord Morley who dominated their elaboration and appropriated the greater part of such credit as their short life justified. To him the Viceroy and Government of India were mere agents, and it was believed that in an unguarded moment he said so publicly. The damage done by such an attitude does not lend itself to proof, but it is at least an interesting speculation whether, had the home authorities allowed a greater degree of independence to the Government of India, and left it to settle its differences face to face with its critics in India, a system of rule might not gradually have been evolved, not less liberal, but better adapted to Oriental conditions and traditions than that which has been imposed in slavish imitation of Western institutions. We are glad to find our author protesting vigorously against the attitude criticized above.

"Much harm has been caused by wrong-headed or ill-informed utterances suggesting that the control of the Home Government does, or ought to, reduce to the position of a mere subordinate agency the authority charged with the actual government of three hundred millions of the human race."

The shrewdness of Lord Morley found in the system of "private telegrams" an instrument admirably adapted to facilitate the treatment of the Viceroy as an agent. As the system has since been criticized by a Royal Commission, we may express our complete agreement in all that Sir Malcolm says in defence of it. The practice is inevitable, and to object to it would be futile. But, like all good systems, it may be abused, as happened in war-time, and as may at any time happen when adroitness at one end of the wire communicates with ingenuousness at the other. The only guarantee against misuse is that both correspondents should have a clear idea of the limitations of this mode of communication, and that it should never be used with a view to evading any of the checks that the constitution imposes on official action.

We cannot deal further with the great variety of useful information compressed into this monograph, but attention may be called to the excellent accounts of the Indian Exchange and Currency problems, and of the Railway policy in the chapters contributed by Mr. F. S. Stewart.

"The main purpose of the currency policy," he tells us, "has been to stabilize the rupee." It is interesting, therefore, to note that, during the years of inflation, the currency of India was more stable than those of other countries —that is, "the rise in prices in India was much less than the rise elsewhere."

THE EDUCATION OF INDIA. By Arthur Mayhew, C.I.E. London: Faber and Gwyer. 1926. 10s. 6d. net.

It is somewhat paradoxical that books on such a subject as education should be generally considered as dull. For, after all, education is a process through which, in some form or other, we have all passed, though so much modern journalism and political debate make this difficult to believe. And one would suppose that a matter of universal experience ought to be a matter of universal interest. Yet it is notoriously not so. The only explanation that seems to fit the facts is that most books about education really are dull—terribly dull. Nor, for light reading, does the ordinary man or woman rush to obtain serious studies of the more technical aspects of Indian political and social problems. Mr. Mayhew, then, shows courage, when (like the gentleman in Dickens who wrote on Chinese Metaphysics after "combining the information" on China and Metaphysics to be

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found in an encyclopædia) he publishes a study of the Education of India. But he is abundantly justified by the result. Already known to a circle of friends as a brilliant writer, he has had exceptional opportunities of studying our Indian educational system from inside, having served in Madras and Hyderabad State, as well as in the Central Provinces, where he was Director of Public Instruction and took part in the transfer of educational affairs to the control of a Minister under the dyarchic system. "Emotion recollected in tranquillity," a famous definition of poetry, is not a bad recipe for the discussion of controversial questions, and this book gains from its composition in the study of an Eton master a certain detachment which could hardly have been attained amid the worries of an Indian Educational Service officer's labours. Further, to have come from educational administration in India to the work of teaching in an English public school enables the author to consider how far an official in the East may insensibly acquire a way of looking at things that diverges from the point of view of educational experts in this country, and Mr. Mayhew is thus furnished with a broadness of outlook necessarily rare amongst writers on such subjects. He possesses another uncommon quality: he is an enthusiast for educational ideals without illusion as to educational realities. There is much salutary plain speaking in his book, and, as we know, anyone who speaks plainly about India is liable to be charged with racial prejudice. But Mr. Mayhew not only sees the faults of our educational policy in India, but has the sympathy and insight to perceive how their results strike the Indian student. "To the system he attributes unjustly many of the defects in his training which are ultimately due to circumstances beyond the educationalist's control and to India's social and economic past and present condition. What he realizes is the unpleasant fact that he is being swept along a channel that leads the more fortunate only to Government service, condemned by patriots as soul-killing servitude, and the less fortunate to a few overstocked professions." For our system, so often criticized as purely literary, has, in fact, been unduly vocational: it has equipped young Indians to be lawyers or clerks, and not taught them to care for literature. The dual life that the ordinary Indian pupil leads has never before been so plainly presented as in this book: the youth devotes his school-hours to acquiring knowledge as directed by Western canons, and returns home to the absolutely different atmosphere of Hindu or Muslim family life. His brain is trained to one set of values, but his life is regulated by a very different code.

A systematic study of British educational policy in India has long been needed, not only by those practically concerned with Indian affairs, but by all serious students of the interaction between Europe and Asia, and here at last we have a comprehensive survey by a man who has read widely, and combines the results of practical experience with the fruits of study. From the first rather drowsy awakening of the East India Company to the claims of education Mr. Mayhew traces the story, not overloading his study with detail, but always with an eye to the original authorities and to the mass of information buried in official reports. The early battle of the Anglicizers and the Orientalists is ably described, and while Macaulay meets with due recompense for his ignorant and cocksure superficiality, it is shown that we did not so much force English teaching on India as meet a growing demand for it among Hindus. The hollowness of the "permeation" doctrine is emphasized, and it is really astonishing that even politicians should have supposed that the instruction of the literary castes in English would lead automatically to the education of the masses in Western learning. Female education—"the response to a demand that does not exist"—receives special attention in these pages. Mr. Mayhew explains the difficulties, but stresses the lesson that nations do not absorb the benefits of education unless

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both sexes can share them. He is very conscious of the inadequacy of any system that, debarred from trenching on religion, leaves untouched the deepest influences on human character. He recognizes the inevitability of State control in the conditions of nineteenth-century India, but points out that the blend of bureaucracy with teaching is utterly uncongenial to the English character, and was bound to produce unforseen results when introduced by us to India. While not altogether despondent as to the future—in fact, he thinks that English teachers will be more welcome when invited by Indian authorities than they have been as the nominees of a purely British Government—he sees the dangers that may arise in a country habituated to Government control as political and communal factors enter more largely into the machinery of the State. The book is clear without dryness, to adopt a taste for metaphor which occasionally runs away with the author, and in one place commits him (after playing with the notion of masons working on an educational citadel) to the novel doctrine that bees may produce not only sweetness, but light. M. C. S.

AN INDIAN CIVILIAN'S MEMORIES

LIFE IN THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE. By Sir Evan Maconochie, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. London: Chapman and Hall. 1926. 18s. net.

A novel and unexpected objection to a career in India was lately advanced by a small boy, asked whether he wished to follow a distinguished father into one of the Services. "No!" he said. "If I went into the I.C.S. I should have to associate with Governors and Viceroys, and that sort of riff-raff!" Sir Evan Maconochie is more tolerant, and, indeed, in his estimate of Lord Curzon, whom he sums up as "the greatest Indian Viceroy of our times—possibly of all time—fearless, creative, ardent, human," contributes a note to history which should be of lasting value. But the attractiveness of his book rests largely on the fact that it describes, cheerfully and vividly, the life of a district officer who enjoyed his work, knew and liked the people committed to his charge, and preserves a healthy detachment as to the ways of Secretariats. The author dedicates the book to "the undergraduates and schoolboys of this country," and if the pedagogues of to-day have courage enough to discard the old convention that a school prize should be unreadable, they ought to put this book on their lists. Sir Evan is not of those who talk as if service in India under the new conditions were as enjoyable as in the old paternal days: "No official appreciates political agitation, least of all when it is directed against his own existence, and I cannot pretend to have enjoyed the atmosphere of 1921. But political agitation has come to stay, and the Indian civilian of the future must accept the fact." Yet he does not let the consideration that his own last year in India coincided with the most uncomfortable epoch of official life discolour his recollections of happier times, or darken his estimate of the permanent factors of Indian administration. Clearly he thinks that India is still a good country for the Englishman who is prepared to make friends among Indians, to shed insular prejudices against unfamiliar ways, and to realize that "a rough and overbearing manner and temper, or a swaggering assumption of racial superiority simply stamp you with all classes as not a gentleman." And, indeed, when full weight is allowed to all the well-known drawbacks, is there any profession other than the Indian Services (apart from the Army and Navy) which offers greater premiums to the combination of mental and physical fitness, which gives a better chance of really absorbing professional work, or which allows a man with "out-of-doors" tastes equal opportunities of sport in its best forms?

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But this book is not written to maintain a thesis, or to discuss political problems: its object is to describe a career of thirty-two years in India from the point of view of a man who enjoyed it. And few books of the kind are so completely devoid of egoism and so free from every kind of uncharitableness. There are good stories in it, and if the author is never malicious, he shows clearly enough that he possesses a soundly critical spirit. His service was spent mainly in the Bombay Presidency, but he had a spell as an under-secretary with the Government of India (*consule* Curzon) and an interlude as private secretary to the Maharaja of Mysore. Some of the most interesting chapters are devoted to the Kathiawar States, a region about which not very much has been written of recent years. The book contains excellent illustrations, ranging from spirited photographs of elephants rampaging about a kheddah to admirable coloured drawings of Indian insects from the brush of Lady Maconochie. M. C. S.

RELIGION AND FOLKLORE OF NORTHERN INDIA. By William Crooke, C.I.E. Prepared for the Press by R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E. Milford: Oxford University Press, 1926. 21s.

A difficult book to review thoroughly in a short notice, but one to which it is easy to give the complimentary notice which it so well deserves. It is fortunate that Dr. Crooke's work should have had as editor a man so competent and with such a keen love of the subject as Mr. Enthoven. There is little in the book on the subject of the really great religions of Northern India; but then they appeal little to the masses, and are practised only by the small proportion of learned, philosophical, or truly pious folk who might be said to have religious convictions in the ordinary acceptance of the word religion. These 439 pages are full of examples of the grossly absurd superstitions connected with the grotesque and petty deities of the mass of the people.

Would not "Superstitions and Folklore" have perhaps been a more descriptive title?

Although a wide field has been covered in the research, "Northern India" is rather a vague definition. The book is most carefully arranged, with copious references to authorities and a good index. Only one printing error was discovered, on p. 403, where *his* is evidently a mistake for *her* in the penultimate line.

One is rather bewildered by the extraordinary mixture of polytheism, anthropomorphism, animism, and ancestor worship, all of which seem to find a place in this quaint conglomerate of beliefs. Fear is the outstanding feature of all, and fear is, of course, essentially irreligious. Symbols of the godlings are not in every case considered by the people as the godlings themselves; but the concept of a supreme deity, although it may be making some headway in the urban areas, is as yet too high an ideal for the intelligence of the ordinary peasant. The feeling uppermost in one's mind on finishing the book was one of great pity.

Enthoven in his book on "Bombay Folklore" says: "Fear of the numerous hostile powers by which the Hindu feels himself to be surrounded—a fear fostered by natural timidity due to poor physique . . ." But this fear permeates as well much of the lives of the virile and warlike nations of India—perhaps not so much physical fear as the dread of ill-fortune from all the forces of evil, and which leads in both Hindu and Muhammadan to the universal practice of charms. Ruskin said: "Superstition, in all times and among all nations, is the fear of a spirit whose passions are those of a man, whose acts are the acts of a man; who is present in some places and not in others; who makes some places

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holy and not others; who is kind to one person and not to another; who is pleased or angry according to the degree of attention you pay him or praise you refuse to him; who is hostile generally to human pleasure, but may be bribed by sacrifice of a part of that pleasure into permitting the rest. This, whatever form of faith it colours, is the essence of superstition."

Imagine the life of a peasant girl brought up in a remote village in the foothills of the Himalayas, subject to terror from all the manifold hill godlings, jinns, bhūts, witches, and ghosts, as well as from those of the plains. The incessant watchfulness not to offend, the necessity of continuous propitiatory offerings to ward off possible evil, added to the awful possibility of widowhood or barrenness; throughout her life dread of superstitious evils in addition to all the cruelties of caste oppression. What wonder that they are old in youth, and overcome with apathy and fatalism. There is, however, another side to the shield—all the bright, amusing folklore connected with good fairies and kindly sprites, the village games and dances, when for a space fear is forgotten.

It has been the same through all the ages and all over the world until the light slowly breaks in upon the mist of ignorance. In 1716 Mrs. Hunt and her daughter of nine years of age were hung as witches in England! Only sixteen years since the writer witnessed and took photos of a demonstration by one of the last of the witches of Nagar. It is, by the way, the pungent fumes of the burning juniper, and not the deodar, which are usually employed to bring on the trance.

There is a great similarity in the village, of the ideas of both Hindu and Mussalman, the first having an absolute faith in his local godling for all family and agricultural troubles, as the latter has in the village shrine, ziarat, and priest. Both will go on long pilgrimages to places where the greater gods or saints have been or have blessed, but will always have a more secure and comfortable association with their own godling or saint, who knows so intimately all about them and their relations. The Mussalman tribesman under an autocratic ruler holds in veneration the supposed miraculous powers of his chief, in the same way that a Hindu does the divine authority of his Raja. The Thum of Nagar with his miraculous drum has power over the forces of nature! The chief of the Marri Baluch can cure most diseases! Folk-tales even of the higher sort "are not told to amuse children in the nursery, but are narratives of the truth, which the peasant implicitly believes." On p. 251 it is said that the ceremonies at the beginning of ploughing at Gilgit, are done by members of a clan believed to be specially lucky; but it was the Raja of Gilgit who had to plough the first furrow, scatter some gold dust over the ground, and supply the first handfuls of seed-grain as well as the feast. The head of the sacrificial goat was dragged by a horseman about the polo-ground amid great excitement. It was at one time attempted to revive the custom of the women at this festival lining the village road with long rods in their hands with which to belabour those who were unpopular; but the Kashmiri official did not dare face the ordeal!

We are apt to forget what a large part superstition plays in the lives of the population of the Western as well as the Eastern hemispheres. This book, compiled with such care and thought, should be studied by all who have an interest in India, and certainly ought to be a compulsory subject for all recruits to the I.C.S., as well as Secretaries of State for India and all their staff. A sound tonic for the statesman at home, who meets only the suave, ingratiating, and educated Swarajist to learn what is the mentality of the individuals who go to make up a mob either in the towns or country districts. We should never forget that the Brahman and high-caste man control the masses through this greatest of all power in India—*fear*. One fact stands out clear—that unless

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there is a strong rule during the spread of enlightened civilization, the ignorant would soon fall back to the original motives underlying most of these practices—namely, cruelty and human sacrifice.

Is it not possible that all these weird ceremonies and rites will be slowly purified and become simple, helpful, and consoling ritual as in the Western Churches, and no longer terrifying and full of the prospects of ghastly horrors. "And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep and mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? for the living to the dead?" (Isa. viii. 19). It is so necessary to be sympathetic to those oppressed by the importance of rites and ritual of all sorts; and we can but hope there are not many to-day in the Western world like that terrible American tourist, who blew out the lamp lighted by Francis of Assisi and kept burning in a small chapel in Italy for nearly 700 years.

No compliment that can be paid to a European in India by the people is so valuable as "Sahib, you understand"; and it is only by a careful study of the people, either through books like this under review, or at first hand oneself, that it can be earned.

There is a nameless grave of a European in a little village far from the railway in the Kalat State, in the corner of a pleasant Eastern garden, amidst shady trees and rose-bushes; it is carefully tended, and on fête days garlanded and little lamps lighted at the head. Nobody knows who was the "Sahib" buried there, but doubtless somebody in the first advance in 1838. The Hindu bunniah to whom the garden belongs simply knows that his grandfather and father tended the grave, and that they attributed all their luck and good-fortune to its being on their property. So an English subaltern may some day, according to Dr. Crooke, be promoted by a Brahman, to be a doorkeeper to one of the greater gods. Surely it is a most engrossing study, and one the Government might do more to help in co-ordinating and publishing in popular editions.

It was a careful study of religion and folklore which enabled Alfred Lyall to understand the psychology of the people as he did:

"I am the God of the sensuous fire
That moulds all Nature in forms divine;
The symbols of death and of man's desire,
The springs of change in the world, are mine;
The organs of birth and the circlet of bones,
And the light loves carved on the temple stones.

"I am the lord of delights and pain,
Of the pest that killeth, of fruitful joys;
I rule the currents of heart and vein;
A touch gives passion, a look destroys;
In the heat and cold of my lightest breath
Is the might incarnate of Lust and Death.

"Let my temples fall, they are dark with age,
Let my idols break, they have stood their day;
On their deep-hewn stones the primeval sage
Has figured the spells that endure alway;
My presence may vanish from river and grove,
But I rule for ever in Death and Love."

ALIF SHABNAM.

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THE MOSUL QUESTION. By V. F. M. *Reference Service on International Affairs of the American Library in Paris, Inc.* With 2 maps, 1 dollar. April 15, 1926.

This is a painstaking and scrupulously documented summary of published documents relating to a question which has now, fortunately for the peace of the Middle East, been definitely settled, in accordance with the best traditions of European diplomacy, by a tripartite agreement between Turkey, Iraq, and Great Britain. It has the defects of its qualities. The writer, like most of his countrymen who write or speak on diplomatic problems, emphasizes, in his efforts to be impartial, the legalistic aspects of the problem; the views of individual and irresponsible private members of the House of Commons are set forth at some length in large print, whilst facts and diplomatic documents of great importance are merely cited in footnotes. The political advantages accruing to Great Britain through the award of Mosul to Iraq are strongly emphasized: it is claimed that "by removing the frontier far to the north of the Mesopotamian plains, Great Britain obtains more security for the imperial communications which may eventually be developed between the shores of the Mediterranean . . . and India." In support of this statement, an article by Père Poidebard, a learned Jesuit priest, is cited in a footnote; the views of the late Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson on the subject are not mentioned!

"The Mosul settlement," says the author, "completes the encirclement of Persia by zones of British influence," a statement which carries its own refutation, and would cause amusement in Russia!

Rawanduz, it seems, is important to Iraq "only on account of its situation at the head of several tracks leading into Azarbaijan," and which before 1917 was "the stronghold of Russian influence." If such were the case, strategical prudence would surely demand that Rawanduz be awarded to Turkey, so as to prevent Russian penetration into Iraq if and when Azarbaijan once more becomes the stronghold of Russian influence. As a matter of fact the Rawanduz—Sauj Bulaq track is, as the Russians found to their cost during the war, exceedingly difficult; the Wazneh Pass, fifty miles to the south, is more promising.

Making allowance, however, for the natural bias of the compiler, the pamphlet is a masterpiece of the art of précis-writing, and, read in conjunction with the terms of settlement, will serve to emphasize to the student of affairs that the solution of complicated international problems is to be reached, less by the painstaking study of public documents than by the friendly personal interchange of views between accredited diplomatists. In fact, the diplomatist has come into his own again, and the efficacy of old-fashioned diplomatic methods has been signally vindicated in the statesmanlike settlement of this thorny question.

A. T. W.

GRASS. By Merian C. Cooper. G. Putnam's Sons, Knickerbocker Press, London and New York. 1925.

Mr. Cooper went to Baghdad, in company with Mrs. Harrison and Mr. E. B. Schoedsack, to take cinematograph pictures of the Kurds, but political trouble prevented that, so they visited instead the Baba Ahmedi tribe of the Bakhtiari, in south-west Persia. (The author adopts the spelling "Baktyari" on the somewhat cryptic plea that it will simplify the reader's task). This book is the story of the resulting film, produced in London some months ago, and exhibited by Sir Arnold Wilson to a joint meeting of the Royal Asiatic, Central Asian, and Persia Societies. Those who saw the film will be glad to have the book, with its sixty-four full-page photographs, as a permanent memento of one of the finest cinematograph records of actual life—unrehearsed

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and exactly as it had been lived for centuries—ever made or likely to be made. Those who did not see the film will perhaps never get another chance, and the book will arouse vain regrets.

Fifty thousand people—men, women, and children, with their flocks and herds and all their other possessions (except their tents, which they leave behind)—move from their winter grazing grounds in the neighbourhood of Shushtar to summer pasture on higher ground, more than a hundred miles to the east. There is a wide and swift river to be crossed by swimming or on rough rafts, rocky cliffs to be climbed, snow-covered mountain ranges to be scaled. This colossal task is accomplished every year, across a roadless wilderness, where no supplies can be obtained, and no shelter from rain or storm. The tribes live on whatever they can carry with them; the animals on the country. It is spring, and there are "baby sheep, baby cows, baby horses, baby goats, baby donkeys, not to speak of any quantity of human babies." All this the author describes with a fine sense of adventure, romance, and beauty. But you should have seen the film.

E. H. K.

The American Task in Persia. By Arthur C. Millspaugh, Administrator-General of the Finances of Persia. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. 322 pp., illustrated. Messrs. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. 1926. 15s.

This book gives an account of the work of the American Financial Mission to Persia, written by its chief. It is a record of honest, hard work, and although not written from an entirely impartial point of view, it is, generally speaking, reliable. The Americans, who had no knowledge of the East, were at first much troubled by intrigues, and the corrupt state of affairs might well have daunted them, but they showed steady determination and settled down to fight the good fight for financial reform. At the end of four years they have evidently won over the Persians to accept their views, and, although there is still much to do, there is hope that Persia will not only produce a budget that balances, but will gradually improve her communications and develop her resources. The book is not well written, and is in one important respect misleading, for it does not clearly show the rise to the throne of Reza Khan and the overthrow of the Kajar dynasty. This is an event of the greatest importance for Persia, and if the life of the new Shah be spared for twenty years he should be able to leave Persia in a far better condition than he found it, for he evidently understands the fundamental facts of the situation, and is a strong supporter of the American Mission. Already he has restored order and disarmed the turbulent nomads.

Another criticism is the very careless manner in which the book is written. For example, *Qarun* or *Korah*, the typically rich man of the East, is confused with the *Koran*, which surely is a mistake that any Persian member of Dr. Millspaugh's staff would have corrected. The spelling, too, is partly American, and altogether the book wants "pulling together."

Apart from these errors, which are due to lack of knowledge of the language and to haste, the book is one that merits careful study by members of the Central Asian Society, who will be gratified to realize that historical Persia is setting her house in order under a strong monarch, and that there are greater hopes of progress than at any time during the present generation.

P. M. Sykes.

Syria. By Leonard Stein. Ernest Benn. 3s. 6d.

The object of this book, as stated in its preface, is to provide the general reader with an historical background which might help him to a better appreciation of the present situation in Syria. As Mr. Stein says, there is no book in

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English to which the student can turn for a concise and objective account of the course of events in Syria from the Armistice down to the outbreak of the Druse rebellion in July, 1925; and this volume represents the author's endeavour to supply the want. The result is somewhat disappointing. Mr. Stein, who as political secretary of the Zionist organization in London is in close touch with Near Eastern affairs, might have given us, even within the limited compass of this slight volume, a work of real value. As it is, and for all the lucidity and the studied detachment of its style, his essay will not help the general reader to a better appreciation of the Syrian problem. For the picture he has drawn, and drawn so skilfully, is essentially one-sided and incomplete, and therefore misleading.

The key to the present situation in Syria lies in the universal feeling of disappointment and distrust which the post-war settlement engendered among all classes of the Syrian population. The national awakening in Syria and in other Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire had begun long before the war, and had secured for those provinces a substantial measure of local autonomy—the presage of the political liberation for which they strove. But it was only two years after the outbreak of the war that Arab nationalism found its opportunity and made its vital effort. Of this effort the mainspring was the pledge given by Great Britain in 1915 to the Arabs through the intermediary of Sherif Hussein. The pledge was, in effect, a definite promise to recognize and support an Arab independent state in Syria, and its fulfilment was conditional upon the military co-operation of the Arabs against their Turkish masters and co-religionists. That the Arabs adequately performed their share of the mutual obligation no one in authority has yet denied. As for the British side of the bargain, its execution was left to the chances and changes of post-war Allied diplomacy.

The hopes of Syrian Nationalists were still further raised when the Anglo-French declaration of November, 1918, was issued. In that declaration Great Britain and France stated that their aim in pursuing the war in the East was the establishment in Syria and Mesopotamia of national governments "deriving their authority from the initiative and the free choice of the native populations." Moreover, these were the terms of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which makes provision for the tutelage, to be exercised by mandatory powers, of certain communities formerly under Ottoman rule, and in which it is stated that "the wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory."

It is a matter of common knowledge that those promises were left virtually unfulfilled, and no impartial student can overlook the harm that Great Britain and France did to their own interests as well as to their good name when they forced the astonishing fruits of Sèvres and San Remo upon an unwilling population. The promises made to the Arabs in 1915 were treated as a dead letter; Syria was partitioned and her unity destroyed; and an unwelcome mandatory was imposed upon the country in the name of that very League of Nations which busily preaches the Covenant.

The discontent which this settlement engendered lies at the root of the Syrian problem, as everyone knows who is in direct touch with Syrian opinion. It is idle, therefore, to state and worse still to imply that the troubles of France in Syria are of her own making, or that they are due to the fact that the Moslem Arab "resents the intrusion of Christian Europe, no matter what form it may take." Those who were there at the time remember that the Allied armies when they occupied Syria were received with striking demonstrations of friendliness by Moslems and Christians alike, and that the desire for European tutelage was

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universal and profound. When the King-Crane Commission toured the country in 1919, an overwhelming majority of Moslems and Christians declared themselves—as Mr. Stein ought to know since he is aware of the contents of the Commission's Report—in favour of a mandate being entrusted to a Western Christian Power.

It may be that the author has not had an opportunity of travelling in Syria and obtaining his information at first hand; and that he has had, for his study of the problem, to rely on documentary sources alone. If that is so, the inaccuracy of his account is still further explained by a glance at the bibliographical list on p. 91 and at the other references mentioned, as they occur, in the footnotes. Of these, only two are Syrian sources; and of those two, one was published in 1916 and the other is the work of an author who admittedly represents the point of view of a Christian minority. The remaining sources are French, English, Italian, American, or Russian. To Syrian Arab sources there is not a single reference. Mr. Stein's thesis is set forth with admirable lucidity and with a moderation which cannot fail to appeal. But he has been unhappy in the choice of his sources, and he omits facts which are material to the story and which, had they come to his knowledge, might have rendered the elaboration of his thesis in its present form impossible. G.

ISRAEL. By Ludwig Levisohn. Messrs. Benn Ltd.

Zionism has now become one of the prominent questions of the day since the Balfour Declaration changed what was an aspiration of enthusiasm into some measure of practical politics. Its advantages, its possibilities, and its objections are now the theme of every Jewish paper, as well as of the Press of the world. "Israel" is a fervent appeal for Zionism on psychological grounds, and a passionate refutation of the placid satisfaction of those Jews who contend that assimilation is their proper future. The author declares that in no country in the world, even in tolerant England, are the Jews assimilated. Jews of England may declare that they are more English than the English, but do the English accept them? In America, the land of the free, where no tradition of the Ghetto exists, where disabilities are unknown, are the Jews, he asks, assimilated? He tells of a small dinner party in an American club, of a distinguished Jewish surgeon, 'broad, blond, sagacious, blue-eyed,' bursting out: "We are not wanted anywhere! I hate the Jews, I hate myself." He tells how in America the situation in a generation has changed, and while the old folk believe they are accepted, the young folk know they are not. How Jews press zealously in all the professions, eager to lead, eager to reform, eager to use their brains for mankind, in art, in music, in literature, in politics, only to find that eternal bar sinister. Nobody wants their help, nobody wants their brains, nobody welcomes their sympathy; and he treats powerfully of the psychological despair of the race that is often unrealized even when felt, as well as the horrors of the past. Never, he declares, can this race be a race till it has a locus and a temporal power of its own. With that they can be men once again. And it is all very convincing and very logical, and very spiritual, too. He talks of the Jewish mystery—that remarkable belief in the "Masters of the Name," which has been the source of so much mediæval legend. What was it on Aaron's rod that the sea saw and fled? The Shem Hamphoresh? The writer of "Israel" knows and feels it all. Then he turns in comfort to the sights he has seen in Palestine—the live wires in the new settlements, the energy and resource with which the lost race returns to agriculture, the orchards and vineyards of the Rothschild and

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Montefiore settlements, the new villages of Esdraelon, and the deepening of Jezred, and takes heart of grace.

It is a powerful book, and it aims at converting not the Gentile, but the placid, comfortable Jews who regard assimilation as their future and the mixing of oil and water.

The writer does not touch on the real practical problem of the mandate and how to blend the interests of what Disraeli very properly termed the Mosaic Arab with the Arabs of the desert, and the dilution of the Arabs of Palestine. It is no more possible to evict them because of earlier rights than it is to restore the Celtic inhabitants of Britain to the lands that the Saxon and the Norman have taken, and yet eviction by purchase or by pressure will be inevitable if Zionism is to rise to where the enthusiasts would have it. The problem is difficult, yet, the British hope, not insoluble. Mr. Levisohn aims at stirring the Jews of the world to make use of their imperishable race consciousness for some more definite purpose than to apologize for themselves and the abject past that fate has put on them. It is a strange story from the wars of "them old McCabes," as the Ulster farmer has it, to the laying out of Esdraelon as the result of Lord Allenby's victories.

To those in England, and there are many, who hold Zionist convictions, even the enthusiasts of the British-Israel cult, Mr. Levisohn's book will make a considerable appeal, and some there be who want to know what was the train of thought that made the compilers take the Epistle for the last Sunday in the year from Jeremiah instead of from the New Testament, and why the passage containing that remarkable prophecy about the gathering from the North country.

TURKEY. ("Modern World" Series.) By Arnold J. Toynbee and Kenneth P. Kirkwood. Ernest Benn, Ltd. 15s. net.

Frankly, this book, or at least the greater part of it, is a disappointment. Where we expected history we find propaganda, and unstinted panegyric is often served up to the reader in place of sober criticism. The faults of repetition, overlapping, and even occasional contradictions, to which the system of joint authorship is peculiarly liable, might have been minimized by more careful co-ordination; while the desire to show the Turkish nation in a favourable light need not have entailed the avoidance of facts telling against it.

If we may hazard a guess as to the parts taken respectively by the joint authors in compiling the book we should say that, roughly speaking, Professor Toynbee is more directly responsible for the earlier portion and his collaborator for the later. When the progress actually made by the Turkish Republic comes to be dealt with towards the end of the work latent pessimism is in strong contrast with the exuberant optimism of earlier passages.

The sketch of Turkish history prior to the Armistice of October, 1918, with which the volume appropriately begins, is remarkable for one unaccountable omission. The terrible series of Armenian massacres which disgraced the last fifteen years or so of Abdul Hamid's autocracy, were continued on a lesser scale by the Young Turks, and culminated in the holocausts of the Great War, are entirely ignored. And yet it is these massacres, which incidentally freed Turkey from the embarrassing Armenian question by the elimination of all but a poor remnant of the Armenian nation, as well as the atrocious treatment meted out to the unfortunate British captives from Kut, that have cost Turkey the sympathy of so many erstwhile well-wishers in this country and render it difficult to share Professor Toynbee's enthusiasm for the Turkish race.

Chapters V. and VI., headed respectively "Mustafa Kemal" and "The

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Græco-Turkish War (1919–22)," cover a period of extraordinary interest, though far from grateful to British *amour propre*, and it is a pity that the writer was unable to deal with it in a more convincing manner. But passionate admiration of the Ghazi Pasha tends to obscure his judgment. That Mustafa Kemal is a gallant and able soldier who, when the Turkish nation seemed utterly prostrate after the Armistice, by his courage and driving power raised it to its feet and led it to victory over the Greek invaders; who was quick to detect the weakness of the allied position, and could call the bluff of others while concealing his own, are facts that few would wish to deny. Between that, however, and the pedestal on which Professor Toynbee would place him, there is a considerable gap; and it is at least premature to assert that the President of the Turkish Republic "has made a unique place for himself in the annals of history . . . as the builder of a new Western State out of an Oriental people." This appreciation seems to be based rather on what one hopes that the Turkish Republic may eventually become than on what it actually is to-day, and more convincing proof than bare assertion is required before we can agree that by a mere change of label Turkey has wiped out a sombre record and raised herself within three or four years to the level of the civilized states of Europe. The leopard does not change his spots by the simple process of calling himself a white lamb. Nor has Mustafa Kemal Pasha, though agile enough in overturning existing institutions, yet given much proof that he possesses the quality of constructive statesmanship.

The account of the Græco-Turkish War and the vain efforts of Great Britain, unscrupulously deserted by Allies with axes of their own to grind, to carry out the original intentions of the Coalition with regard to Turkey, is vividly written, though the narrative is marred as much by anti-Greek bias as by the almost doting affection for the Turkish Nationalist party, which leads the writer to regard with manifest complacency the successive failures of his own country's policy. It is interesting to note the manner in which misconduct on the part of the Greeks (who were unfortunately guilty of unexcusable excesses, both on the occasion of their first landing at Smyrna and in their final retreat to the coast) is treated as compared with the indulgence shown to the Turks, though in such matters the Greeks are but bungling amateurs by the side of the experienced Turkish professionals. "Ruthless warfare against the Turkish population," "the commission of atrocities in the worst Near-Eastern manner," "a reign of terror which shocked the whole world," is what the Greeks did. For the Turks quite mild chiding suffices, not unmixed with admiration. "Order was only partially maintained." . . . "In the next few days of disorder there burst out the terrible fire that swept half the city away, burned for a week, and destroyed the richest section of Smyrna. It was the pyre of the unfaithful city, 'Gyaur Izmir,' and it was the symbol of the final purging of Turkey. The Nationalists had won in the ordeal by combat; they were tested in the ordeal by fire, which burned the European quarter and left the inflammable Turkish quarter scathless."

What does Professor Toynbee exactly mean by this last sentence? To the ordinary man it would appear that the people "tested in the ordeal by fire" were not so much the Turks, who escaped, as the Europeans and native Christians, whose quarter was burned down; and it is a ground for regarding the origin of the conflagration with the gravest suspicion that it should not have started until the direction of the wind ensured the safety of the Turkish part of the town.

The slaughter of many thousands of Armenians by Nationalist troops in Cilicia after the French withdrawal in 1921-22, which left a nasty stain on Mustafa Kemal's halo, is not even referred to.

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Space permits of only the bare mention of chapters concerning the Lausanne Conference and Treaty, the "Ideas of 1789," and the abolition of the Capitulations, the Sultanate, and the Caliphate. Then come chapters dealing with "The New Turkey," its administrative and economical situation, population, agriculture, railways, commerce, industry, and finance. This, the most valuable portion of the book, we conjecture to be the work of Mr. Kirkwood, who, as we learn from the preface, has resided for some time in Turkey since the war and can therefore write with knowledge of his subject.

While a sympathetic attitude towards the Nationalists is still manifest, the early optimism has somewhat waned, and there is no tendency to gloss over or ignore the facts of the situation. It is not a very encouraging picture that is presented to the reader. The Turkish Republic, the new Western State, appears in fact as "a despotic oligarchy dressed in the garb of constitutionalism"; or, as an alternative, "an autocratic duumvirate," composed of Mustafa Kemal and his henchman, Izmet Pasha. While the constitution of the Republic assures "freedom of thought, of speech, of Press" for every Turk, nothing of the sort is allowed in practice. The newspapers are muzzled or suppressed; and the editor of the *Tanin* was even prosecuted, not for criticizing the Government's policy, but "for the tacit criticism implied in the editor's prolonged abstention from discussing politics at all!"

Side by side with the adoption of new codes of law adapted from those existing in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, and the inauguration of a Faculty of Law at Angora to train qualified judges for a reformed judiciary, we are told of the establishment of "Tribunals of Independence" to dispose arbitrarily of political opponents after the most approved Cheka methods.

The extravagant chauvinism of Nationalist policy towards every institution and enterprise not purely Turkish, its irritating and obstructive interference with the working of foreign educational establishments, the hampering of foreign trade, and the financial bad faith of the Angora Government, receive due mention. The policy hitherto followed by the Turkish Nationalists in the matter of State obligations, approximating as it does to the principle enunciated by Major Pawkins in "Martin Chuzzlewit," "Run a moist pen slick through everything and start fresh," inspires the writer with natural apprehensions regarding the future supply of foreign capital, without which the resources of Turkey can hardly be developed.

In sum, a record of much promise, but so far of little performance, affording small justification for the contention that a new Western State has arisen in Asia Minor.

The Turks may yet succeed in rising on stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things, but the process of regeneration must inevitably be a long and a difficult one. It is too much to expect that men brought up in traditions of secular venality and misgovernment should suddenly be transformed into upright, capable, and disinterested administrators; indeed, there is little ground for believing that the officials of the Republic have attained a much higher standard of honesty and efficiency than was usual under the Sultanate.

Only a bold man would venture to make any prediction regarding the stability of the present régime in Turkey. Recent trials before the Tribunals of Independence indicate that the unanimity of the Republic's earlier days can no longer be reckoned on, and it remains to be seen whether repressive measures will suffice to stamp out all opposition. The conciliation of political opponents does not seem to enter into Mustafa Kemal's methods. For the time being he continues to enjoy popularity with the army, which is the main thing; but there are reports that he is not the man he was, and that self-indulgence and

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the exercise of unlimited power have had a baneful effect on his character. The outlook for Turkey remains on the whole obscure.

A. C. W.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF 1926. By Colonel E. J. King, C.M.G., F.S.A., Knight of Justice of the Order; with an Introduction by Major-General the Earl of Scarbrough, G.B.E., K.C.B., F.S.A., Knight of Justice and Sub-Prior. London: St. John's Gate. 1926.

It is a pleasure to note that the members of the Grand Priory of England maintain their reputation as students of the history of their Order. Colonel King, Mr. Pirie-Gordon, and Mr. Fincham, all of whom went on "The Pilgrimage," have proved themselves competent and, on occasion, brilliant writers on Hospitaller history and traditions. In my earlier days in the Order Colonel Gould Hunter-Weston and the Rev. W. K. Riland Bedford were best known to me as students of history, and tempted me to compile the lecture which I delivered at the Royal United Service Institution in 1900. Earl Egerton of Tatton, the Chancellor of the Order, took the chair at that lecture, which was afterwards developed by the genealogist (Mr. Bedford) and the librarian (Colonel Holbeche) into the "History" of 1902 which bears their names. I am personally always attracted by Colonel E. J. King's style, and his faculty for introducing the reader to subjects new or set in a new light is always attractive and refreshing.

The Sub-Prior, the Earl of Scarbrough, in the very first sentence of his Introduction, sums up the significance of "The Pilgrimage of 1926" in the words: "It is the first occasion of an official visit of one of the Tongues of the Order to the scenes of its activities since its evacuation, firstly of Palestine in 1291, secondly of Rhodes in 1523, and thirdly of Malta in 1798."

Colonel King takes his readers first of all for a most fascinating visit to the Grand Priory of Venice, and thence almost in the footsteps of the famous itinerary of the Dean of Mainz, Bernhard von Breydenbach, to Corfu, Modon, Coron, Candia, and past Rhodes and Cyprus to Jerusalem. In February, 1914, I succeeded in finding in a dark corner of the Dom of Mainz the monument and effigy of this Dean, dated 1497. He made his journey to the Holy Land and Egypt in 1483-4. I note that Colonel King, in passing the islands of Sapienza and Cabrera, refers to their cession by the Greeks in 1823 to the Capitular Commission of the Order at Paris. Any who would desire fuller information about this League of Hospitaller and Greek against their hereditary foe the Turk I would refer to "L'Ordre de Malte," par le Baron Olivier de Lavigerie (Paris, 1889), chap. xii.

When the British nation heard that on December 11, 1917, General Allenby had made his formal entry into Jerusalem, and, after a Moslem tenure of 730 years, received its surrender, it could not but be that such intelligence turned our thoughts for at least some minutes into a channel of solemn reflection. Some of my readers must know an attractive little book by Major Vivian Gilbert, entitled "The Romance of the Last Crusade," and if they know it they cannot but have read with amusement the eleventh chapter, entitled "The Surrender of Jerusalem." The spirit that inspires that chapter is not one of "solemn reflection," but, putting that aside, the humour of it is irresistible, and the progress of the Keys from the Cook to the G.O.C. is entertainingly told.

The reversion of Rhodes from the Turk to the Christian after a lapse of close on 400 years recalls to the memories of those who know something of late mediæval history the gallantry with which the Knights Hospitallers held Rhodes in the very teeth of the Turks from 1310 to 1523, and the enterprise and ability

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with which they used it alike as a centre of commerce and a base for naval operations against Turkish fleets and Turkish trade. It was some time before I got into touch with Italian action in Rhodes, after that nation had reoccupied the island during the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-12. But the action of M. Bompard, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, could not escape my attention. For, on March 27, 1914, the special correspondent of *The Times* at Paris telegraphed, "The French Government has just accepted from M. Bompard, its Ambassador in Constantinople, the gift of the historic house in the island of Rhodes known as the 'Auberge de France.'" I drew attention to this then and there (in a letter to *The Times*, as far as I remember), and suggested that England should follow this example and acquire the "Auberge d'Angleterre." However, the authorities most interested would not move in the matter, and, as far as I remember, the only person who showed any sympathy with my aims was Mr. (now Lieut.-Colonel) E. V. Gabriel, of whose eminent services in connection with the Auberge of England at Rhodes and as a channel of communication with the Italian officials of the island, Colonel King speaks with just appreciation. It was Mr. Gabriel who, in June, 1914, wrote to me from Mount Abu, in India, expressing his concurrence in my views, and it was he also who, when attached towards the end of the War to the Ægean Squadron, seized his opportunity, visited Rhodes, purchased all he could of the Auberge of England, and arranged with the Italians for its restoration. I may further just mention, in connection with Cyprus and Budrum, both of which "The Pilgrimage' proposed to visit, that Mr. George Jeffery, O.B.E., F.S.A., Curator of Antient Monuments in Cyprus, and a member of this Society, using his influence with the High Commissioner, had the Castle of Kolossi placed under protection as an ancient monument, and that it was the lecture delivered to this Society shortly after the War by Signor Gilbert Bagnani which reawakened in the precincts of Clerkenwell a sense of what Budrum had meant to Rhodes and to Christendom from 1403 to 1523. The English tower of the Castle of Budrum is a most interesting monument of English chivalric devotion in the fifteenth century, and has been a subject of close study to the late Lord Amherst of Hackney and Admiral Sir Albert Markham. An endeavour was made, when Signor Bagnani lectured on Budrum to the C.A.S., to initiate a movement for the reconstruction of that tower, which had been bombarded and damaged during the War, but nothing came of it. That is greatly to be regretted.

I desire to draw special attention to the ceremonies of investiture which took place at Jerusalem (pp. 53-56), at Rhodes (pp. 88-90), and at Malta (pp. 111-114). At the Jerusalem ceremony* the Right Rev. Rennie MacInnes, D.D., Bishop in Jerusalem, was invested as Chaplain and Sub-Prelate; at that of Rhodes, His Excellency Signor Mario Lago, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Ægean Islands, and Signor Biliotti, Mayor of Rhodes, respectively, as Honorary Knights of Grace, and Honorary Associate; and at that of Malta, His Excellency General Sir W. N. Congreve, V.C., K.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief, as Knight of Grace. The scenes of these investitures were, severally, the High Commissioner's residence in the Holy City, the Hall of the ancient Hospital of the Knights at Rhodes, and the Throne Room of the Grand-Master's Palace at Malta. As the author adds: "The Pilgrimage of 1926 must stand out for all time as one of the greatest and most significant events in the modern history of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England.

* The *Diocesan Magazine* of the Anglican Church in Jerusalem for April, 1926, gives a very interesting and appreciative account of the visit of "The Pilgrimage" to Jerusalem in that year.

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I will in conclusion say a word or two on a subject to which the author in his book twice (pp. 27 and 102) alludes—viz., the Relics of the Order, to wit the right hand of St. John the Baptist, the Icon of Notre Dame de Philermo, and a fragment of the Holy Cross. It was known that these relics were preserved up to the War at Gatchina, but after the Revolution of 1917 and the introduction of Bolshevist Government, they were lost sight of. They had been in Russia since 1798, when the Knights of St. John, ejected from Malta, sought refuge with Paul I. of Russia, and took their most valued treasures with them. When there was much talk in our Press about the sale of art treasures in Russia, it occurred to me to try and ascertain what had become of the Hospitaller Relics. I commenced my enquiries in October, 1924, and aided by a French diplomatist, a Russian historian and art-critic, and a British Consul-General, I ascertained that when General Yudenitch with his White Army retired from the neighbourhood of Gatchina in 1919, the Orthodox clergy of the Cathedral retired with him, taking the Relics with them to Reval. It interested me to ascertain, after I learnt this, that Mr. Pirie-Gordon of *The Times*, a Knight of Grace of the Order, had been in Reval in 1919 and frequently met General Yudenitch. What became of the Relics after Reval is unknown. A complete copy of the correspondence connected with this enquiry has been handed over by me to Colonel E. J. King for record at St. John's Gate.

It remains to correct the inscriptions on pp. 91 and 119. P. 91: For "Podatus Aglic" read "Prioratus Angliæ." P. 119: Sir Oliver Starkey's epitaph is correctly given in de Villeneuve-Bargemont's "Monuments des Grand Maîtres," Vol. II., p. 102, and Porter's "History of the Knights of Malta" (Edition 1858), Vol. II., p. 333. In "The Pilgrimage of 1926" five words must be thus corrected: Libyæque, edomitis, Getis, condidit, sepultus. I wish to draw special attention to the excellent and appropriate illustrations. A. C. YATE.

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1. SOME SAYINGS OF THE BUDDHA, ACCORDING TO THE PĀLI CANON. Translated by F. L. Woodward, M.A. (Cantab.). 6 × 8¾. Pp. 356. Oxford University Press, 1925. Cloth, 5s.
2. THE ETHICS OF BUDDHISM. By S. Tachibana. Royal 8vo. Pp. 288. Oxford University Press, 1926. Cloth, 15s.

1. The translations are of selected passages from the Vinaya, the Four Great Nikāyas, and parts of the Short Nikāya (including the whole of the Khuddaka-Pātha). To add anything to our translations of the Pāli Scriptures is a worthy deed in itself; and Mr. Woodward's abilities as a translator are so well recognized that it is scarcely necessary to praise the pleasant and simple style he has adopted in his rendering. The Pāli text when translated is only with difficulty prevented from being wearisome to a reader, the original having been constructed for mnemonic rather than literary purposes. Of a handy size, this well-printed little book should be especially welcome to those who have taken up the study of Buddhism (and there must be many such nowadays), for here they will find at low cost some of the sayings cherished as the actual words of the Buddha, and which, therefore, may be looked upon as containing many of the original doctrines of the religion, "which objectively is a religion of truth, subjectively is a religion of knowledge." It is thought impossible to assign the Khuddaka-Pātha (probably the most recent of these here translated) to a later date than 400 B.C. according to Professor T. W. Rhys Davids. As to which sayings are and which are not authentic that must, perhaps, always be a moot question. Though some seem to strike a genuine note, others, such as "Progress in the Heaven World," have the ring of at least a subsequent

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elaboration. Incidentally, p. 5 contains no saying of the Buddha. Buddhism depends on authority less than other religions for the value of its teachings, any doctrine taught must be substantiated by itself, and this is manifested in the sections given us under "The Test of True Doctrine" and "Use Your Own Judgement." Mr. Woodward's selection is a good one, bringing out as it does various phases of the teachings. The Khuddaka-Pātha, the whole of which is translated, is thought to have been a sort of first lesson book for young neophytes when they joined the Order. It is noticed that "Trance" is made use of to render "Jhana"; but is not this latter one of those terms, such as Sati, Pātimokkha, Uposatha, Āsavas, Kāmmā, Nibbāna, Arahant, and Bhikku, which are better left untranslated? Would that there was a recommended list of these terms drawn up by those in authority!

An index to the passages would have been useful.

2. Professor S. Tachibana tells us that the difference is so little between the ethical systems of the two schools of Buddhism—Hīnayāna and Māhayāna—that he has changed the original title, "Ethics of Pāli Buddhism." Does he consider Lamaism as a branch of the northern school or a distinct cult? One hopes the latter. He is Professor of Pāli and Primitive Buddhism at the Komazawa-Daigaku of Tokyo, and this volume is an extension of the thesis he successfully presented to the University of Oxford in 1922, where he was sent to prosecute his studies by the late Abbot of the Sōjiji institution near Tokyo. The book is divided into two parts, the first treating of thought and conditions previous to and during the Buddha's lifetime, and also a short, simple account of his life; and, finally, a classification and an explanation of the chief characteristics of Buddhist morality. One would like to have seen in the chapter devoted to the characteristics more stress laid on the fact that the Buddhist's idea is that the practical conduct of life successfully begins only when the delusions about an immortal self-owned soul have been completely abandoned. The second part deals, under fourteen heads, of the virtues specially valued by Buddhists, in the last of which (on Righteousness) we are told that the highest attainment, the Buddhist goal, is reached by refining away all non-righteous taints, so that "his whole being is righteousness itself—he is all righteousness"; "has absorbed himself into righteousness"; "makes righteousness his whole body"; or, as Professor Laksmi Narasu puts it, "he has become one with those eternal verities of which he was an embodiment in life." Any student of Buddhism soon realizes the very great value of its system of active ethics, and this work, being by a Buddhist authority of the oldest form of the religion, should have a good reception; moreover, it is the first work specially devoted to the study of the subject. It is not without significance that these moral teachings have guided a large section of the human race for over 2,000 years, and neither a god nor a soul, as we understand them, has any part therein. There is also a sentimental attraction for us, for was not its founder of the same racial origin as ourselves? Then, again, does not our great authority on the religion, Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, say "the study of Buddhism should be considered a necessary part of any ethical course"? The whole system is based on the Buddha's realization of the universality of natural causal genesis.

In spite of an occasional tendency to repetition (perhaps a legacy of life-long reading of the Buddhist sacred books), and written in an alien tongue, this volume of Professor Tachibana deserves the greatest credit. His whole treatment of the subject is honest, clear, and masterly. Throughout the book one is impressed by the dignified seriousness of a member of the southern school, and yet there is no lack of enthusiasm. One feels the attraction of the

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author's personality, whose task has been a labour of love. It is pleasing to note how the writer has taken pains to emphasize the almost complete disconnection between the Buddhist and Hindu conceptions of such terms as *Karma*, *Nirvana*, *Brahman*, *Vedagu*, and the Heavens with their gods, for only when the exclusively Buddhist significance of such terms is applied can the Pāli Scriptures be properly interpreted. On the other hand, it is unfortunate the use of the word "monk" for *Bhikku* has been adopted throughout the book.

Each chapter of the second part of the book is of high ethical value, and especially those on Self-restraint, Benevolence, Veracity, and Righteousness; but that on Humility does not seem up to the standard of the rest. Perhaps Western ideas are too strong to permit its appreciation. The one which perhaps will have least attraction for the West is that on Contentment, the closing paragraph of which is written not without a pathetical note. The one on Celibacy incidentally contains one of the beautiful tales of Buddhist literature. Obedience, it should be noted, though included in the other-regarding virtues on p. 95, is not further considered. Professor Rhys Davids says it is most worthy of notice that "obedience" does not occur in Buddhist ethics. On p. 143, lines 19 onwards are not clear; the stages in destroying the Bonds on the Four Paths seem to overlap. We learn on p. 205 that the practice of regarding the *Bhikkus* as the recipients *par excellence* of gifts "seems to be more often mentioned in later than earlier Pāli literature," which is as one would expect. This acceptance of valuable gifts was not in accordance with the Buddha's original teaching. The point was largely responsible for the first serious schism, and it is probable that its subsequent indulgence, followed by the accumulation of wealth, had much to do with the persecution and wholesale destruction of the Brotherhood in India. In the chapter on Reverence it is explained that any feelings of this sort for parents are given up after they have departed from this world. This is puzzling, as we know, according to the Buddha's reputed sayings, how much in debt is the offspring to his parents. Then, again, great stress is laid on the reverence due to the Buddha; and further it is said, on p. 228, that grateful minds will remember that they owe some benefits to those who now inhabit far distant regions of the world or to those who lived in a time of antiquity. Is no regard or reverence to be shown to their memory? Perhaps the Tiro-Kudda-Sutta of the Kuddaka Pātha may be understood as a plea for the honouring and keeping in memory of the departed. Numerous extracts from the Pāli Scriptures are usefully quoted by Professor S. Tachibana. One of the best is: "Let a wise man," says the Buddha, "blow off the impurities of his self as a smith blows off the impurities of silver, one by one, little by little, and from time to time."

It would seem that "from covetousness" should be deleted from lines 16 and 17 on p. 76. H. V. N.

CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Vol. IV.: The Persian Empire and the West.

The fourth volume of "The Cambridge Ancient History" is entitled "The Persian Empire and the West," and is therefore of particular interest to the Central Asian Society. Chapters are devoted to the rise of the Persian Empire, to the reign of Darius, to Marathon, to the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, and to the repulse of the Persian invaders. The first chapter gives a good account of Cyrus, and of his conquest of Lydia, which brought the Persian Empire to the Mediterranean Sea and included the whole of Asia Minor. The subsequent conquest of Babylon and of Egypt created an empire that far exceeded the ancient monarchies of Babylonia and Assyria. The reign of Darius is also

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described, the organization of the empire into satrapies, the improvement of communications and the laying-out of postal stations being based on the pages of Herodotus.

The Persian invasions are less successfully handled. The information is, of course, mainly derived from Greek historians, but there is a distinct lack of lucidity in dealing with the campaigns and of realization of the Persian point of view. This is, of course, due to the fact that probably none of the writers has ever visited Persia or studied its ancient monuments, whereas a visit to Greece is nowadays undertaken by most Professors of that language.

There is also an incomplete realization of the military problems in the various campaigns. The chapters relating to Persia are supplemented by others dealing in great detail with politics at Athens, the outer Greek world, Carthage and Sicily, and Italy. There is a masterly chapter on Coinage. The volume suffers from the number of contributors, and, to quote one example, the date of the battle of Marathon differs in chapters written by two of the contributors; but, taken as a whole, it is essential to the student of ancient history, and contains stores of learning. But I would repeat that Persia is viewed through Greek spectacles.

P. M. S

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OBITUARY

GERTRUDE MARGARET LOWTHIAN BELL, C.B.E., F.R.G.S., F.S.A.

Born July 14, 1868.
Died July 12, 1926.

GERTRUDE BELL was, perhaps, the most distinguished woman of our day in the field of Oriental exploration, archæology, and literature: in Iraq she made for herself, and retained to the day of her death, a position which was as unique as it was useful alike to the British Empire and to the budding state over whose destinies she had watched so long and so anxiously, and for whose creation she, jointly with the late Sir Mark Sykes, was as much responsible as anyone. The eldest daughter of Sir Hugh Bell, well known as a formidable critic of political follies in the economic sphere, and a lucid exponent of the inexorable laws by which men and nations live and trade, she inherited from him gifts of insight and of self-expression which enabled her to impress her personality as few women have done on affairs as well as on men. After winning academic distinction at Oxford in 1887 she went to Persia on a visit to the British Minister, the late Sir Frank Lascelles. But it was not in Persia or amongst Persians that she was destined to develop her natural bent. Her travels thereafter lay "between the desert and the sown," in Syria, Palestine, and Arabia: and to these early journeyings we owe her first book and "Safar Namah," published anonymously by Bentley and Co. It was followed four years later by "Amurath to Amurath," published in 1910, which displays an increasing knowledge and appreciation of matters archæological, and a breadth of judgment in the political field which was perhaps, in subsequent years, obscured to some extent by a newfound enthusiasm for self-determination in its protean local development. In 1913 she accomplished a remarkable journey to Hayil in Central Arabia, which increased her already great reputation and was destined to qualify her in a special degree for the work that fell to her lot during the Great War. After brief periods of somewhat infructuous work in France and Egypt under military auspices she was temporarily transferred to G.H.Q. Busrah ostensibly to undertake liaison work

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connected with Arabian tribes. G.H.Q. Busrah found it no more easy than had their colleagues in Egypt to "place" Miss Bell, and she was taken over by the Civil Administration which was then beginning to take shape under Sir Percy Cox. In her new position she found ample scope for her abilities, and a measure of freedom both in writing and in council, the absence of which she had found so irksome whilst in the military departments, and she proved a most loyal and devoted colleague. Not that her zeal did not sometimes outrun her discretion, for she had in this respect on occasion the defect—albeit a trifling one of her high qualities.

To quote the writer's tribute to her in *The Times* of July 15:

Her first care was to synthesize and systematize the mass of detail regarding Arab personalities and tribes that poured into civil administrative headquarters from every part of Iraq. With unwearying diligence she indexed and cross-indexed, collated and checked, wherever possible by personal interviews, every scrap of available information, making the dry bones live by her enthusiasm and the charm of her literary style. Her "office-notes" were vivid, accurate, but feminine withal. Her sympathy with the victims of "military exigencies" was tempered by common sense—her righteous wrath was mingled with a sense of humour which never deserted her. It was in these years that she laid the foundations of the influence which she deservedly acquired latterly in high counsels. Those in authority from 1917 to 1920, unable to obtain a decision as to the future of the country from the Home Government "pending the conclusion of peace with Turkey," had perforce to adopt as their motto, "Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor"; the weary months and, indeed, years of temporizing and of expensive improvisations were as repellent to her as they were irksome, but she loyally accepted them as inevitable and necessary, and the writer will always cherish the remembrance of her unwearying industry and her indomitable cheerfulness, at a time when the work of years and the hopes of a great race seemed likely to be swept away in the destructive confusion of religious and racial excitement.

The younger generation of civil administrators who came under her influence will recall gratefully her readiness to help and her willingness to listen and to learn, as well as to teach; for she was big-minded enough to modify her views in the light of experience and was not ashamed to confess it. The elder will remember, not less affectionately, her facile pen, her fund of accurate knowledge, and the human sympathy that informed her daily life.

Her archæological interests, to which reference has already been made, found full scope in her appointment in 1921 as honorary Director of Antiquities. To quote Mr. C. L. Woolley: "She brought to her task the enthusiasm and the untiring energy which characterized all that she did; she started single-handed, with no antiquities and no funds, and if she received the willing help of other departments it was due to the infectious quality of her zeal. The excavations at Ur and Kish provided the nucleus of a fine collection such as justified the creation of a National Museum. This spring Miss Bell secured a large building

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really suitable for the purpose, together with a grant for its conversion and for the installation of the antiquities, and to the laborious work of its arrangement she has sacrificed herself.

"In these last years nothing was nearer to her heart than this museum. She initiated it and she was ready to do all the spade-work of its creating, but she looked forward to the time when that should be done and the Government of Iraq should see its way to the appointment of a scientific director with a proper staff for the institution which she had built up out of nothing. Her ambition was to make the museum worthy of the great history of Iraq and essential to the study of its past, and the fulfilment of that ambition would be the best material monument to her memory."

Her last published work on Mesopotamia is her contribution to the latest volumes of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," but she will be better known, amongst experts, as the author of the "Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia," published officially as a Blue Book in 1920, in which the public were for the first time given a glimpse of the herculean efforts made during and after the Armistice to weld together the dissonant elements of the three provinces into a homogeneous state, efforts the success of which made possible subsequent political development, as, in later years, she recognized and generously admitted.

She scorned publicity, and disliked the numerous journalistic tributes to her influence and skill: creative achievement, literary, cultural, and political, meant everything to her.

As wrote Virgil (Ecl. i.): "The cause was Freedom; she, though late, did yet at length regard her tardy follower . . . and after long time came." She lived to see her hopes substantially accomplished.

Many of those who listened to the anthem at the Memorial Service must have wished that the last sentence of the text of Ecclesiastes had not been omitted by Goss, when he set it to music. "And their works do follow them" may as truly be said of her as of any of those who "rest from their labours."

A. T. Wilson.

HIS HIGHNESS SIR UGYEN WANGCHUK, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharaja of Bhutan.

The first hereditary Maharaja of Bhutan, Sir Ugyen Wangchuk, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., died in Bhutan in August at the age of 65. There must be few, if any, rulers at the present day who have carved their way to power literally with the sword. In his young days Bhutan was given up to internal strife, and the late Maharaja, who succeeded his father as Tongsa Penlop when quite a young man, on several occasions displayed great personal valour in rallying his followers and leading them to victory sword in hand.

In the sixteenth century one Ngawang Namgyal came from Tibet to Bhutan

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and established order in the country and ruled with great success. He is known as Shaptrung Rimpoche, and his white-bearded image is a familiar sight in Bhutanese temples. In a manner not uncommon in this part of Asia, on his death he was believed to have been reincarnated; this reincarnation was known in India as the Dharma Raja, and exists to the present day. The Dharma Raja was gradually deprived of temporal power and became a purely religious head of the state, and alongside appeared the true ruler of the country, known in India as the Deb Raja. In 1774, when Bogle was sent by Warren Hastings on a mission to Bhutan, he reported that the Deb Raja was appointed by election. In the course of time the Deb Raja also gradually lost his power, and the feudal barons were practically independent. There is little doubt that the repeated aggressions by the Bhutanese which led to our troubles with them and which culminated in the war of 1864 were directly the result of the independence of the smaller chiefs. Requests sent by the authorities in India to the Deb Raja were not complied with, chiefly because the Deb Raja himself had no power to enforce his desires; it is probable that in many cases communications sent from India were never forwarded to the Deb Raja by the smaller, irresponsible chiefs who lived between the capital and the frontier.

The Deb Rajas, who appears to have been powerful in Bogle's time, gradually diminished in importance and influence, and Pemberton in 1837 witnessed a rebellion against the Deb Raja of that time, and his attempts to conclude a treaty with Bhutan were frustrated by the Tongsa Penlop. Later, in 1863, the opposition to Sir Ashley Eden's mission was caused by the quarrels and rebellions of subordinate chiefs. The two chieftains of greatest importance were the Penlops of Paro in the West and of Tongsa in the East.

The late Maharaja Sir Ugyen, during the many years that he was Penlop of Tongsa, adopted a policy of friendliness towards the British Government, and, in 1904, at the time of Sir Francis Younghusband's mission in Lhasa, he was far-sighted enough to visit Sir Francis and to give him great assistance by acting as a go-between with the Tibetans, who were prepared to meet their powerful co-religionist. As a reward for this assistance, which was continued in the subsequent negotiations with the Tibetans, he was created a K.C.I.E. No doubt all this increased his prestige in his own country, and at Punaka on December 17, 1907, he was elected first hereditary Maharaja of the country by the chiefs and notables, who affixed their seals to the oath of allegiance. A translation of this is given in "Sikkim and Bhutan," by Mr. Claude White. Thus for the first time for many years Bhutan had a powerful and responsible ruler.

Having consolidated his position, the new Maharaja's next step was to place the foreign relations of his State under the Government of India by a treaty signed by himself and Sir Charles Bell on January 8, 1910. The country continued to progress peacefully under his rule up to the time of his death.

Sir Ugyen visited India on two occasions—in 1906, on the occasion of His Majesty's visit to India when he was Prince of Wales, and again in 1911, when King George visited India for the coronation Durbar. During the war the Maharaja offered the whole resources of his state to the Government besides presenting a large sum to war funds and encouraging recruiting in his hitherto closed land. By an early marriage His Highness had no son, and at one time it was thought probable that he would be succeeded by the husband of one of his daughters, and later by a grandson; by a later marriage, however, he had two sons, the eldest of whom, Jigmed Wangchuk, should now succeed him. During his lifetime Sir Ugyen gradually appointed his own near relatives to the important posts in Bhutan, and at the time of his death his son and heir was Tongsa Penlop, the son of his daughter, Paro Penlop.

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Without the support of the prestige of a long line of rulers the young Maharaja will have to show strength of character and powers of determination to fill the gap left by such a remarkable man as his father, and his task as the first to succeed to the position of Maharaja will not be an easy one. The new Maharaja has learnt a little English and Hindustani at a school started by Sir Ugyen at Bumtang, but he has never left the hills of his native land.

Formerly Bhutan had a summer capital at Punaka and a winter capital at Tashi-chö-dzong, but for the last few years the late Maharaja has lived at Bumtang, about twenty miles east of his former official residence at Tongsa; consequently Punaka and Tashi-chö-dzong have dwindled in importance. At the former place is a large and magnificent but empty fort, and at Tashi-chö-dzong a large and influential monastery.

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RECENT EVENTS IN CHINESE TURKISTAN

THE most important political event in the New Dominion during the past year has been the establishment of Soviet Consulates at Urumchi and Kashgar.

The new Consuls-General arrived at their posts in September of last year, each accompanied by staffs of secretaries, commercial counsellors, diplomatic couriers, etc., which have varied from eight to ten persons in number, and which still show a tendency to increase. As the U.S.S.R. have abandoned all rights of extraterritoriality with their consequent judicial and other functions, and as no agreement has yet been reached for the resumption of normal trade relations between the New Dominion and Soviet territory, it can readily be understood that this plethora of officials is far in excess of any legitimate needs. They have not, however, remained idle.

The Chinese authorities, who were at first anxious to welcome the Soviet representatives, have not been long in showing suspicion of their ultimate aims—a suspicion which has been acerbated by pronounced dislike of an overbearing and truculent attitude which, though apparently characteristic, is nevertheless ill-suited to the "friends of China," whose loudly-declared policy it is to uphold her sovereign rights against the domineering and grasping capitalistic powers.

Chinese Consulates have been established at Tashkent, Andijan, and Semipolatinsk, the new Consuls being selected from officials serving in this province, and therefore nominees of Governor Yang.

Governor Yang, the Civil and Military Governor of the New Dominion, still remains in power as the semi-independent ruler of the province, a position which he has held unshaken since 1912. This remarkable old man shows no falling-off in those qualities of energy and determination which have enabled him, with no real force at his disposal, to maintain peace and good order throughout the country.

There was a possibility at one time that he would be supplanted by some nominee of Marshal Feng's, but there seems to be no longer any present fear of such an eventuality. As His Excellency not only governs with an efficiency and success which seem in marked contrast with the efforts of other provincial Governors, but is very much alive to outside dangers and unusually capable of dealing with them, it is to be hoped for the sake of his province that he will long continue to remain in power.

He is no lover of foreigners of whatever nationality, but recent events have led him to adopt a decidedly friendly attitude towards the British Government and their representatives, and this attitude has

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naturally been reflected in the conduct of his subordinates. There have been no signs anywhere in the province of those anti-British tendencies which have been so marked and unfortunate a feature in the recent history of China Proper. Kashgar itself has been fortunate in having at the head of its administration Erh Taoyin, a capable and conscientious official who assumed charge of his present office two years ago, after his successful appearance as G.O.C. the force despatched by the Governor to suppress the outrageous Ma Titai, the provincial Commander-in-Chief, who had established himself as the unofficial but excessively tyrannical ruler of this part of the province.

Yarkand has been less fortunate in its recent administrators, but the Governor is carrying out changes amongst the officials which should lead to improvement.

The Afghan trade agent in Yarkand continues to style himself as Consul-General for Afghanistan, but has failed to obtain recognition as such from the Chinese authorities, and finds himself in frequent difficulties with the latter.

The long-established and lucrative opium trade from Afghanistan and Semirechensk has been meeting with genuine opposition from the provincial authorities, who have captured and burnt several consignments, sentencing the smugglers concerned to lengthy terms of imprisonment and removed officials who had been taking part in the traffic. It is, however, too much to hope that a trade which holds out such large profits and which can be carried with comparative immunity through almost uninhabited country, can be stopped under present circumstances. There is no poppy cultivation anywhere in the province itself.

Though not yet finally reopened and liable to frequent interruptions, a certain amount of trade is being carried on with Russian territory, where there is a constant demand for raw cotton and wool. The chief imports are kerosene, sugar, and coloured cotton fabrics. The British Indian traders who have to carry their goods over the Leh-Karakorum route naturally do not look forward to competing with a trade which possesses a railhead only some ten marchs distant and with only one comparatively low pass to negotiate, but the resumption of full, normal trade with Russia remains indefinite; disturbed conditions in China Proper also continue to afford a similar unnatural stimulus to the Indian trade.

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APPENDIX

NOTE ON THE PLAN PUBLISHED IN BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR PERCY SYKES'S BIOGRAPHY OF SIR MORTIMER DURAND, SHOWING THE APPROXIMATE RUSSIAN AND AFGHAN POSITIONS AT PANJDEH ON MARCH 30, 1885.

THE Plan, as it appears in Sir Percy Sykes's Biography, purports to be "From a Sketch by Charles E. Yate (Captain), Political Officer, Afghan Boundary Commission." As this is incorrect, I intend to explain exactly the origin of the Plan.

On October 21, 1925, I received from Sir P. Sykes's publishers, Messrs. Cassell and Co., a letter saying: "General Sir Percy Sykes is writing for us a life of Sir H. Mortimer Durand, in which he wishes to include the plan of Panjdeh, showing the approximate Russian and Afghan Positions on March 30, 1885, which appeared in your 'Travels with the Afghan Boundary Commission,' published in 1887."

On receipt of this letter I looked into the two or three copies of my book which I have kept for myself, and I found in one of them an annotated tracing of the scene of the engagement which afforded information of value which finds no place in the Plan which appears in my "Travels" of 1887. I could not remember after a lapse of forty years where this tracing originated, but I saw that it reproduced on a slightly enlarged scale the Survey by Sergeant Galindo which, dated "Tirpul, 15th April, 1885," accompanied Captain C. E. Yate's Report on the Panjdeh conflict, which General Sir Peter Lumsden forwarded to the Government of India, and doubtless also to the Foreign Office in London. To Sergeant Galindo's Survey, Captain C. E. Yate had, from his own personal knowledge, added the positions of the Russian and Afghan troops, but my annotated tracing gave much additional information. Accordingly I sent it to Messrs. Cassell and Co., and gave them permission to make use of it. I should add that I recognized all the notes, etc., on it as being in my own handwriting. Messrs. Cassell and Co. acknowledged it and said they would lay it before Sir Percy Sykes.

On December 8, 1925, I received from Messrs. Cassell and Co. the following letter, dated December 7: "I am sending you herewith the plan of the Panjdeh position which we have had drawn from your rough sketch (which I am enclosing). You will see that they have incorporated one or two things from Sergeant Galindo's plan, which I also sent to the map-makers as a guide for the redrawing of your sketch. Will you be good enough to see if this meets with your approval, or whether you would prefer that your plan should be strictly adhered to?"

To this I replied that I was perfectly satisfied with the Plan of the Panjdeh position which they had had drawn from my rough sketch, and incorporating with it one or two things from Sergeant Galindo's plan, and that it therefore had my approval. I returned to them their drawing, and that, I presume, is what now appears in Sir Mortimer Durand's Biography. The Russian lines of attack and their composition, and the "Details of the Afghan position, March 30," as well as one or two other notes, are taken from the tracing which has been so long in my possession. There is no one, of course, who has, from personal experience, such an intimate knowledge of the scene of the Panjdeh engagement as Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, but it will be noted that the Plan which appears in Sir Percy Sykes's "Biography" is not "From a Sketch by Charles E. Yate."

I publish this "Note" with Sir Percy Sykes's consent. A. C. YATE.

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BOOK NOTICES

THE Council wish to express their thanks to Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie for his valuable gift, "A Journey from London to Persepolis, including Wanderings in Daghestan, Georgia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and Persia," by John Ussher, F.R.G.S. (1865.)

Books received for review:

"Turkey," by A. J. Toynbee and K. P. Kirkwood. (Modern World Series, No. VI.) 9″ × 5¾″. Pp. xi + 329. Map. (Ernest Benn, Ltd. 1926. 15s.)

"Israel," by Leonard Stein. 7½″ × 5″. Pp. vii + 94. (Ernest Benn, Ltd. 1926. 3s. 6d.)

"The American Task in Persia," by Arthur C. Millspaugh. 8″ × 5½″. Pp. 322. Illustrations. (London and New York: Messrs. T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. 1926. 15s.)

"Grass," by C. Merion Cooper. Pp. 362. Illustrations and map. (London and New York: Messrs. G. Putnam's Sons, Knickerbocker Press. 10s. 6d.)

"On the Trail of Ancient Man," by Roy Chapman Andrews, Sc.D. 9½″ × 6¼″. Illustrated. (London and New York: Messrs. G. Putnam's Sons, Knickerbocker Press.)

"The Pilgrimage of 1926," by Colonel E. J. King, C.M.G. 5½″ × 8¾″. Pp. 144. Map and illustrations. (St. John's Gate.)

"TO MESOPOTAMIA AND KURDISTAN IN DISGUISE"

With Historical Notices of the Kurdish Tribes and the Chaldeans of Kurdistan. By E. B. Soane. Second Edition, with a Memoir of the Author by Sir Arnold T. Wilson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., etc. With additional illustrations. Demy 8vo. (Published by Mr. John Murray. 18s. net.)

One of the most interesting of travel books, which describes the author's adventures during a journey from Beyrut to Bagdad, disguised as a native. He was successful owing to his wonderful knowledge of dialects—which knowledge enabled him to write this graphic record.

"His additions to our knowledge of Kurdish history and of Chaldean history are as important as they are interesting."—*Illustrated London News.*

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THE BAGHDAD BOOK SHOP

If one day you were to find the Magic Carpet at your door ready to fly with you to Baghdad, you would expect to see—many things. And you would not see them; for the simple reason that old Baghdad, the "dim moonlit city of delight" of the Thousand Nights and a Night, has gone for ever—has disappeared far more completely even than its predecessor, old Babylon the mighty. But one thing you might not expect to see; but, strange to say, you would see it (which is, after all, quite characteristic in the city of Aladdin and his wonderful lamp). And the thing in the case is an up-to-date modern bookshop, equal in its appointments to any in London or New York, but stocking a variety of general Oriental literature such as possibly cannot be found to-day in any other one spot in the world.

Modern life being what it is, one need scarcely add that Aladdin in this case is a Scotsman. All modern magicians are Scotsmen, for the simple reason that they are the only human beings who combine the romantic and enterprising spirit of the English with the financial genius of the Jew. An Englishman who will build a great business is forced to employ Jews, to help him keep a check on his own extravagance; a Jewish man of ideas is bound to employ Englishmen, to teach him to expand his range of vision over the top of the counting-house door; but the Scotsman needs no one but himself. In one frame he combines brilliant initiative with that sound caution which has made Scotland the only country where the moneylender can gain no footing. He is entirely self-sufficient. That is why he stands out in the world to-day as the only complete business man—with the possible exception of the Chinaman.

But the particular Scotsman, let us hasten to add, who owns and runs the Baghdad Book Shop, is no ordinary type; he is not the half-Anglicized denizen of the Glasgow streets, or the gallant Tube-riding Highlander of the northern London suburbs. Kenneth Mackenzie—no mistake about country or clan there—is a man hailing really and truly from the north of nowhere. He can (if you care to listen to him) give you the time of day in genuine Gaelic, and it is whispered that in the seclusion of his own Baghdad home (or should it be *harim ?*) no other language is heard; for Mrs. Mackenzie also hails from the north of nowhere—to be precise, the same village—and is also a proficient scholar in the one and only true language. "How terribly provincial," you will add; but no, for Mr. Mackenzie is an Edinburgh University man, and before the war owned a book shop familiar to many discriminating Londoners—especially the boys and masters of St. Paul's School.

Come to think of it, it is not after all so strange that Baghdad should prove so suitable a *locale* for an experiment in bookselling. Time was when the city could boast the best book shops in the world. Readers of Le Strange will remember that under the early Abbassids there were over one hundred booksellers in the Suq al-Warrakin alone, and mediæval Baghdad was perhaps the only city of its age that could boast of an entirely literate population. Indeed, it would hardly be untrue to say that it is doubtful if any other city in history, except ancient Athens has ever produced such a flood of brilliant writers, orators, preachers, philosophers, poets, and artistic dilettanti—to say nothing of mathematicians, doctors, and musicians—in so short a space of time. In the turmoil of the later Middle Ages, Baghdad's intellectual glory departed from her, and a hundred years ago the English traveller, Buckingham, found literature "at so low an ebb that there is no one known collection of good books or manuscripts in the whole city, nor any individual Mullah distinguished above his contemporaries by his proficiency in the learning of his country." Fortunately, in the last fifty years things have improved somewhat, and there are now among the citizens of Baghdad many cultivated and intellectual men, and at least two notable private collections of books.

The quick success of the Book Shop presupposed, of course, the existence of fruitful ground, ready for the sowing. No amount of enterprise—even Scottish enterprise—could build up a high-class bookselling business in the face of an ignorant or indifferent public. Not that the entire clientèle of the shop could be claimed truthfully as of Baghdad. Many of the best customers are drawn from the ranks of the numerous British residents, the frequent visitors, and the

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officers and men of the Air Force and Army, deprived of theatres and other Western amusements, and thrown back largely upon literature for mental entertainment. Nor does the Book Shop cater alone for Baghdad or for Iraq. Its Persian mail is a heavy one, it has regular customers in America, and has been known to deliver books in Japan. Regarding as its daily job the retailing of current English literature to the local Baghdad public, it is becoming increasingly well known in the West as a likely centre for rare Eastern works. Its stock of books on Islamic subjects is probably unique; its collection of technical, scientific, medical, and historical works is very wide; and you can find on its shelves a more catholic and varied selection of modern literature than can probably be found in any one book shop in the West.

Like most good things, the Book Shop came about by accident. After the Armistice a new civil administration was organized in Iraq by Sir A. T. Wilson, then Civil Commissioner, and early in 1920 the Director of Education, Major Bowman, was sent to London with a fairly free hand to recruit suitable personnel and material for the new schools which were springing up on every hand. The poverty of the local booksellers' resources led the Major to consider the engaging of a technical man to organize the importation and sale of school-books and material. To cut a long story short, the job was offered to Kenneth Mackenzie, who, on arriving in Baghdad, immediately saw the chance offered for the sale of ordinary general literature, and suggested that the school book shop might be made to pay for itself in this way. After some deliberation, he was told to go ahead, and was given a small Government grant as capital. That grant was never touched; the business was started with the aid of the wholesalers' three months' credit, and it has never looked back since! Let it be added that the authorities, having made sure that they had got a good man, were content to leave him alone; from the first the "Controller" had a free hand, and he was never handicapped by those petty restrictions or vexatious regulations which so often hamper Government enterprise in the East. In 1925, however, the Iraq Council of Ministers (the Iraq Government having previously taken over the Book Shop from the British authorities) came to the conclusion that the shop "did not form a proper sphere for Government activity," and they accordingly decided to put it on sale. As was only right and proper, the tender of the "Controller" was accepted, and Aladdin entered into full possession of the fascinating business which his lamp of Scottish penetration had built up.

And fascinating it is. The Baghdad Book Shop has an atmosphere of its own—a trite saying, but in this case a true one. Suppose you could number among your business customers for the day picturesque figures of Arabs, *chaffiyah*, *agal*, and well-trimmed beard complete; native dignitaries from Kurdistan; white robed Sabæans; romantic-looking feminine forms, modestly swathed from head to foot in dark garments that, as a visiting journalist from India so aptly suggested, inevitably bring to mind the Ku Klux Klan; stout effendis, some of them more conversant with current English literature than the English themselves; youthful Jewish-looking students, their pale faces gazing at some financially unobtainable work with that ardent look of book-lovers the world over; Air Force officers, with their breezy air of combining the gossip of Baghdad, Cairo, and London in one morning's work; smartly-dressed English ladies of the modern type, looking self-possessed and masculine when seen in an Oriental background; American visitors, full of incorrect information about every city from Tokio to Tripoli; earnest-looking Indians, obviously bent on following the difficult road (so popular nowadays) of self-culture-at-home-in-your-spare-hours—all the varied types of a city which, even in its decay, still has about as much right to the much-abused term "cosmopolitan" as has any city in the world. Suppose you had a clientèle of this sort, would you not be tempted to feel that, after all, business was a very pleasant way of spending the time. Add to this the attraction of books in themselves as articles of commerce, and you see why Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie, as he steps out of his *arabanah* at the Book Shop door in the morning and beams at you through his gold-rimmed glasses, always strikes you as one of the happiest men in the East.

RICHARD COKE.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER.

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JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

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1926

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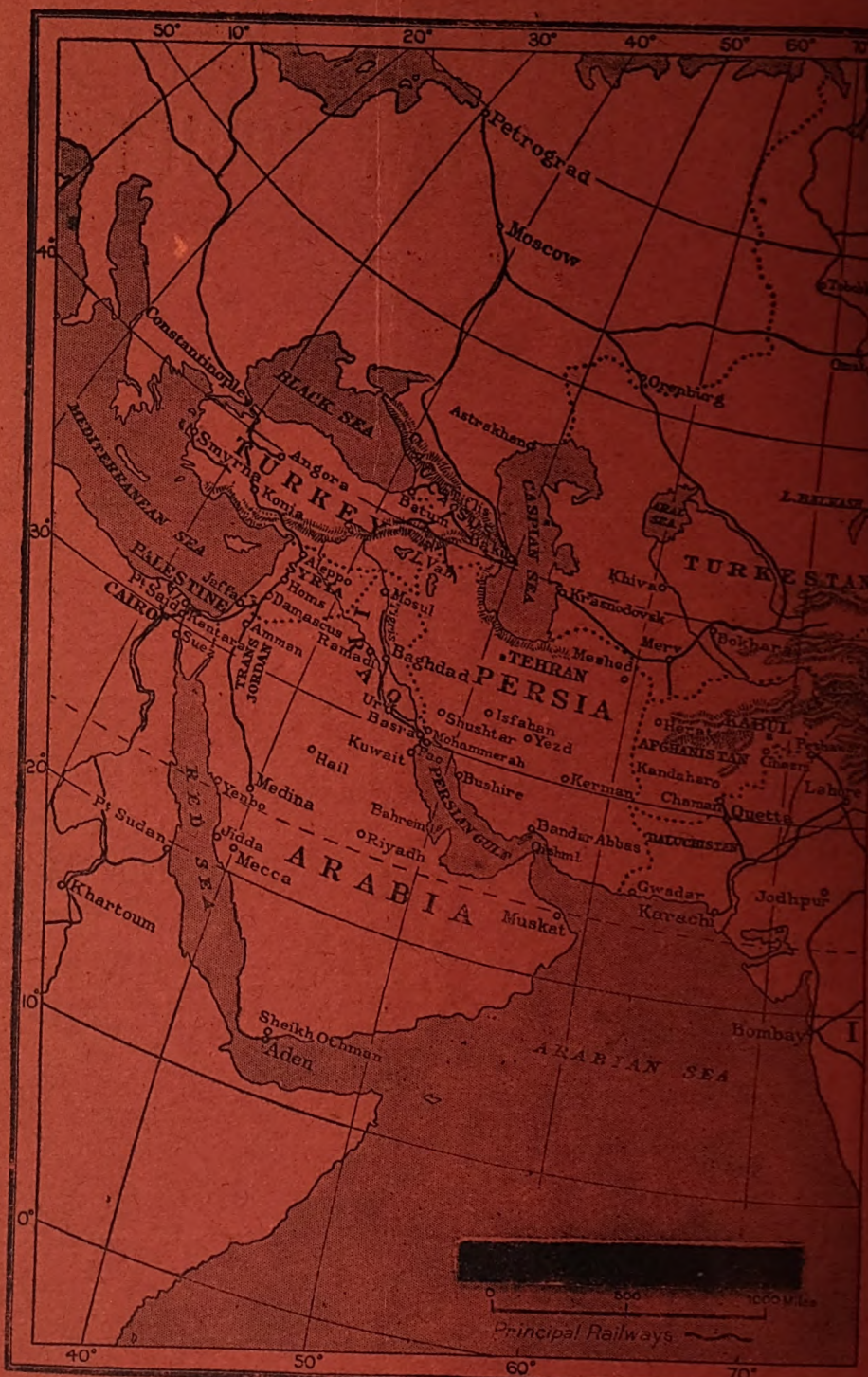

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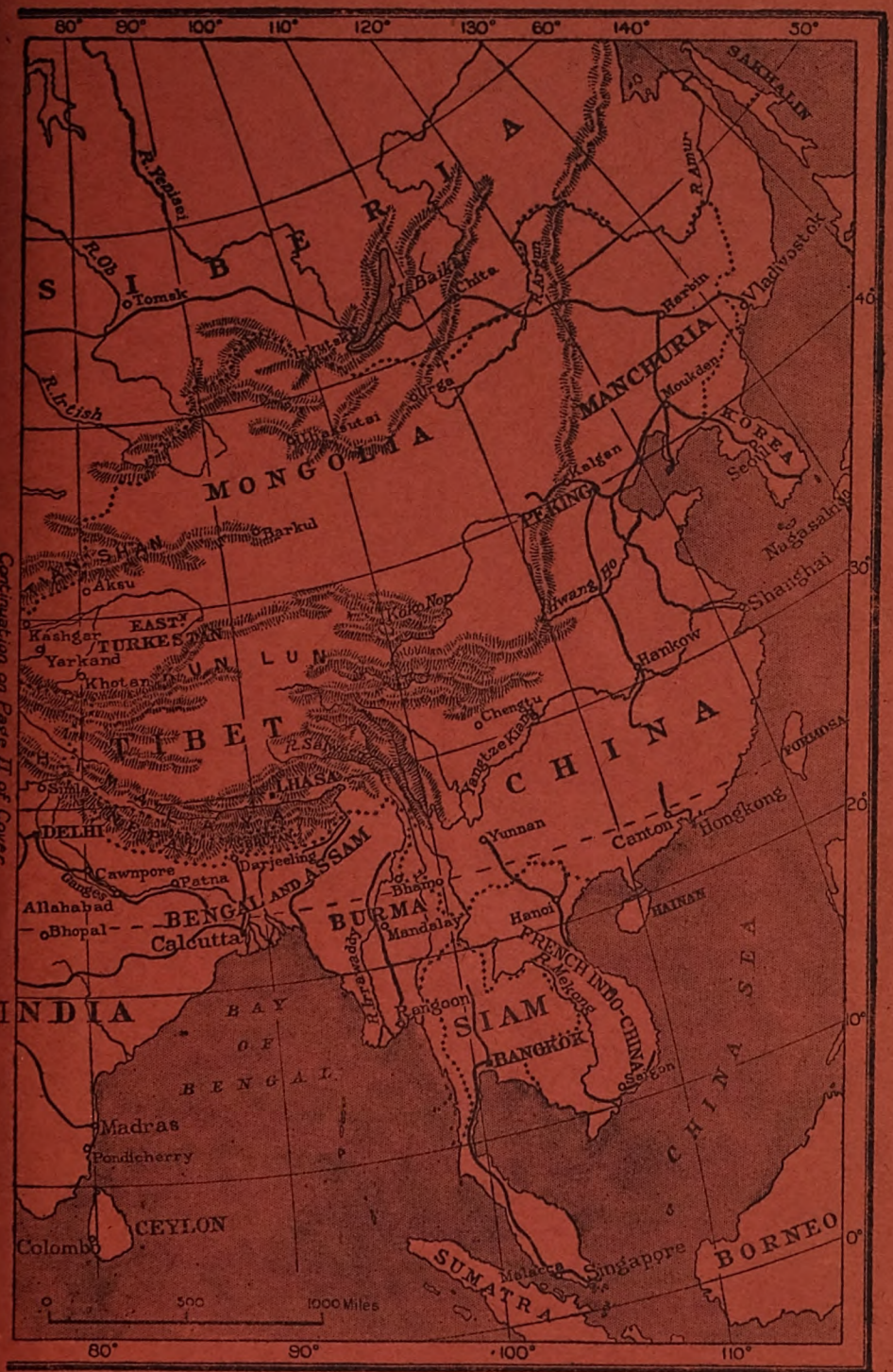

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